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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

HAMMOND'S PRACTICAL CATECHISM was first published at Oxford, under the circumstances related by Bishop Fell in his life of the author; the date of the publication is said by Fulman, Hammond's amanuensis, who edited the whole of his works, to have been *about* 1644. The original edition must therefore either have become so scarce in the year 1674, that Fulman was unable to procure a copy of it, or it was published without any date being annexed. Wood in his Athenæ Oxonienses assigns 1644 as its date. The number of copies printed was, no doubt, small, owing to the author's modest opinion as to the probability of its success; and it certainly had no very extensive circulation, as the work appears to have excited no notice till after the publication of the second edition. Moreover, the author in one of his letters to Cheynell, speaks of the edition as consisting of 'a few copies printed at Oxford, for the use of those that were more willing to be at that charge than at a greater in transcribing it.' The author's name did not appear, and prefixed was the following preface by Christopher Potter, provost of Queen's college.

"THE PREFACE.

"*Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares,* saith the Apostle to the Hebrews.

"We have many shifts to save our alms; this a counterfeit, that an ordinary vagabond, another a sturdy beggar; but he

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that relieves all will undoubtedly meet with some objects of his charity, that may make amends for the rest of his promiscuous bounty.

"Thou, whoever thou art, that art so charitable to the teeming press, that nothing which it brings forth escapes thy bounty, if, like the man in Lucian, thou buyest all, and, unlike him in this, thou readest all too, thou wilt find upon a review of thy purchases, encountering such a prize as this, that thou hast entertained an angel indeed, that will make thee recompense for the rest of thy unnecessary profusion; in truth a pearl of that rich value, that will amply pay thee for all the barren field of writers thou boughtest to compass it. Perhaps my dear affection to the great piety and learning of the author may make me say that which his exceeding humility and incomparable modesty will not be pleased to hear. For none hath ever better written or practised a catechism, none better taught or better loved self-denial than himself. Yet my comfort is, when I have said all I can say of it, my conscience assures me I do not prevaricate. I cannot tell how it may be valued by others, for though we have but one truth, we have many sides. I know how it ought to be; I know how it is by me, whom not only with King Agrippa's ἐν ὀλίγῳ, but with St. Paul's ἐν πολλῷ, not almost but altogether, I hope it hath persuaded to become a practical Christian. Persuaded did I say? It is too narrow an expression, οὐ γάρ με εἰς πειθὼ ἀλλ' εἰς ἔκστασιν ἄγει ταῦτα τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ· at the reading hereof, methinks with St. Paul, I am caught and rapt up beyond the pitch and stature of these poor sublunary things below, counting all, as they are indeed, but σκύβαλα, 'noisome things,' in respect of these high and precious truths taught by this author. And I humbly beseech God that it may have the like energy in the breasts of all that shall read it, that we may have less talking, less writing, less fighting for religion, and more practice, that

when our great Lord and Master comes, He may not find us so talking, so writing, so fighting, but so doing. *Quod faxit Deus.*"

The edition which professes to be the second, is dated London, 1646, and has the writer's name on the title-page and subscribed to the epistle to the reader. The printing of this volume had proceeded as far as the last sheet of the fourth book, before any communication took place between the author, and the bookseller who published it, who added "a postscript of the printer" explaining that the additions came too late to be inserted in the text, and that he had remedied the difficulty in the best way he could by adding two new books on the Creed and Sacraments at the end; by inserting the matter on just dealing in its due place in the last sheet of the fourth book, and including other particulars in an appendix. This edition contains also an index and a table of contents, both of which refer only to the first four books. Besides the additions in the appendix are some 'less remarkable alterations' which occupy two additional pages, which happen in one instance to anticipate an objection made to a passage in the Catechism by Cheynell, who in his haste had forgotten to notice these additional alterations.

All of these additions and alterations the author says were designed above a year before the publication, which must have been at least before September 20, 1646; as before that date, copies had reached and were sold in Oxford. This edition was to have been printed in Oxford, if a sufficient quantity of paper could have been procured from London. After the surrender of Oxford, June 10, the book was taken to London, where, to use Hammond's own words, "against the author's will or knowledge three editions had been made by the first copy, one of which was just then ended, and by that

means the printer had been at greater loss than I was willing to be cause of to an enemy, if another new impression had been made of it."

Of these three editions the last is that which is announced as the second edition, the two preceding ones being probably merely careless reprints of the first edition. One of these is in quarto, printed in a smaller and neater type than the 'second edition;' the other is in octavo. That in quarto, and probably therefore the other omitted Potter's preface. The publisher had introduced the name of the author into the title-page, or in all probability the subsequent editions would have been anonymous. Of this reprint in octavo, the only one published subsequently to 1644 which he has not been able to meet with, the editor is unable to speak, having seen notice of it, but never having met with a copy. Of both of these Hammond affirms that he neither gave consent to, nor had the least knowledge of their publication. Of these two editions nothing more need be said. Some copies of what has been called the second, but which is in reality the fourth edition, have an additional leaf inserted with the following notice—"In page 76, line 1," (i. e. in page 88 of the present edition,) "after 'evil of dignities,' add, 'but especially to sedition and taking up of arms against them: which of what sort soever it be, though we may flatter ourselves that we are only on the defensive part, will bring upon us condemnation. For although it be naturally lawful to defend my life from him that would unjustly take it away from me, yet if it be the lawful supreme magistrate that attempts it, I must not defend myself by assaulting of him, for that is not to defend only, but to offend; and God forbid that, though it were to save my own life, I should lift up my hand against *the Lord's anointed.* It is true, defensive wars may be possibly lawful at some time, when offensive are not; but of subjects against their sovereign

neither can, because if it be war, it will come under the phrase, *resisting the power*, and so be damnable, and quite contrary to the meekness here, and, further, to all such oaths which in every kingdom are taken by the subjects to the supreme power, as that of allegiance, &c.'" This leaf may have been added immediately after the book was printed, or which is more probable, was added by the author some time later, perhaps during the king's confinement in the Isle of Wight, not long before his execution. The concluding paragraph of the epistle to the reader prefixed to this work is as follows—

"This and nothing but this, was some years since entirely the design of this ensuing platform, printed at first for some private friends, then without the author's knowledge made more public, and being at that second birth a little deformed, it is now restored again to its former state, and by the explication of some passages which were conceived to want it, and the addition of some whole parts wished for by many, viz. of exact justice in bargaining, of usury, and going to law, of the rest of the commandments of the decalogue, of the Creed and of the Sacraments, it is now improved into the bulk wherein it appears to you. The Lord remove all prejudices which may hinder the desired effects of it."

This edition of the Practical Catechism having a ready sale and becoming quickly popular, as we learn from the expression 'your much admired Catechism,' which occurs in one of Cheynell's letters, was soon attacked by the Puritans; the first public notice taken of it was by Francis Cheynell, then a fellow of Merton college, who preached a sermon against it at Carfax church, probably a Wednesday evening lecture, on Sept. 30, 1646; and again alluded to it in a sermon preached by him at St. Mary's church in Oxford. These attacks led to the correspondence between the author and the preacher, which was published by Hammond in

1647, and afterwards by Fulman in the first volume of the edition of his collected works.

A second attack was made on the Practical Catechism in the year 1647, in a book entitled "A testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ," &c., pretending to be subscribed by fifty-two ministers of Christ within the province of London. This drew from the author a reply entitled "A brief vindication of three passages in the Practical Catechism," &c. The reply occupies thirteen small quarto pages, and is dated at the end "From my study, Christ Church in Oxon. Jan. 24. Monday;" this was in 1647-8. The date in the title-page is 1648, so that the book was not in print for two months after that date at least. Wood mentions the "View of some exceptions to the Practical Catechism, from the censures affixed on them by the ministers of London in a work entitled 'A testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ,' &c.," which he says was published in 1648 in quarto, and then goes on to speak of the 'Vindication,' thereby leading his readers to suppose, as indeed he imagined himself, that there were two distinct replies to the same attack. This is not the case however, the "View of some exceptions" being the same treatise as the "Brief vindication;" it was published without any date, but certainly is later than the other, because it quotes from the fifth edition of the Practical Catechism published in 1649. Fulman, without giving any information as to the change of title, printed the book in the edition of the collected works, under both names, calling it in the title-page by the former name, and in the running title at the head of the page by the latter.

In 1648 was published in two volumes of the same size, small quarto, "A Practical Catechism, with several treatises." These volumes contain fourteen other treatises of the author's, but the Practical Catechism is not a reprint, but a re-issue of the first mentioned though last published edition of 1646.

In the following year, 1649, another edition, professing to be the fifth, was published by the same bookseller. This is announced as revised and enlarged. In this, Potter's address to the reader does not appear, nor is it to be wondered at, that the author should take the first opportunity after Potter's death of omitting such a letter of commendation. In other respects this edition differs but little from the preceding, the preface being as it now stands, and the text of the book having been in a few places slightly altered. Considerable additions were however made in the notes. Wood in his Athenæ Oxonienses notices an edition in two quarto volumes published in 1652, but this is not a distinct edition. The next edition, the last published in the author's life, is also said in the title-page to be revised and enlarged, but the text does not appear to have been altered, the additions such as they are being in the notes and the marginal analysis. This edition was in octavo, and bears date 1655. Of the following editions nothing more need be said, than that they are respectively of the dates 1662, 1668, 1670, 1674, 1677, 1684, 1691, 1700.

All these are reprinted apparently one from another, in a very bad type, and abound in misprints. They are all in an octavo form, and have appended to them another tract of the author's, entitled "Of the Reasonableness of Christian Religion," which was first published in 1650.

The last, and as it is called by the booksellers the best edition, was published in 1715, and differs from the preceding only in having an index at the end of the volume, and a memoir, which is for the most part an abridgment of Fell's life, prefixed. Besides these separate publications, the Practical Catechism was also reprinted in 1674 in the first volume of a patchwork edition of Hammond's works, which was superintended by Fulman, who professes to follow the author's copies even where the sense did plainly seem to

require another reading. Another edition of the complete works, called the second edition, appeared in 1684, which of course contains this treatise.

The present volume has been reprinted from the edition of 1700, which has the advantage of being somewhat more legible than the others, and has been corrected by that of 1715 and the folio of 1684, which may be considered the standard edition of Hammond's works. Whenever there was any difference, which was very rarely the case, and when occurring, was such as evidently to shew that it was owing to carelessness in printing or correcting the press, the reading of the folio was preferred, unless it appeared certain that it was wrong. The differences however are very trifling; they may perhaps amount to twenty or thirty in the whole volume, and the alteration made has never been more important than the transposition of a word.

It only remains to say that modern spelling has been substituted for the old forms, and that the references have been carefully verified, and the original passages inserted more at length, where they were of any importance. The Scripture references were very generally correct, and were probably supplied by an amanuensis, the passages themselves being quoted from memory, and seldom in the words of the authorized or any other English version. What Hammond's biographer relates of his memory, 'that it was serviceable, but not officious, faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words,' will fully account for this, unless indeed the author quotes from a translation of his own which it appears from Fell's account he had been at the trouble of making. In quotations from classical authors and the Fathers he is even less accurate, sometimes evidently quoting from memory, sometimes altering the words of the original to accommodate them to his running commentary upon them. The quotations from the

Bible occurring as they do in the text have been left in the author's own words; those from other authors have been, unless there was obvious reason to the contrary, altered to correspond to the originals. All alterations and additions of the present editor's will be recognised by being enclosed in brackets thus, [ ].

With regard to Fell's interesting life of the author prefixed to the Practical Catechism, all that need be said is, that it was published first in 1661, the year after Hammond's death, and that a second edition came out with alterations and additions in the following year. It has been occasionally reprinted, as by Wordsworth in the 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' and at the University Press, Oxford, in the same volume with Burnet's Life of Hale. The latter edition, or at least the last issue of it in 1806, in small octavo, is a mere reprint of the first edition, no notice being taken of there ever having been a second. Wordsworth professes to follow the edition of 1662, and has added a few notes at the foot of the page. The present reprint was made from that prefixed to the folio edition of Hammond's Works, published in 1684, and corrected by that of 1674, the preference being given in two or three places where a word was altered to suit the changes of ten years, to the reading of 1684. Both these editions were published during the lifetime of Fell, and as both of them contain slight verbal alterations from that of 1662, together with some additional matter, it is probable they were made by Fell himself, or at least that they were inserted by Fulman with his permission. The edition of 1684 however, has been very carelessly revised, as in most cases, though not in all, it has followed the reading of 1674, without alteration. As an instance 'Sheldon now lord archbishop,' (p. xliv.) has been altered into 'late lord archbishop,' but Henchman is described in both as being bishop of London, (p. cvi.) though he died before the publication of

the second edition. The editor hopes that no apology will be necessary for his having ventured to add so many notes to the Life. The Life itself was evidently written in great haste, in order that the character of Hammond might be described whilst it was yet fresh in the memory of the writer. And though in all probability it is this which gives the book its peculiar charm, this could not be done without some sacrifice in matters of detail. Accordingly several inaccuracies were discovered and have been corrected. Moreover, where the author is correct in his statements, he writes as if his readers were of course acquainted with the persons and transactions he describes, and however this may have been at the time when he wrote, the general reader of the present day will probably derive some information from the accounts given in the notes, of persons and events alluded to in the text. The principal authorities referred to will be found in the subjoined list of editions, but the names of those authors from whom he has derived information without referring to them in his notes, the editor has not thought it worth while to insert. In the spelling of proper names, any variation that may be observed will generally be accounted for by the reader's distinguishing between those passages where the editor is quoting the statements of others, and those in which he is using his own words.

NICHOLAS POCOCK.

Feb. 16, 1847.

LIST OF EDITIONS REFERRED TO.

Abul. Farajii de Orig. et Mor. Arab. ed. Pocock, 4to. Oxon. 1650.
Æschylus, Dindorfii, 8vo. Oxon. 1832.
Allestree's Sermons, fol. Oxon. 1684.
Ambrosius, S., ed. Ben., 2 tom. fol. Par. 1690.
Anthologia Græca, ed. De Bosch, 5 tom. 4to. 1795—1822.
Aquinas, S. Thomas, 18 tom. fol. Venet. 1593.
Aristophanes, Dindorfii, 8vo. Oxon. 1835.
Aristotelis Ethica, ed. Cardwell, 8vo. Oxon. 1828.
——— Rhetorica, 8vo. Oxon. 1826.
——— Organon, Lipsiæ, ap. Tauchnitz, 1832.
Ashburnham's Narrative of his attendance on King Charles I., 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1830.
Asterius, Rubenii, 4to. Antverp. 1615.
Athenagoras, ed. Dechair, 8vo. Oxon. 1706.
Augustinus, S., ed. Ben. 11 tom. fol. Par. 1679—1700.
Baronii Ann. Eccl., 12 tom. fol. Antv. 1612.
Barwick, Life of, 8vo. Lond. 1724.
Basilius, S., ed. Garnier, 3 tom. fol. Par. 1721—30.
Biographia Britannica, 6 vols. fol. Lond. 1747-66?
Bramhall's Works, 5 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1842-5.
Broughton, (Hugh,) Works, fol. Lond. 1662.
Burnet's History of his own times, 6 vols. 8vo. Oxon. 1833.
Cedrenus, Xylandri, 2 tom. fol. Par. 1647.
Chrysostomus, S., ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1718—38.
Cicero, Ernesti, 8 tom. 8vo. Hal. 1774.
Clarendon's Rebellion, 8 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1826.
Clemens Alexandrinus, S., Sylburgii, fol. Lut. 1629.
Clemens Romanus, S., ap. Patr. Apost. ed. Jacobson, 2 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1840.
Courtenay's Memoirs of Sir William Temple, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1836.
Cyprianus, S., fol. Par. 1607.
Damascenus, S. Joannes, Lequien, 2 tom. fol. Par. 1712.
Dibdin's Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1827.
Echard's History of England, 3rd edit. fol. Lond. 1720.
Epictetus, ed. Simpson, 8vo. Oxon. 1804.
Euripides, Dindorfii, 2 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1833.
Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., lib. x. ed. Burton, 2 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1838.
Gerson, Op., 4 partes, fol. Par. 1606.
Grotius, Hugo, Op., 3 tom. fol. Lond. 1679.
Hammond's Works, 4 vols. fol. Lond. 1684.
Heraclitus de Incred. ap. Opusc. Myth. ed. Gale, 8vo. Amst. 1688.
Herbert's Memoirs, 8vo. London, 1702.
Hesiodus, ap. Poet. Min. Græc., ed. Gaisford, 4 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1814-20.
Hesychius, 4to. Lugd. Bat. ex off. Hack. 1668.
Hieronymus, S. ed. Vallarsius, 11 tom. fol. Veron. 1734—42.
Homeri Ilias, 2 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1821.
——— Odyssea, 2 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1827.
Ignatius, S., ap. Patr. Apost. ed. Jacobson, 2 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1840.
Irenæus, S., ed. Grabe, fol. Oxon. 1702.
Isocrates, Bekkeri, 8vo. Oxon. 1822.
Josephus, ed. Hudson, 2 tom. fol. Oxon. 1720.
Juliani Imp. Opera, Petavii, 4to. Par. 1630.
Justinus Martyr, ed. Bened. fol. Par. 1742.

Lactantius, ed. Le Brun, et Dufresnoy, 2 tom. 4to. Lut. Par. 1748.
Lingard's History of England, 13 vols. 12mo. 1837-9.
Lucianus Reitzii, 3 tom. 4to. Amst. 1743.
Macarius, S., fol. Par. 1621.
Marcellinus, Ammianus, Gronovii. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1693.
Montacutius, Orig. Eccl., tom. i. par. prior, fol. Lond. 1626.
———————————— par. post. fol. Lond. 1640.
———————— Apparat. ad Orig. Eccl., fol. Oxon. 1635.
Nepos, Cornelius, 12mo. Oxon. 1819.
Œcumenius, 2 tom. fol. Lut. Par. 1630-1.
Opuscula Mythologica, ed. Gale, 8vo. Amst. 1688.
Origenes, ed. Ben., 4 tom. fol. Par. 1733—59.
Ovidius, Burmanni, 5 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1825.
Parr's Life of Ussher, fol. Lond. 1686.
Patres Apostolici, ed. Jacobson, 2 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1840.
———————— Cotelerii, 2 tom. fol. Antv. 1698.
Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1843.
Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, 2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1779.
Photius, Bibliotheca, ap. Steph. 1611.
———Epistolæ, Montacutii, fol. Lond. 1651.
Pindarus, Heynii, 3 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1807.
Plutarchus, Xylandri, 2 tom. fol. Lut. Par. 1624.
Poetæ Minores Græci, ed. Gaisford, 4 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1814-20.
Polybius, ed. Schweighæuser, 4 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1823.
Polycarpus, S., ap. Patr. Apost. ed. Jacobson, 2 tom. 8vo. 1840.
Prideaux's Connection, 2 vols. 8vo. Oxon. 1838.
Procopius, Possini, 2 tom. fol. Par. 1661—63.
Ramus, P., de Rel. Christi, 8vo. Francof. 1577.
Rhodiginus, Cœlius, fol. Ven. ap. Ald. 1516.
Rodericus Zamorensis. Spec. hum. vit. 12mo. Argent. 1606.
Sallustius, ap. Opusc. Myth., ed. Gale, 8vo. Amst. 1688.
Schindleri, Lexic. Pentagl., fol. Hanov. 1612—29.
Sibyllina Oracula, Gallæi, 4to. Amst. 1689.
Seneca, Epistolæ, 12mo. ap. Elz., 1649.
Sophocles, Dindorfii, 8vo. Oxon. 1832.
Spelman, Conc. Eccl. Orb. Brit., fol. tom. 1ᵉ. 1639.
Stobæus, ed. Gaisford, 4 tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1822.
Targum Hierosolymitanum in V. libros legis e ling. Chald. in Lat. conversum, op. Fr. Tayleri. 4to. Lond. 1649.
Tertullianus, ed. Rigalt. 2 tom. fol. Lut. 1634.
Theodoretus, Sirmondi. 4 tom. fol. Lut. Par. 1642.
Theophylactus. Venet. 1754—63.
Thucydides, ed. Goeller, 2 tom. 8vo. Lips. 1826.
Twells' Life of Pocock, 8vo. London, 1816.
Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, fol. Lond. 1714.
Walton's Lives, 8vo. Lond. 1825.
Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs, fol. Lond. 1682.
Wilmot's Life of Hough, 4to. London, 1812.
Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1691-2.
Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, 6 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1818.

THE

LIFE

OF

. THE MOST LEARNED, REVEREND, AND PIOUS

DR. HENRY HAMMOND.

WRITTEN BY JOHN FELL[a], DEAN OF CH. CH., AND LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Dr. Henry Hammond, whose life is now attempted to be written, was born upon the 26th of August in the year 1605, at Chertsey in Surrey; a place formerly of remark for Julius Cæsar's supposed passing his army there over the Thames, in his enterprise upon this island; as also for the entertainment of devotion in its earliest reception by our Saxon ancestors; and of later years, for the charity of having given burial to the equally pious and unfortunate prince, King Henry VI.

He was the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, physician to Prince Henry; and from that great favourer of meriting

[a] [Hammond's biographer was son of Dr. Samuel Fell, dean of Ch. Ch. He was ejected from his studentship at Ch. Ch. by the parliamentary visitors in 1648, but lived in Oxford till the restoration, principally in the house of Mr. Thomas Willis his brother-in-law, where he, with his friends Allestry and Dolben, continued to perform the services of the Church of England. After the restoration he succeeded to the canonry of which Hammond had been deprived, and which had been given to one Ralph Button, and was soon afterwards made dean of Ch. Ch., on the elevation of Morley to the see of Worcester, which had been designed for Hammond. During the time that he was vice-chancellor he greatly improved the state of the University, having a design to bring matters back to the form which they had when Abp. Laud was chancellor. "He was," says Wood, "a person of great morals and virtues, spent his time in celibacy, of an unspotted life, and unquestionable reputation." Upon his election to the bishopric of Oxford, Jan. 8, 1675, permission was given him to hold the deanery *in commendam*, because his services were so useful to the University. He died in 1686, having, in addition to his other labours, every year since 1661, published some classical or other author, to distribute among the students of his house. He was the author of the life of Allestry, prefixed to the edition of his 'Forty Sermons' published at Oxford in 1684.]

servants and their relations, had the honour at the font to receive his Christian name.

Nor had he an hereditary interest in learning only from his father: by his mother's side he was allied both unto it and the profession of theology, being descended from Dr. Alexander Nowell, the reverend dean of St. Paul's, that great and happy instrument of the Reformation, and eminent light of the English Church.

Being yet in his long coats, which heretofore were usually worn beyond the years of infancy, he was sent to Eton school; where his pregnancy having been advantaged by the more than paternal care and industry of his father, (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, especially the Greek,) became the observation of those that knew him; for in that tenderness of age he was not only a proficient in Greek and Latin, but had also some knowledge in the elements of Hebrew; in the latter of which tongues, it being then rarely heard of even out of grammar schools, he grew the tutor of those who began to write themselves men, but thought it no shame to learn of one whose knowledge seemed rather infused than acquired, or in whom the learned languages might be thought to be the mother-tongue. His skill in Greek was particularly advantaged by the conversation and kindness of Mr. Allen, one of the fellows of the college, excellently seen in that language, and a great assistant of Sir Henry Savile[b], in his magnificent edition of St. Chrysostom.

His sweetness of carriage is very particularly remembered by his contemporaries, who observed that he was never engaged, upon any occasion, into fights or quarrels; as also, that at times allowed for play he would steal from his fellows into places of privacy, there to say his prayers: omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion.

[b] [Sir Henry Savile was fellow, and afterwards for thirty-six years warden of Merton college. He was made provost of Eton in 1596. He improved the condition of the former college, which is said at that time to have been 'in a poor condition for good scholars.' He placed Thomas Allen, who was also a fellow of Merton college, at Eton. He was knighted by King James I. at Windsor, 21st Sept., 1604. His edition of St. Chrysostom, which he published at Eton, in eight folio volumes, in 1613, at his own cost, is said to have cost him 8000*l.* He died in 1622, having three years before founded the two professorships at Oxford, which bear his name.—See Wood, Ath. Ox., vol. i. pp. 395, 514.]

Which softness of temper his schoolmaster, Mr. Bust, who upon his father's account had a tender kindness for him, looked upon with some jealousy; for he building upon the general observation, that gravity and passiveness in children is not from discretion but phlegm, suspected that his scholar's faculties would desert his industry, and end only in a laborious well-read non-proficiency: but the event gave a full and speedy defeat to those well-meant misgivings; for he so improved that at about thirteen years old he was thought, and, what is much more rare, was indeed ripe for the University, and accordingly sent to Magdalen college in Oxford. Not long after his being settled in the college, he was chosen demy[c]; and though he stood low upon the roll, by a very unusual concurrence of providential events, happened to be sped and admitted in the year 1622: and though, having then lost his father, he became destitute of the advantage which potent recommendation might have given; yet his merit voting for him, as soon as capable he was chosen fellow.

Being to proceed master of arts[d], he was made Reader of the Natural Philosophy Lecture in the college, and also was employed in making one of the two funeral orations spoken on the highly-meriting president Dr. Langton[e].

Having taken his degree, he presently bought a system of divinity[f], with design to apply himself straightway to that

[c] His entry upon the public matriculation book, is not till June 26, 1621, but it has always been customary for young students to neglect the university register, till they begin to look towards their degree.

[d] [This degree was conferred on him 30th June, 1625. He had been admitted demy 30th July, 1622, and had taken his degree of B.A. Dec. 11, 1622. The date of his election to his fellowship is 26th July, 1625.]

[e] [He died in 1626, and was succeeded by Frewen, afterwards Abp. of York.]

[f] ["To such an absolute authority were the names and writings of some men advanced by their diligent followers, that not to yield obedience to their *ipse dixits*, was a crime unpardonable. It is true King James observed the inconvenience, and prescribed a remedy, sending instructions to the Universities, bearing date Jan. 18, anno 1616, wherein it was directed amongst other things, that young students in divinity should be excited to study such books as were most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England; and to bestow their time in the fathers and councils, schoolmen, histories and controversies; and not to insist too long upon compendiums and abbreviators, making them the ground of their study. And I conceive that from that time forwards the name and reputations of some leading men of the foreign Churches, which till then carried all before them, did begin to lessen; divines growing daily more willing to free themselves from that servitude and vassalage to which the authority of those names had enslaved their judgments. About those times it was that I began my studies in divinity, and thought no course so

study: but upon second thoughts he returned for a time to humane learning; and afterwards, when he resumed his purpose for theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual, beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossessed by the contrived and interested schemes of modern, and withal obnoxious authors.

Anno 1629, being twenty-four years of age, the statutes of his house directing, and the canons of the Church then regularly permitting it, he entered into holy orders, and not long after took the degree of bachelor in divinity[g], giving as happy proof of his proficiency in sacred, as before he had done in secular knowledge. During the whole time of his abode in the University, he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study; by which assiduity, besides an exact dispatch of the whole course of philosophy, he read over in a manner all classic authors that are extant; and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, scholia and critical emendations, and drew up indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book: all which remain at this time, and testify his indefatigable pains to as many as have perused his library.

In the year 1633, the reverend Dr. Frewen[h], the then presi-

proper and expedient for me as the way commanded by King James .... For though I had a good respect both to the memory of Luther and the name of Calvin, as those whose writings had awakened all those parts of Europe out of the ignorance and superstition under which they suffered; yet I always took them to be men; men as obnoxious unto error, as subject unto human frailty, and as indulgent too to their own opinions as any others whatsoever."—Heylin's Sum of Christian Theology, in the address to the reader. See also Montague's Appeal to Cæsar, p. 10.]

[g] [He did not take this degree till after he had left the University, 28th January, 1633-4.]

[h] [Accepted Frewen, afterwards archbishop of York, was nominated to the see of Lichfield and Coventry Aug. 17, 1643, but was not consecrated till April, 1644. After his translation, the see of Lichfield being kept vacant for a year, in the expectation that Baxter would accept it, the archbishop received the revenues of it, till the appointment of Hackett in Dec., 1661. Meanwhile, Dr. Bayly, the president of St. John's college, and dean of Salisbury, had refused it. Frewen began life as a puritan, but was gained over by the assiduity of Laud. "He was" says Wood (Ath. Ox., vol. ii. p. 664.) "the eldest son of Jo. Frewen, the puritanical rector of Nordiam, or Northiam in Sussex. In 1622 he attended in the court of Prince Charles while he was in Spain courting the Infanta, and in 1625 he was made chaplain in ordinary to the said prince, then king. In 1628 and 1629 he executed the office of vice-chancellor of this University, and on the 13th of Sept., 1631, he being then or about that

dent of his college, now lord archbishop of York, gave him the honour to supply one of his courses at the court; where the right honourable the earl of Leicester[i] happening to be an auditor, he was so deeply affected with the sermon, and took so just a measure of the merit of the preacher thence, that the rectory of Penshurst[k] being at that time void, and in his gift, he immediately offered him the presentation; which being accepted, he was inducted on the 22nd of August in the same year; and thenceforth, from the scholastic retirements of an University life, applied himself to the more busy entertainments of a rural privacy, and what some have called the being buried in a living: and being to leave the house, he thought not fit to take that advantage of his place, which, from sacrilege, or selling of the founder's charity, was by custom grown to be prudence and good husbandry, but left the college with the same integrity that he had lived in it.

In the discharge of his ministerial function, he satisfied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only; a performance wherein some of late have fancied all religion to consist; but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily sacrifice of prayer for his people, administering the Sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst neighbours, visiting the sick, catechising the youth.

As to the first of these, his preaching, it was not at the ordinary rate of the times, an unpremeditated, undigested effusion of shallow and crude conceptions; but a rational and just discourse, that was to teach the priest as well as

time prebendary of Canterbury, was installed dean of Gloucester, upon the removal of Dr. George Warburton thence to the deanery of Wells. In 1638 and 1639, he upon the solicitation of Dr. Laud, Abp. of Canterbury, whose creature then he was, did undergo the said office of vice-chancellor again." He died March 28, 1664.]

[i] [This was Robert Sidney, second earl of Leicester, father of the celebrated Algernon Sidney, and of the countess of Sunderland, Waller's Sacharissa.]

[k] [The living had become vacant by the death of Mr. Francis Sidney, who was buried May 15, 1633. The following interesting document is from one of the register books of Penshurst:

"Memorandum that Sr John Riuers and his lady bryng . . . certificate from Paul Dane Physityan of their indis . . sityon of body, and so of hurt that might come to th . . by eatyng of fish in tyme of lent, had licence gi . . . them to eate flesh by mee Henry Hamm . . . . statute Eliz 5to which tyme now . . . . . desire to have it renewed, which I h . . . registred it in the presence of. . . .']

the lay-hearer. His method was, which likewise he recommended to his friends, after every sermon to resolve upon the ensuing subject; that being done, to pursue the course of study which he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the provision for the next Lord's day; whereby not only a constant progress was made in science, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate future work; for he said, be the subjects treated of never so distant, somewhat will infallibly fall in conducible unto the present purpose.

The offices of prayer he had in his Church not only upon the Sundays and festivals, and their eves, as also Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the appointment of the Rubric; (which strict duty and ministration, when it is examined to the bottom, will prove the greatest objection against the Liturgy; as that which, besides its own trouble and austerity, leaves no leisure for factious and licentious meetings at fairs and markets;) but every day in the week, and twice on Saturdays and holiday eves: for his assistance wherein he kept a curate, and allowed him a comfortable salary. And at those devotions he took order that his family should give diligent and exemplary attendance; which was the easilier performed, it being guided by his mother, a woman of ancient virtue, and one to whom he paid a more than filial obedience.

As to the administration of the Sacrament he reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month, and therewith its anciently inseparable appendant, the Offertory: wherein his instruction and happily insinuating example so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. Nay, if the report of a sober person, born and bred up in that parish, be to be believed, in short time a stock was raised, to be always ready for the apprenticing of young children whose parents' condition made the provision for them an equal charity to both the child and parent. And after this there yet remained a superplusage for the assistance of the neighbour parishes.

For the relief of the poor, besides the forementioned expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private

charity, the dedicating the tenth of all receipts, and the daily alms given at the door; he constantly set apart over and above every week a certain rate in money: and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two and fifty quarter-days returning in his year. Yet farther, another art of charity he had, the selling corn to his poor neighbours at a rate below the market-price; which, though, as he said, he had reason to do, gaining thereby the charge of portage, was a great benefit to them, who, besides the abatement of price, and possibly forbearance, saved thereby a day's work.

He that was thus liberal to the necessitous poor, was no less hospitable to those of better quality; and as at other times he frequently invited his neighbours to his table, so more especially on Sundays, which seldom passed at any time without bringing some of them his guests: but here, beyond the weekly treatments, the Christmas festival had a peculiar allowance to support it. He knew well how much the application at the table enforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how subservient the endearing of his person was to the recommending his instructions, how far upon these motives our Saviour thought fit to eat with publicans and sinners, and how effectual the loaves were to the procuring of disciples.

In accordance to which his generous freedom in alms and hospitality, he farther obliged his parishioners in the setting of their tithes and dues belonging to him; for though he very well understood how prone men are to give complaints in payment, and how little obligation there is on him that lets a bargain to consider the casual loss, who is sure never to share in a like surplusage of gain; yet herein he frequently departed from his right, insomuch that having set the tithe of a large meadow, and upon agreement received part of the money at the beginning of the year; it happening that the profits were afterwards spoiled and carried away by a flood, he, when the tenant came to make the last payment, not only refused it, but returned the former sum, saying to the poor man, "God forbid I should take the tenth where you have not the nine parts."

As by public admonition he most diligently instilled that great fundamental doctrine of peace and love, so did he

likewise in his private address and conversation; being never at peace in himself, till he had procured it amongst his neighbours; wherein God so blessed him, that he not only attained his purpose of uniting distant parties unto each other; but, contrary to the usual fate of reconcilers, gained them to himself; there having been no person of his function any where better beloved than he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his flock. Of which tender and very filial affection, instead of more, we may take two instances: the one, that he being driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the war: the other, that during his abode at Penshurst he never had any vexatious law-dispute about his dues, but had his tithes fully paid, and not of the most refuse parts, but generally the very best.

Though he judged the time of sickness an improper season for the great work of repentance, yet he esteemed it a most useful preparative, the voice of God Himself exhorting to it; and therefore, not only when desired made his visits to all such as stood in need of those his charities, but prevented their requests by early and by frequent coming to them. And this he was so careful of, that after his remove from Penshurst, being at Oxford, and hearing of the sickness of one of his parishioners, he from thence sent to him those instructions, which he judged useful in that exigent, and which he could not give at nearer distance.

For the institution of youth in the rudiments of piety, his custom was, during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before evening prayer in catechising; whereat the parents and older sort were wont to be present, and from whence, as he with comfort was used to say, they reaped more benefit than from his sermons: where it may not be superfluous to observe, that he introduced no new form of catechism[1], but adhered to that of the Church; rendering it

[1] ["The later years of Queen Elizabeth, and the reign of King James, and, though in a less degree, that of King Charles, produced a vast multitude of catechisms, written by independent and unauthorized individuals, which, for the most part, were composed upon very narrow, and Calvinistical principles. In reference to some of these Dr. Thomas Jackson says, 'In the meantime, I shall every day bless my Lord God, as for all others, so in particular for the great blessing bestowed upon me, that I was in a convenient age, in a happy time and place, presented by my sureties in baptism,

fully intelligible to the meanest capacities by his explanations. It may be useful withal to advert, that if in those times catechetical institution were very seasonable, it will now be much more; when principles have been exchanged for dreams and words of notions, if not for a worse season of profane contempt of Christian truth. His method of institution chiefly aimed at the enforcing exemplary virtue, and holiness of life; having much the same materials with that most useful work which he afterwards published, the Practical Catechism. But to return; besides all this, that

to ratify the vow which they made for me, and to receive the benediction of the bishop of the diocese: being first instructed in the Church's catechism, by the curate of the parish, from whose lips (though but a mere grammar scholar, and one that knew better how to read an homily, or to understand Hemingius, or the Latin Postills, than to make a sermon, in English) I learned more good lessons, than I did from many popular sermons: and to this day remember more, than men of this time of greater years shall find in many late applauded Catechisms.' And a little afterwards: 'Albeit the reverend fathers of our Church, and their suffragans, should use all possible care and diligence for performing of all that is on their parts required, yet without some better conformity of Catechisms, and reformation of such as write them, or preach doctrines conformable to them, there is small hope, that in such plenty of preachers, as now there are, this work of the Lord should prosper, half so well as it did in those times and in those dioceses, wherein there were scarce ten able preachers, besides the prebendaries of the cathedral church under whose tuition, in a manner the rest of the clergy were . . . . The writers then in most esteem were Melancthon, Bullinger, Hemingius (especially in Postills, and other *opuscula* of his,) or other writers, who were most conformable to the book of homilies, which were weekly read upon severe penalty.' Jackson's Works, vol. iii. p. 273. In like manner Wren, bishop of Ely, in his 'Answer to the Articles of Impeachment,' exhibited against him in the year 1641, by the house of commons, for some alleged crimes and misdemeanors, saith, 'That he did direct that the said catechizing should be according to the catechism of the Church of England only, which catechism is by the law of the land in the rubrics of the service-book proposed as the rule of examination for the bishop to go by, and is the best form that ever was compiled for laying the foundation and grounds of religion in the hearts and minds of unlearned Christians. He considered also, *that the great variety of catechisms which every man did in former time thrust out at his pleasure*, did distract and corrupt the minds of the people, more than any thing else, sowing in them the seeds both of error and faction. And he conceived it an unreasonable thing, that in the Church any catechizing should be publicly practised, but according to the catechism which the Church of England in her liturgy alloweth. The due observation whereof was so far from *suppressing knowledge, or introducing ignorance*, that the defendant is humbly confident it produced the quite contrary effects. For some godly and laborious ministers (by name, as he remembereth, one Mr. Crackenthoym, then parson of Burton Magna in Suffolk, and another of his diocese, neighbour with him, men otherwise unknown to this defendant) came to visit him, and told him, that they blessed God for the good, which upon half a year's experience they had found therein, professing that their people had sensibly profited more by this catechizing within that short space, for the true apprehending and understanding the grounds of religion, than they had done by their great and constant labours in preaching to them for some years before.'—Wren's Parentalia, p. 85." Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog., vol. v. p. 349.]

there might be no imaginable assistance wanting, he took care for the providing an able schoolmaster in the parish[m], which he continued during the whole time of his abode.

And as he thus laboured in the spiritual building up of souls, he was not negligent of the material fabric committed to his trust; but repaired with a very great expense (the annual charge of £100.) his parsonage-house; till from an incommodious ruin, he had rendered it a fair and pleasant dwelling, with the adherent conveniences of gardens and orchards.

While he was thus busy on his charge, though he so prodigally laid out himself upon the interests of his flock, as he might seem to have nothing left for other purposes; and his humility recommended above all things privacy and retirement to him; yet when the uses of the public called him forth, he readily obeyed the summons, and frequently preached both at St. Paul's Cross, and the visitations of his brethren the clergy, (a specimen whereof appears in print[n],) as also at the cathedral church of Chichester, where, by the unsought-for favour of the reverend father in God, Brian[o], then lord

[m] [Fulman was one of the poor boys of his parish whose education was entirely undertaken by Hammond. He must have been about eleven years of age when his benefactor, upon being obliged to quit his parish, took him with him to Oxford, where he procured a chorister's place for him at Magdalen college. He was afterwards scholar of C.C.C., and was ejected by the parliamentary visitors the year after his election, when Hammond took him for his amanuensis, and afterwards procured him a place as tutor in a family. After the restoration he became fellow of C.C.C., and afterwards rector of Mersey-Hampton in Gloucestershire. He edited the whole of his benefactor's works, in four volumes folio, and was principally concerned, though his name does not appear, in the edition of the works of King Charles I. He died in 1688.]

[n] [This sermon is entitled 'The Pastor's Motto,' and was preached to the clergy of the deanery of Shorham in Kent, at the visitation between Easter and Whitsuntide, A.D. 1639, held at St. Mary-Cray. It is in the fourth volume of the collected works, p. 541. It was first published, together with the sermon entitled 'The Poor Man's tithing,' in 1657, subjoined to the review of his annotations on the New Testament.]

[o] [This was Brian Duppa, or de Uphaugh, consecrated June 17, 1638, who was afterwards bishop of Salisbury, and after the restoration was translated to Winchester, which see he held till his death, Mar. 26, 1662. He was born at Greenwich, Mar. 10, 1588-9, became student of Christ Church, and afterwards fellow of All Souls', and dean of Christ Church. In 1634 he was made tutor to Prince Charles, and seems to have been a special favourite with the prince and his father. He was one of the divines who attended Charles I. at the treaty of Newport, and preached before him on Wednesday, Oct. 25, 1648, being the monthly fast-day, a sermon which was immediately afterwards published. By mistake, Peck, in the Desiderata Curiosa, says that it was Dr. Richard Baylie who preached this sermon. This gentleman was dean, not bishop of Salisbury.]

bishop of that see, since of Winchester, he had an interest, and had the dignity of archdeacon; which at the beginning of the late troubles falling to him, he managed with great zeal and prudence, not only by all the charms of Christian rhetoric, persuading to obedience and union; but by the force of demonstration, charging it as most indispensable duty, and (what was then not so readily believed) the greatest temporal interest of the inferior clergy: wherein the eminent importance of the truths he would enforce so far prevailed over his otherwise insuperable modesty, that in a full assembly of the clergy, as he afterwards confessed, he broke off from what he had premeditated, and out of the abundance of his heart spoke to his auditory; and by the blessing of God, to whom he attributed it, found a very signal reception.

In the year 1639, he proceeded doctor in divinity[p]; his seniority in the University, and employment in the Church, and, what perchance was a more importunate motive, the desire of eleven of his friends and contemporaries in the same house, whom not to accompany might be interpreted an affected pride and singularity, at least an unkindness, jointly persuading him to it.

His performance in the act, where he answered the doctors, was to the equal satisfaction and wonder of his hearers; a country-life usually contracting at the least an unreadiness to the dexterous management of those exercises, which was an effect undiscernible in him.

About this time he became a member of the Convocation which sat with the short parliament in 1640, as after in that which was called with the long one: nay he was named to be of the assembly of divines[q]; his invincible loyalty to his

[p] [He took his degree of D.D. Mar. 7, 1638-9.]

[q] [The assembly of divines was summoned to meet at Westminster on July 1, 1643. They consisted of one hundred and twenty individuals selected from all the different counties, the principle of selection being a disposition towards the presbyterian discipline, and hostility to the established Church; nevertheless there were some few, as Hammond, Sanderson, Brownrigg, Westfield, Hacket, Morley, Ward, Holdsworth, Usher, and others who formed an exception to this, "though even these were," says Walker (p. 30,) "mostly Calvinistic in point of doctrine." Most of these, however, either refused to sit at all, or withdrew in a short time. Hammond's nomination was soon afterwards revoked, probably from his being supposed to be concerned in the outbreak on behalf of the king, which took place at Tunbridge in the month of July.]

prince, and obedience to his mother the Church, not being so valid arguments against his nomination, as the repute of his learning and virtue were, on the other part, to have some title to him.

And now that conformity became a crime, and tumults improving into hostility and war, such a crime as had chastisements severe enough; though the committee of the country summoned him before them, and used those their best arguments of persuasion, threatenings, and reproaches, he still went on in his regular practice, and continued it till the middle of July, 1643: at which time there being in his neighbourhood about Tunbridge an attempt in behalf of the king, and his doctrine and example having had that good influence, as it was supposed, to have made many more ready to the discharge of their duty; it being defeated, the good Doctor (the malice of one who designed to succeed in his living being withal assistant) was forced to secure himself by retirement; which he did, withdrawing himself to his old tutor Dr. Buckner; to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning, in such an habit as that exigence made necessary for him, and whither not many days before his old friend and fellow pupil Dr. Oliver[r] came upon the same errand: which accident, and the necessity to leave his flock, as the Doctor afterwards frequently acknowledged, was that which did most affect him of any that he felt in his whole life; amidst which, though he was no valuer of trifles, or any thing that looked like such, he had so extraordinary a dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever afterwards forget it.

It was thus: he thought himself and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and cheerful day, when on a sudden there seemed a separation to be made, and he, with

[r] [John Oliver, originally of Merton, became a demy and afterwards fellow of Magdalen, where, says Wood, his eminence in learning, and orthodox principles in religion, being conspicuous, he was taken into the service of Dr. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and by him made his domestic chaplain. He was exactly contemporary with Hammond, and took his degree of D.D. just a month after him, April 29, 1639. He was chosen president of Magdalen in April, 1644, in the room of Dr. Frewen, promoted to the see of Lichfield. In 1647 he was ejected by the committee for the reformation of the University, and was restored May 18, 1660, being the first head of a college that was restored to his place. He was afterwards dean of Worcester, and died 27th Oct., 1661.—Wood, Ath. Ox., vol. i. p. 897.]

the far less number, to be placed at a distance from the rest; and then the clouds gathering, a most tempestuous storm arose, with thundering and lightnings, with spouts of impetuous rain, and violent gusts of wind, and whatever else might add unto a scene of horror; particularly balls of fire, that shot themselves amongst the ranks of those that stood in the lesser party: when a gentle whisper seemed to interrupt those other louder noises, saying, 'Be still, and ye shall receive no harm.' Amidst these terrors the Doctor falling to his prayers, soon after the tempest ceased, and that known cathedral-anthem began, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come away,' with which he awoke. The correspondent event of all which he found verified signally in the preservation both of himself and his friends, in doing of their duties; the which with much content he was used to mention. Beside, being himself taken to the choirs of angels at the close of that land-hurricane of ours, whereof that dismal apparition was only a faint emblem; he gave thereby too literal a completion to his dream, and the unhappy credit of bordering upon prophecy.

In this retirement the two Doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought, that a strict enquiry was made for Dr. Hammond, and a hundred pounds promised as a reward for him that should produce him: which suggestion, though they easily apprehended to have a possibility of being false, yet they concluded a necessary ground for their remove.

Upon this they resolve to be gone; and Dr. Oliver having an interest in Winchester, which was then in the king's quarters, they chose that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the way thither, Dr. Oliver, who had sent his servant before to make provision for them, was met and saluted with the news, that Dr. Frewen, president of Magdalen college, was made bishop of Lichfield; and that the college had pitched upon him as successor. This unlooked-for accident, as justly it might, put Dr. Oliver to new counsels; and since providence had found out so seasonable a relief, inclined him not to desert it, but fly rather to his preferments and advantage, than merely to his refuge, and so to divert to Oxford. To this Dr. Hammond made much diffi-

culty to assent, thinking that too public a place, and, what he more considered, too far from his living; whither, his desires strongly inclining him, he had hopes, when the present fury was allayed, to return again; and to that purpose had wrote to such friends of his as were in power, to use their interest for the procuring his security. But his letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other hand, charming him to it, he was at last persuaded; and encompassing Hampshire, with some difficulty came to Oxford; where procuring an apartment in his old college, he sought that peace in his retirement and study, which was no where else to be met withal; taking no other diversion, than what the giving encouragement and instruction to ingenious young students yielded him, (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted,) and the satisfaction which he received from the conversation of learned men; who, besides the usual store, in great number at that time, for their security, resorted thither.

Among the many eminent persons with whom he here conversed, he had particular intimacy with Dr. Potter[s], provost of Queen's college; to whom, among other fruits of his

[s] [This was Christopher Potter, who succeeded his uncle, Barnabas Potter, as provost of Queen's in 1629. Soon after, says Wood, when Dr. Laud became a rising favourite in the royal court, he, after a great deal of seeking, was made his creature, and therefore, by the precise party, he was esteemed an Arminian. He became one of the king's chaplains, and in 1635 was appointed to the deanery of Worcester, and was nominated to the deanery of Durham, Jan., 1645-6, but died before he was installed. He is said to have met with Hammond for the first time when the latter was preaching a sermon on almsgiving at St. Paul's Cross, and was so struck with what he heard as to resolve diligently to follow the counsel and expect the issue. The sermon was afterwards published, and is contained in the fourth volume of Hammond's collected works, pp. 548-556. It is there said to have been preached in St. Paul's church, before the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, on the 12th of April, A.D. 1640. The character given of him by Wood is that he was learned and religious, exemplary in his behaviour and discourse, courteous in his carriage, and of a sweet and obliging nature, and comely presence. He preached the sermon at the consecration of his uncle to the see of Carlisle, 15th March, 1628-9. The consecration took place in Ely house, Holborn; in the absence of other evidence it may be worth while to mention, that one of the consecrators was Thomas Morton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The subsequent publication of this sermon brought upon him the animadversions of an old friend of his, one Mr. Vicars, who wrote to expostulate with him on his change of opinion. Potter's reply, which is dated July 7, 1629, was published in the Cambridge collection of tracts on Predestination, in 1719. He died in college Mar. 3, 1645-6. His widow Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Charles Sonibanke, canon of Windsor, afterwards married Dr. Gerard Langbaine, his successor in the provostship.—Wood, Ath. Ox., vol. ii. p. 44.]

studies, he communicated his Practical Catechism, which for his private use he had drawn up out of those materials which he had made use of in the catechetic institution of the youth of his parish. The provost, much taken with the design, and no less with the performance, importuned him to make it public; alleging, in that lawless age the great use of supplanting the empty form of godliness, which so prevailed, by substituting of its real power and sober duties; of silencing profaneness, which then usurped the names of wit and gallantry, by enforcing the more eligible acts of the Christian's reasonable service, which was not any other way so happily to be done, as by beginning at the foundation by sound, and yet not trivial, catechetic institution.

It was not hard to convince Dr. Hammond, that it were well if some such thing were done; but that his writing would do this in any measure, or that he should suffer his name to become public, it was impossible to persuade him. The utmost he could be brought to allow of was, that his treatise was not likely to do harm, but had possibilities of doing, it might be, some good; and that it would not become him to deny that service to the world; especially if his modesty might be secured from pressure, by the concealing of him to be the author: and this Dr. Potter, that he might leave no subterfuge, undertook, and withal the whole care of, and besides the whole charge of the edition. Upon these terms, only with this difference, that Dr. Hammond would not suffer the provost to be at the entire charge, but went an equal share with him, the Practical Catechism[t] saw the light, and likewise the author remained in his desired obscurity.

But in the mean time the book finding the reception which

[t] [For particulars connected with its publication see the Editor's preface to the present volume. Wharton in the memoirs of his own life, vol. i. p. 10, says of it, "I also remember what my father told me, that after the restoration, almost all profession of seriousness in religion would have been laughed out of countenance, under pretence of the hypocrisy of the former times, had not two very excellent and serious books, written by eminent royalists, put some stop to it; I mean The whole Duty of Man, and Dr. Hammond's Practical Catechism." As another interesting instance of the estimation in which the Practical Catechism was held, Sir Thomas Herbert (Memoirs, p. 131.) relates that it was one of the two books put into his hand by the king for the duke of Gloucester, at the same time that he left Andrewes' Sermons, Laud's Conference with Fisher, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity for the Princess Elizabeth.]

it merited, the good Doctor was by the same arguments constrained to give way to the publishing of several other tracts, which he had written upon heads that were then most perverted by popular error; as of Conscience, of Scandal, of Will-Worship, of Resisting the lawful Magistrate, and of the Change of Church Government[u]; his name all this while concealed, and so preserved, till curiosity improving its guesses into confident asseverations, he was rumoured for the author, and as such published to the world by the London and Cambridge stationers, who without his knowledge reprinted those and other of his works.

In the interim a treaty being laboured by his majesty, to compose, if it were possible, the unhappy differences in Church and State; and in order thereunto the duke of Richmond and earl of Southampton being sent to London, Dr. Hammond went along as chaplain to them, where with great zeal and prudence he laboured to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: and when the treaty was solemnly appointed at Uxbridge[x], several divines being sent thither in behalf of the different parties, he, among other excellent men that adhered to the king, was made choice of to assist in that employment. And there, not to mention the debates between the commissioners, which were long since published by an honourable hand, Dr. Steward[y]

[u] [All of these were published at Oxford, in 4to., in the year 1644.]

[x] [The commissioners met on Jan. 30, 1644-5. "On the king's part," says Clarendon, "besides Dr. Steward, who was a commissioner in matters relating to the Church, there was Dr. Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Lany, afterwards bishop of Ely; Dr. Fern, afterwards bishop of Chester; Dr. Potter, then dean of Worcester, and provost of Queen's college in Oxford; and Dr. Hammond; all who, being the king's chaplains, were sent by him to attend the commissioners for their devotions, and for the other service of the Church, as the management of the treaty required; which could not be foreseen. On the parliament side, besides Mr. Alexander Henderson, who was the commissioner, Mr. Marshall, a country parson in Essex, and an eminent preacher of that party, who was the chief chaplain in the army; Mr. Vines, a parson likewise in Warwickshire, and a scholar, both of them of the assembly of divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the Church which had so often been discussed there; Mr. Cheynell, one who had been fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and two or three others, who, bearing no parts in the dispute, had not their names remembered."—Clarendon's Rebell., vol. v. p. 51.]

[y] [Richard Steward was a fellow of All Souls' college, Oxford. In 1634 he was made dean of Chichester, and soon after clerk of the closet. He was afterwards dean of St. Paul's, and succeeded Sir Henry Wotton as provost of Eton in 1640. He was also dean of the chapel royal, and afterwards dean of Westminster. He was constantly with Charles II. after the death of his father, and Clarendon says that the king had reverence for his judgment

and Mr. Henderson[z] were at first only admitted to dispute; though at the second meeting the other divines were called in; which thing was a surprise, and designed for such, to those of the king's part, who came as chaplains and private attendants on the lords; but was before projected and prepared for by those of the presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of Dr. Hammond to have Mr. Vines for his antagonist, who instead of tendering a scholastic disputation, read from a paper a long divinity lecture, wherein were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions, which were meant for arguments. Dr. Hammond perceiving this, drew forth his pen and ink, and, as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately returned in order an answer to the several suggestions, which were about forty in number: which he did with that readiness and sufficiency as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted; which amidst the disad-

on matters of religion, by the earnest recommendation of his father. The declaration which the king intended to put out in 1649 was mainly prevented by this Dr. Steward, "who," says Clarendon, (Rebell., vol. vi. p. 321,) "though a man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly grieved at the clause of admitting foreign divines into a synod that was to consult upon the Church of England, that he could not be satisfied by any arguments that could be given of 'the impossibility of any effect, or that the parliament would accept the overture; and that there could be no danger if it did, because the number of those foreign divines must be still limited by the king;' but came one morning to the chancellor, with whom he had a friendship, and protested 'he had not slept that night, out of the agony and trouble, that he, who he knew loved the Church so well, should consent to a clause so much against the honour of it;' and went from him to the king, to beseech him never to approve it." He died in 1651. Burnet (Own Times, vol. i. p. 169) says that James II. alleged that "Dr. Steward having taught him to believe a real but inconceivable presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he thought this went more than half way to transubstantiation."]

[z] [Alexander Henderson was a Scotch Presbyterian divine, who was principally concerned in drawing up "the solemn league and covenant." Clarendon (Rebell., vol. ii. p. 25) observes of him, upon occasion of the bill for taking away the votes of bishops being presented in the house of commons in 1641, that "as without doubt the archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the counsel at court, as Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall had then upon the houses; neither did all the bishops of Scotland together so much meddle in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderson had done." In 1643, he presented "the humble petition of the commissioners of the general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, met at Edinburgh, Jan. 4, 1642," to the king at Oxford. He was afterwards, in 1646, employed by the Scottish leaders, in an attempt to convert the king at Newcastle. The papers which passed between them, have been collected in "The works of King Charles the Martyr," published by Dr. Perrinchief, in folio, London, 1662. Clarendon (Rebell., vol. v. p. 409) asserts that "Henderson was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, and died of grief and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his Majesty."]

vantage of extempore against premeditation, dispelled with ease and perfect clearness all the sophisms that had been brought against him.

It is not the present work to give an account of that whole dispute, or character the merits of those worthy persons who were engaged in it, either in that or the succeeding meetings; especially since it was resolved by both parties, that the transactions of neither side should be made public. But notwithstanding this, since divers persons addicted to the defence of a side, without any further consideration of truth or common honesty, have in this particular wounded the Doctor's reputation, I shall take leave to say, that had the victories in the field, which were managed by the sword, been like this of the chamber and the tongue, a very easy act of oblivion must have atoned for them; since what never was, without much industry might be secured from being remembered. The impudent falsity raised upon the Doctor was this: that Mr. Vines[a] utterly silenced him; insomuch that he was fain to use this unheard-of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration; to swear by God and the holy angels, that though at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. Concerning this we have the Doctor's own account in a letter of his, bearing date Jan. 22, anno 1655, directed to a friend, who had advertised him of this report.

"I have formerly been told, within these few years, that there went about a story much to my disparagement, concerning the dispute at Uxbridge (for there it was, not at Holdenby) with Mr. Vines: but what it was I could never hear before. Now I do, I can, I think, truly affirm, that no

[a] [Richard Vines was educated at Magdalen college, Cambridge, became successively schoolmaster at Hinckley, and rector of Weddington in Warwickshire. At the breaking out of the civil war, he was driven from his parish and forced to take shelter at Coventry. He was considered a good speaker, and so was chosen of the assembly of divines. Whilst in London, he was minister of St. Clement Danes, and vicar of St. Lawrence, Jewry; afterwards he removed to Watton, in Hertfordshire, and was appointed by the earl of Manchester in 1645, to the mastership of Pembroke hall, Cambridge. It is probable the story alluded to in the text of Vines silencing Hammond, did not originate with the former, who appears to have been too conscientious a person to have stated as matter of fact what he must have known was not true. He was employed by the parliament in most of the negociations with the king, and appears to have been the principal speaker at the treaty of Newport, in matters relating to ecclesiastical affairs. He was one of the London ministers who came to offer their services to the king on the morning of the day on which he was beheaded.]

one part of it hath any degree of truth, save only that Mr. Vines did dispute against, and I defend, Episcopacy. For as to the argument mentioned, I did neither then, nor at any time of my life, that I can remember, ever hear it urged by any. And for my pretended answer, I am both sure that I never called God and His holy angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath, that I know of, (and sure there was then none imposed on me,) and that I was not at that meeting conscious to myself of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to wave the answer of any thing objected. A story of that whole affair I am yet able to tell you; but I cannot think it necessary: only this I may add, that after it I went to Mr. Marshall[b], in my own and brethren's names, to demand three things; 1. Whether any argument proposed by them remained unanswered, to which we might yield farther answer. 2. Whether they intended to make any report of the past disputation; offering, if they would, to join with them in it, and to perfect a conference by mutual consent, after the manner of that between Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hart[c]: both which being rejected, the third was, to promise each other that nothing should be afterwards published by either without the consent or knowledge of the other party: and that last he promised for himself and his brethren, and so we parted."

But while these things were in doing, a canonry in Christ

[b] [This was Stephen Marshall, minister of Finchingfield in Essex, whose initials form the first two letters of the word 'Smectymnuus.' He adopted independent principles, and was in 1647 appointed with Joseph Caryl chaplain to the commissioners sent by the parliament to the king, at Newcastle, whence he accompanied them to Holdenby. Both these gentlemen, but especially Marshall, rudely pressed their service on his Majesty, and on one occasion Marshall proceeded to say grace, though the king persisted in saying it himself, and, says Wood, (Ath. Ox., vol. ii. p. 375,) "had eaten up some part of his dinner before Marshall had ended the blessing." He was one of the principal speakers on ecclesiastical matters at the treaty of Newport.]

[c] [This conference was held in 1583. An account of it was published, as appears by mutual consent, in 1588, entitled 'The sum of a conference between Joh. Rainolds and Jo. Hart, touching the Head and the Faith of the Church.' It was reprinted in 1598, and again in 1609, and translated into Latin by H. Parry, of C.C.C., Oxon, afterwards bishop of Worcester, and published at Oxford, in folio, 1619. Of the two disputants Rainolds was the well-known puritan, president of C.C.C., Oxon., Hart, after being educated in Oxford, went abroad and changed his religion. He was ordained priest and sent to England, whence he was banished with several other priests in 1584.—Wood, Ath. Ox., vol. i. p. 242.]

Church[d] in Oxford became vacant, which the king immediately bestowed on Dr. Hammond, though then absent; whom likewise the University chose their public orator: which preferments, though collated so freely, and in a time of exigence, he was with much difficulty wrought upon by his friends to accept, as minding nothing so much as a return to his old charge at Penshurst. But the impossibility of a sudden opportunity of going thither being evident unto him, he at last accepted; and in March 1645 after, made chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, probably the last person assumed to that service.

But these new employments no way diverted him from his former tasks; for, according to his wonted method, he continued to address remedies to the increasing mischiefs of the times, and published the tracts of Superstition[e], Idolatry, Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness, Death-bed Repentance, View of the Directory; as also, in answer to a Romanist, who taking advantage of the public ruin, hoped to erect thereon trophies to the capitol, his 'vindication of the Lord Falkland,' who was not long before fallen in another kind of war[f].

But now the king's affairs declining every where, and Oxford being forced upon articles to surrender to the enemy, where, after the expiration of six months, all things were to be left to the lust and fury of a servile, and therefore insolent, conqueror; though he foresaw a second and more fatal siege approaching, a leaguer of encamped inevitable mischiefs; yet he remitted nothing of his wonted industry, writing his tracts

[d] [This canonry had become vacant by the death of Dr. William Strode, which took place 10th Mar., 1644-5. He was public orator, and had been installed canon of Christ Church 1st July, 1638, "before which time," says Wood (Ath. Ox., vol. ii. p. 35), "Charles I. had settled a canonry of this church upon him that should be lawfully elected public orator." Nevertheless Hammond was appointed to the canonry by the king, and in virtue of the appointment became public orator in 1645.]

[e] [The tracts 'Of superstition,' 'Of sins of weakness and wilfulness,' 'Of a late or death-bed repentance,' and 'A view of the new directory, and vindication of the ancient liturgy,' were all published at Oxford, in 4to., in the year 1645. The tract 'Of idolatry' was not published till 1646, in which year appeared also the vindication of the Lord Falkland, which was entitled, 'A view of some exceptions which have been made by a Romanist to the Lord Viscount Falkland's Discourse of the infallibility of the Church of Rome,' and is dated 'from my study, Sept. 23, 1645.' The attack upon Lord Falkland's book had been published in the preceding year, under the title 'A treatise apologetical touching the infallibility of the Church Catholic.']

[f] [He fell at the battle of Newbury, Sept. 20, 1643.]

of 'Fraternal Correption,' and 'Power of the Keys,' and Apologies by Letter against the pulpit-calumnies of Mr. Cheynel[g], and the exceptions taken at his Practical Catechism[h].

When the calamities of an improsperous war had prepared some for a resort to heaven, there appearing nothing like security on earth; and others were under that violent temptation which has exercised the best men in all ages, to repine at the unequal distributions of Providence, which brought Majesty to the dust, and set rebellion in the throne; it seeming reasonable to cast off that religion, which God Almighty had first Himself deserted; to march out of our opinions as we had done out of our castles, and dismantle our cause as we had done our garrisons: he with great charity and skill adapted applications to both these equally pressing, though most distant occasions; for he not only

[g] [Francis Cheynel was by the intercession of his mother (then the widow of Dr. Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, made to Dr. Brent the warden of Merton, who had married Martha the only daughter of the said bishop by his first wife) elected fellow of Merton in 1629. In 1641 he was refused his grace for the degree of B.D., for preaching against Arminianism as he expressed it—"that is," says Wood, "against the king's declaration." In 1648, he took the degree April 12, and was granted precedence as if he had taken it seven years before. And the next day, when the chancellor and visitors went from college to college to give the new heads possession, they put him in possession of the president's lodgings at St. John's college. He was also made Margaret Professor of Divinity, but did not retain either place long. He was one of the assembly of divines in 1643. Wood says, "that he was troubled with a weakness in the head, which some in his time called craziness." On Sept. 10, 1646, he with six other divines was dispatched to Oxford, with power to preach in any pulpit in Oxford as often as they pleased. It was at this time that he publicly assailed the Practical Catechism at Carfax and St. Mary's, as has been related in the preface to this volume. He died in Sept. 1665, "in a condition," says Wood, "little better than distracted." There is a story told of him that at the burial of Chillingworth, he stood at the grave with the 'Religion of Protestants' in his hand, and made a speech, at the conclusion of which he threw the book insultingly on the corpse in the grave, saying, "Get thee gone then thou cursed book, which hast seduced so many precious souls: get thee gone thou corrupt, rotten book, earth to earth and dust to dust: get thee gone unto the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author and see corruption."]

[h] [The first three were printed in 1647. The last in 1648. In the course of the same year, 1647, he republished his tract 'Of resisting the lawful magistrate under colour of religion,' with an appendix of four small treatises—'Of the word κρῖμα,' 'Of the zealots among the Jews,' 'Of taking up the cross,' 'A vindication of Christ's reprehending St. Peter from the exceptions of Master Marshall.' About this time Hammond, in his capacity of public orator, wrote to Sir Thomas Fairfax, requesting his endeavours with the parliament that the 'article of surrender' might be punctually observed. This step was taken by the University in consequence of the order of 2nd July, 1646, proposing that no head of a house, or fellow, &c., should be admitted to any place of profit or preferment in the University until the pleasure of parliament should be known.]

by writing endeavoured to establish those whom the ill circumstances of the times had inclined to virtue, and reduce them who were unhappily undermined or shaken; but also by conversation and familiar address, he industriously pursued this blest design, and very effectually in several remarkable instances attained it.

I have been frequently told by a noble lord, who served the late king in great employments through the war, with most remarkable courage, conduct, and fidelity, and afterwards followed the fortune of our present sovereign, during his exile, with the same constancy and duty: that a little before he marched out of Oxford, Dr. Hammond though a stranger applied himself unto him, and prefacing his discourse with the disasters which now had fallen upon the royal cause, and the temptations which probably would come therefrom, particularly to those who were in his lordship's condition, and would be driven into a foreign country, where they should see a glittering religion, recommended by prosperity and outward pomp, as also the insinuations of artifice and falsehood, and bold obtruding dictates: methods never wanting to the factors for the Roman cause; he enforced upon him as the indispensable obligation, upon all that own themselves Christians, of taking up the cross, and cheerfully receiving whatever sufferings shall prove the price of duty; so also instructed him at large, in the grounds on which the Church of England stood bottomed, both absolutely in herself, and relatively in opposition to popery; which he backed with such conviction of reason, and obligingness of concern, that the same honourable person, who still lives an imitable pattern of piety and virtue in this profligate age, does to this day make liberal acknowledgments of the benefit he took, and yet reaps from those documents so long since received.

In the mean time his sacred Majesty, sold by his Scottish[1] into the hands of his English subjects, and brought a prisoner to Holdenby, where, stripped of all his royal attendants, and

[1] [The king had left Oxford on the 27th April, 1646, and Oxford opened its gates July 10th of the same year. He reached the Scottish camp on the 5th May, and immediately afterwards was conducted to Newcastle, where the celebrated controversy took place between the king and Henderson. The king's name was not mentioned in the negociation which took place between the Scots and the English parliament; but in reality £400,000 was paid for the retirement of the Scottish army and the surrender of the king.]

denied that common charity, which is afforded the worst of malefactors, the assistance of divines, though he with importunity desired it; he being taken from the parliament commissioners into the possession of the army, at last obtained that kindness from them, (who were to be cruel at another rate,) which was withheld by the two houses, and was permitted the service of some few of his chaplains, whom he by name had sent for, and among them of Dr. Hammond.

Accordingly the good Doctor attended on his master in the several removes of Woburn, Caversham, and Hampton Court[k];

[k] [The movements of the king and his attendants are not very accurately described. He arrived at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, on Tuesday, Feb. 16, 1646-7, and the very next day wrote to the speaker of the house of peers, requesting that at least two of the following divines may be allowed to attend him, naming the bishops of London, Salisbury, and Peterborough, Dr. Sheldon, clerk of the closet, Dr. Marsh, dean of York, Drs. Sanderson, Bailey, Fuller, Hammond, Heywood, Beale, and Taylor. Upon the king's repeating his request, Mar. 7, this is denied on the ground that none of these had taken the covenant. The king's removal from Holdenby, which transferred him from the custody of the parliament to that of the army, took place on Friday, June 4. That night the king passed at Hinchinbrook, near Huntingdon, and the next at Childersley, where on the following Monday, June 7, the king had an interview with Fairfax, Cromwell, and other officers, who the next day permitted his removal to Newmarket, where he remained guarded by two regiments of horse till after June 21. He is at Royston June 25, and at Hatfield the next day. Here he is joined the same evening by the duke of Richmond, who brought Hammond and Sheldon with him, whose attendance had probably been allowed him at the interview with Fairfax at Childersley. Their removal is ordered by the house of commons June 28, but this order was not obeyed, as it appears that July 1, a complaint is laid before the lords, that these two had of late used the Common Prayer, and officiated with divers superstitious gestures before the king, contrary to the Directory, for which they are ordered to appear forthwith at the bar of the house, to answer such matters as should be objected against them. After this we still find them with the king, who, July 3, removed from Windsor to Caversham. And by a letter of Fairfax's to the speaker, dated Reading, July 8, it appears that these two chaplains had been selected as persons "who would not do ill offices to prejudice the peace of the kingdom," and that even their attendance was only granted "upon his Majesty's continued importunity for it." The king's next removal is towards the end of July, to Woburn, and thence, Aug. 2, to Stoke, near Windsor, thence to Oatlands, and thence Aug. 23, to Hampton Court. The date of the king's escape from Hampton Court is Nov. 11. He arrived at Titchfield, a seat of Lord Southampton's, the next day, and the day after was conveyed to the Isle of Wight. In a letter to Fairfax from Carisbrook castle dated Nov. 27, 1647, the king informs the general that three of his chaplains, Sheldon, Holdsworth, and Heywood, had just arrived, requesting the same protection that formerly they had. From this it would appear that the two latter had been allowed to attend the king previously, unless the king has hastily written the name of Heywood for Hammond. Hammond must have arrived soon after, for he preached before the king on St. Andrew's day, as appears by the commencement of the sermon, "The day is the third of Advent." It seems probable the sermon was intended for Advent Sunday, the text being taken from the first lesson for the evening service of that day; the same volume of Hammond's Sermons, contains another sermon from a text which is taken from the first lesson of the morning service, which is there said to have been prepared but not preached at Carisbrook castle. Walton, in his

as also thence into the Isle of Wight[1], where he continued till Christmas 1647; at which time his Majesty's attendants were again put from him, and he amongst the rest[m].

Life of Sanderson, speaks as if Sanderson, and Morley, and Juxon, were also with the king at this time. He is perhaps confusing this year with the next. Clarendon too says, "that at Newmarket the king was allowed the attendance of Hammond, Sanderson, Morley, and Sheldon." The king's attendants were removed from him, Dec. 27.]

[1] [The king's choice of the Isle of Wight was determined by the recent appointment of Colonel Robert Hammond, nephew of Dr. Hammond, to the governorship. This officer seems to have become alarmed at the posture of affairs in 1647, and in consequence to have retired from the army to a more quiet situation. Of his early life little is known, beyond the fact that he was in October, 1644, tried for having killed in a duel Major Gray, a brother officer, and acquitted on the ground of the greatness of the provocation. His uncle seems to have had some influence over him, and introduced him to the king at Hampton Court, and it was probably to prevent this influence that Dr. Hammond was removed from the king some time before Christmas 1647. It is possible also this may have been the reason why Hammond was kept a prisoner with Sheldon in Oxford, in 1648, when the other expelled members of the University were banished from the place. In July, 1648, Charles expresses himself thus, "that the colonel was a man of honour and had carried himself civilly and respectively to him." "Afterwards," says Wood, "it was believed that he forfeited the king's good opinion of him, by that uncomely act of looking into his Majesty's scrutoire of letters, with a design to discover something, but did not." From the few notices of him that we have, he may perhaps fairly be considered to be, as he has been described, "a young man of good parts and principles," though this praise must be qualified by the charitable addition that he was very weak. He appears to have been on intimate terms with Cromwell, who in his letters always addresses him as "Dear Robin." The Protector seems to have known his man, and writes to him in a strain of more than ordinary cant and hypocrisy. One of these letters, dated Nov. 25, 1648, is peculiarly interesting, as throwing considerable light on the character of the person addressed, and shewing him in a very amiable point of view. It is in answer to a letter of Colonel Hammond's, in which he had enquired as to his experiences, alluding at the same time to something which was a burden to his own conscience. Cromwell takes advantage of the religious turn of his friend, and tries to represent to him that he had been providentially involved in matters of state, by the very means which he had used to avoid them. The letter is too long for insertion here, but the curious reader will find it in Ashburnham's Narrative. Two days after this, on Monday, Nov. 27, Colonel Hammond was preparing to quit the Isle of Wight, having been summoned in haste to Windsor by the Lord General Fairfax. On the same day Fairfax's letter, enclosed in one from Colonel Hammond, was presented in the house of commons by Cromwell, upon which a debate ensued, which terminated in a vote that Hammond should be desired to stay in the Isle of Wight, and attend his charge there till further orders. It is scarcely possible to avoid the inference that Fairfax was acting by Cromwell's advice at the very time the latter was writing the hypocritical letter before alluded to. One more at least of this family was in the army of the parliament, and held the rank of Lieutenant-General, viz. Thomas, brother of the divine, and uncle of the colonel. Hammond makes allusion to these two and perhaps to others of his family in his 'Humble address to Lord Fairfax,' where he speaks of "having among you some of the nearest of my blood, whose eternal weal must needs be very dear and precious to me." Thomas Hammond afterwards sat in judgment on the king, and died before the Restoration.]

[m] ["Thither," says Herbert, (Memoirs, p. 39,) "so soon as the king being there was rumoured, repaired several of his old servants and some new, such as his Majesty at that time thought fit to nominate (for some weeks there was no prohibition, any that were

Sequestered, from this his melancholic, but most desired, employment, he returned again to Oxford; where being sub-dean, an office to which belongs much of the scholastic government of the college, and soon after proved to be the whole, the dean, for the guilt of asserting the rights of his Majesty and University in his station of vice-chancellor, being made a prisoner[n], he undertook the entire management of all affairs, and discharged it with great sufficiency and admirable diligence, leaving his beloved studies to interest himself not only in moderating at divinity disputations, which was then an immediate part of his task, but in presiding at the more youthful exercises of sophistry, themes, and declamations; redeeming still at night these vacuities of the day, scarce ever going to bed till after midnight, sometimes not till three in the morning, and yet certainly rising to prayers at five.

Nor did his inspection content itself in looking to the general performances of duty, but descending to an accurate survey of every one's both practice and ability; so that this large society of scholars appeared his private family, he scarce leaving any single person without some mark or other of both his charity and care; relieving the necessitous in their several wants of money and of books, shaming the vicious to sobriety, encouraging the ingenuous to diligence, and finding stratagems to ensnare the idle to a love of study. But above all

desirous to see his Majesty might without opposal), or that, according to the duty of their place, were to give their attendance. His Majesty had free liberty to ride and recreate himself any where within the Isle when and where he pleased: the only want was that his chaplains, Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Hammond, were not long tolerated to perform their office, which was no little grief to him, in regard he had no disposition to hear those that exercised according to the directory which was then practised; but hindered not his private devotion, which every day he carefully attended, and the Lord's day he observed by reading the Bible and other books, fitting him for prayer and meditation in his oratory." He adds, that about the middle of February the king's attendants were removed. Elsewhere (p. 66) he says, "I formerly hinted, that during the time that Dr. Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Hammond, his Majesty's chaplains in ordinary, were permitted to wait at Carisbrook castle, they performed the service afore the king: howbeit their stay was but short, the governor giving them unexpectedly a dismiss, so as the king thenceforth was chaplain to himself, not thinking fit to accept any minister of the presbytery, albeit he returned them thanks and was civil to them."]

[n] [Information was given to the lords, Oct. 6, that Dr. Fell took upon him to execute the vice-chancellor's place, disobeying all ordinances and powers of the parliament. Whereupon he was declared no vice-chancellor, and it was ordered that he should be sent for as a delinquent, to answer the same at the bar of that house.]

he endeavoured to prepare his charge for the reception of the impending persecution; that they might adorn their profession, and not at the same time suffer for a cause of righteousness, and as evil-doers.

To this end he both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse; and, beside that, received them to his weekly private office of fasting and humiliation.

But now the long-expected ruin breaking in with its full weight and torrent, the visitors, chafed with their former disappointments and delays, coming with hunters' stomachs, and design to boot, for to seize first, and then devour the prey, by a new method of judicature, being to kill, and then take possession; the excellent Doctor became involved in the general calamity[o]. And being convened before the pretended visitors, he was examined by them, whether he would submit to the visitation, or own the power of the parliament therein? as also if he were not one of the delegates of the University, and helped to frame and pass those reasons presented in convocation June 1[p], against the power of the parliament to visit? Lastly, whether he as sub-dean of Christ Church, had published the orders sent by the committee of lords and commons, to remove several delinquents of that society, according to the said orders? To which though he returned no other reply, than "that he did not conceive himself obliged to answer those questions thus proposed to him,"—and surely there lay such exceptions against the frame of those interrogatories, as could not well admit of any other reply; for instance, besides those usurpers having no jurisdiction over him to oblige him to make any answer, there was the manifest iniquity of requiring an unaccused person to accuse himself, a thing by that party with

[o] [Towards the latter end of Dec., 1647, Fell, Gardiner, Iles, and Morley were expelled from Christ Church. Why Hammond was spared does not appear. He, as sub-dean, was ordered to publish the ejectment of Fell from the deanery, and positively refused to do so. He was not himself ejected till Mar. 30, 1648.]

[p] [These reasons were printed in five sheets and a half in 4to., "and were for the most part drawn up," says Wood, "by Sanderson." The title was 'Reasons of their present judgment concerning, (1). The solemn league and covenant. (2). The negative oath. (3). The ordinances concerning discipline and worship approved by general consent, in a full convocation, on the 1st June, 1647.'—Wood, Ath. Ox., vol. i. p. 2.]

all vehemence declaimed against in the oath *ex officio;* and farther, there was no such thing in the world as the matter of their second question, I mean, reasons presented in convocation June 1, against the power of the parliament to visit; the immortal, and never to be confuted reasons which were that day past, were against the taking of the covenant and negative oath, and owned that and no other title,—but notwithstanding his inoffensive and cautious return to those ill-laid demands, immediately, it being the Monday before Easter, an accusation was sent up to the committee at London, and the same week a vote passed, and returned hither, that Dr. Hammond with some others, particularly Dr. Sheldon[q], then warden of All Souls, late lord archbishop of Canterbury, should be removed from their places for their high contempt of the authority of parliament. And the fury of these godly men who called themselves visitors was such, that the vigils of an Easter, and the charity which that holy season would invite to, could not put off the execution of that sentence, which they had with so much haste and industry obtained. And therefore the next moment after the order was come unto their hands, they solemnly marched to Christ Church hall attended with their janizaries, a guard of musketeers (a fit equipage for those divines who had blown the trumpet for war, and were the preachers of an armed Gospel), and sending their mandatory with a musketeer to Dr. Hammond's lodging, commanded him to appear before them, where the whole business was, to hear himself declared no orator of the University, nor canon of Christ Church, unless perhaps the malice of these good men had

[q] [Gilbert Sheldon, the son of a menial servant of Gilbert earl of Shrewsbury, was born July 19, 1598. He was entered at Trinity college, Oxford, and in 1622 was elected fellow of All Souls'. He was recommended to Charles I. by Lord Coventry, whose domestic chaplain he was, as a person well versed in politics. In 1635 he was chosen warden of All Souls', and soon afterwards became one of the chaplains in ordinary and clerk of the closet to his Majesty. At the restoration he was made dean of the chapel royal, and was nominated to succeed Juxon in the see of London. He was the first bishop consecrated after the restoration, being one of the five consecrated on the festival of SS. Simon and Jude, 1660, in Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster abbey. The conference between the episcopal clergy and the presbyterian divines, in 1661, concerning alterations to be made in the liturgy, was held at his lodgings. He managed for Juxon the affairs of the whole province till the death of the archbishop in 1663, when he was translated to Canterbury, and in 1667 was elected chancellor of the University of Oxford, but was never installed. He died in 1677.—Wood, Ath. Ox., vol. ii. p. 678.]

one farther stratagem, to rob him of the next day's Sacrament, and discompose him from that serenity of mind which was necessary for the due partaking of the holy Eucharist; which yet was a fond attempt, it being a much easier thing for his implacable enemies to ruin than provoke him; and plunder his estate, than take away his constancy and patience. But whereas the then usual law of expulsion[r] was immediately to banish into the wide world by beat of drum, enjoining to quit the town within twenty-four hours, upon pain of being taken and used as spies, and not to allow the unhappy exiles time for the dispose either of their private affairs, or stating the accounts of their respective colleges or pupils; the reverend Dr. Sheldon, late lord archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Hammond, were submitted to a contrary fate[s], and by an order from a committee of parliament were restrained and voted to be prisoners in that place, from which all else were so severely driven. But such was the authority and command of exemplary virtue, that the person designed to succeed in the canonry of Christ Church[t], though he had accepted of the place at London, and done his exercise for it at Oxford, acting as public orator in flattering there the then-pretending chancellor, yet had not courage to pursue his undertaking, but voluntarily relinquished that infamous robbery, and adhered to a less scandalous one in the country. And then the officer, who was commanded to take Dr. Sheldon

[r] [The date of his expulsion from the canonry was March 30, 1648. "The accusations laid against him were his refusing to submit to the visitors' power, his being concerned in drawing up the reasons which were presented to the convocation against the authority of that visitation, and his refusing to publish the visitors' orders for the expulsion of several of the members of Ch. Ch. Of all which notice having been given by the visitors to the committee of London, the committee immediately despatched back orders to them to dispossess him and several others, which as soon as they had received, they marched with a guard, though it was then the vigil of Easter, to Christ Church hall, from thence sent a musqueteer to the Doctor's lodgings, and made him a prisoner for about ten weeks in Oxford." —Walker, Sufferings of Clergy, part i. p. 103.]

[s] [Sheldon and Hammond appear to have kept in correspondence with the king; as the author of the life of Dr. Edward Pocock asserts, that it was at their persuasion the king was induced to appoint him to the Hebrew Professorship at Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Morris, Mar. 27, 1648.—Twells' Life of Pocock, p. 106.]

[t] [This was Edward Corbet, M.A., fellow of Merton college, who had been one of the assembly of divines, and was appointed in 1646 one of the preachers in Oxford to preach the loyal scholars into obedience to the parliament. Wood says, "he gave up his place of public orator and canon of Ch. Ch., being a person of conscience and honesty." His successor was Ralph Button, M.A., fellow of Merton coll.]

and him into custody, upon their designed removal, Colonel Evelin, then governor of Wallingford castle, (though a man of as opposite principles to Church and Churchmen as any of the adverse party,) wholly declined the employment; solemnly protesting, that if they came to him, they should be entertained as friends, and not as prisoners.

But these remorses proved but of little effect; the prebend of Christ Church being suddenly supplied with a second choice, and Oxford itself being continued the place of their confinement: where accordingly the good Doctor remained, though he were demanded by his Majesty to attend him in the Isle of Wight, at the treaty there[u], which then was again rein-

[u] [The king having forgotten, in his letter to the houses of parliament concerning the treaty at Newport, dated Carisbrook, Aug. 16, 1648, to mention his wish to have his two chaplains with him, Colonel Hammond sent a letter after the commissioners, informing them that the king wished Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond to attend him, and this request was granted by the lords, but denied by the commons. Subsequently, Aug. 28, the king applies again for these two divines together with Juxon, Duppa, Sanderson, Holdsworth, Turner, and Heywood. Of these all except Hammond, Sheldon, and Holdsworth were allowed, the alleged reason for the exception being that these three were under restraint. The king afterwards signified his wish to have the attendance of the bishops of Armagh, Exeter, Rochester, and Worcester, together with Drs. Ferne and Morley, and this request was complied with. For a very interesting private narrative of the transactions during the treaty of Newport, including a remarkable alleged cure of the king's evil, see Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, lib. x.

Herbert, in arguing for the genuineness of *εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ*, says, (Memoirs, p. 43,) "And at this time it was, as is presumed, he composed his book called *Suspiria Regalia*, published soon after his death, and entitled, 'The King's Pourtraiture in his solitudes and sufferings,' which MS. Mr. Herbert found amongst those books his Majesty was pleased to give him, those excepted which he bequeathed to his children, hereafter mentioned, in regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not see the king write that book, his Majesty being always private when he writ, and those of his servants never coming into the bedchamber, when the king was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his handwriting in other things, found it so very like, as induces the belief that it was his own handwriting, having seen much of the king's writing before; and to instance particulars in that his Majesty's translation of Dr. Sanderson, the late bishop of Lincoln's book, *de Juramentis*, or like title, concerning oaths, all of it translated into English, and writ with his own hand; and which in his bedchamber he was pleased to shew his servants, Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Herbert, and commanding them to examine it with the original, they found it accurately translated; which his Majesty not long after shewed the bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, and also Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sheldon, his Majesty's chaplains in ordinary, which first and last were afterwards archbishops of Canterbury, such time as they waited upon him at Newport in the Isle of Wight, during the treaty." Again, (Ib. p. 70,) he says, "His Majesty, as soon as he was advertised that the commissioners were on their way, removed from Carisbrook, which was to him a place of cares, to a gentleman's house in Newport, which was accommodated to his business so well as that small place would afford, albeit disproportionate and of small receipt for a court. The king's old servants having their liberty to attend, several lords and gentlemen of the bedchamber, viz., the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, lord high chamberlain, with others of

forced. The pretence, upon which both he and the reverend Dr. Sheldon were refused, was, that they were prisoners; and probably the gaining that was the cause why they were so. But notwithstanding the denial of a personal attendance, the excellent prince required that assistance, which might consist with absence; and at this time sent for a copy of that sermon[x], which almost a year before he had heard preached in that place: the which sermon his Majesty, and thereby the public, received with the accession of several others delivered upon various occasions.

the nobility, likewise repaired thither, as also the groom of the bedchamber, pages of the back stairs, and other servants that had offices; all which were permitted their attendance. Several of the king's chaplains came thither also, viz., Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Juxon, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, as also Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Mr. Holborn, Mr. Palmer, and Vaughan, &c. and with the commissioners came Mr. Marshall, Mr. John Carill, Mr. Richard Vines, and Mr. Seaman. Mr. Nye was there also, and some others, who as occasion required, preached before the commissioners; and albeit the king would not accept of them amongst his chaplains, either praying or preaching, his Majesty was nevertheless affable to them, and said they were welcome, always desiring, as he has published, those pious assistances which holy and good ministers, either prelates or presbyters, could afford him, especially in those extremities which God had pleased to permit some of his subjects to reduce him to. Great rejoicing there was on all hands for this convention, and fair hopes appeared that God would vouchsafe to give His blessing to it. The court being thus settled, and the most convenient house Newport could afford, prepared (the town indeed is large and of many streets, but the building none of the best, yet gave sufficient accommodation to that great concourse of men, as also to some foot companies that were quartered there), the king, so soon as the lords and gentlemen that came from the two houses of parliament had kissed his Majesty's hand, and reposed a little while after their land and sea travel, met them at the appointed place, where being set, the king under a state at the end of the room, and the parliament commissioners at some distance on either side the board, several lords and the king's chaplains, viz. Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, and the bishop of London, as also Dr. Morley, standing behind the king's chair; he forthwith entered to treat with them upon their proposals, and a fair progress was made therein by his Majesty's ready condescension, especially in what related to civil affairs; wherein the commissioners were, pursuant to their instructions, principally concerned."

It is certain that Herbert's description cannot apply to the commencement of the treaty, for it appears that Nov. 1, in consideration of the time for the treaty being nearly at an end, the king requested that the primate of Armagh, the bishop of Exeter, bishop of Worcester, bishop of Rochester, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Morley, might be admitted unto him with all convenient speed, and the request was complied with by a vote of both houses, that Dr. Usher, Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Warner, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Morley, should have leave to go to the king. Herbert probably confuses one day with another, writing as he does from memory, thirty years afterwards, and moreover is incorrect in speaking of Hammond and Sheldon being present at all.]

[x] [This sermon was entitled 'The Christian's obligation to peace and charity; delivered in an Advent sermon at Carisbrook castle, an. 1647,' and was published with nine other sermons. In the dedication of the volume, which is dated Sept. 16, 1648, Hammond states that the king had sent for the sermon twelve weeks before, a period which was antecedent to the first request of the king's about the attendance of his chaplains at the treaty of Newport.]

Dr. Hammond having continued about ten weeks in his restraint in Oxford, where he began to actuate his design of writing annotations on the New Testament, (nor was it disproportionate, that those sacred volumes, a great part of which were wrote in bonds, should be first commented upon by the very parallel suffering, and that the work itself should be so dedicated, and the expositor fitted for his task by being made like the authors,) by the interposition of his brother-in-law, Sir John Temple[y], he had licence granted to be removed to a more acceptable confinement, to Clapham in Bedfordshire, the house in which his worthy friend Sir Philip Warwick[z] lived: where soon after his arrival, that horrid mockery of justice, the rape and violence of all that is sacred, made more abominable by pretending to right and piety, the trial of the king, drew on; and he being in no other capacity to interpose than by writing, drew up an address[a] to the general and council of officers, and trans-

[y] [Sir John Temple, Kt., was eldest son of Sir William Temple, sometime provost of Trinity college, Dublin. He was born in 1600, and was knighted by King Charles I., Feb. 23, 1640, appointed master of the rolls in Ireland, and sworn of the privy council there. He married Mary, daughter of Dr. Hammond, and sister of the divine, by whom he had five children, of whom four survived him, the celebrated Sir William Temple, Sir John Temple, Henry, and Martha. His great intimacy with the earl of Leicester should have been mentioned by Fell, on occasion of the earl's presenting Hammond to the rectory of Penshurst; the manner in which it is related, leaving the reader to suppose that Hammond was a perfect stranger to the earl. At the breaking out of the rebellion, Sir John was looked upon as one of the great partisans of the English parliament. He afterwards sat in the English house of commons as member for Chichester, but was *secluded* in Dec. 1648, for voting that the king's concessions from the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for a treaty of peace. He resumed his office of master of the rolls in Ireland in 1653. After the restoration he sat with his eldest son William for the county of Carlow, his second son John being returned for the borough. He was the author of the "History of the Irish Rebellion," published in 4to. 1646. His son Henry received his name from his godfather, Henry Hammond, and was mentioned in Hammond's will. His eldest son, Sir William Temple, who was born in 1628, was educated in the house of his uncle at Penshurst, till they were obliged to quit. An interesting incident is related in Courtenay's Memoirs of Sir William Temple, vol. i. p. 25, of his having resolved to consult his uncle as to his political conduct, and arriving at Westwood the day after his funeral. For further information see note (I) in the Biographia Britannica, vol. vi. p. 3919.]

[z] [Sir Philip Warwick, son of Thomas Warwick, one of the organists of the chapel royal, was secretary to the lord treasurer, Dr. Juxon, bishop of London. He sat for the town of Reading, in the parliament which began Nov. 3, 1640, but retired from it and sat in the parliament at Oxford in 1643. He was one of the commissioners appointed to treat for the surrender of Oxford in 1646, and in 1648 attended the king in the Isle of Wight. After the restoration he became secretary to Thomas, earl of Southampton, lord treasurer of England. He died in 1683, at the age of 74.—Wood, Ath. Ox., vol. i. p. 895.]

[a] [The address to Fairfax is dated Jan. 15, 1648. As the date on the title-page is 1649, it cannot have been

mitted it to them. And when that unexampled VILLAINY found this excuse, that it was such as could be pleaded for, and men in cool blood would dare to own and justify, he affixed his reply to the suggestions of Ascham and Goodwin[b]. And now although he indulged to his just and almost infinite griefs, which were transported to the utmost bounds of sober passion, the affectionate personal respect he bore unto that glorious victim being added to the detestation due unto the guilt itself, of which no man was more sensible than he who had strange antipathies to all sin, he gave not up himself to an unactive, dull amazement; but with the redoubled use of fasting, tears, and solemn prayer, he resumed his wonted studies; and besides his fitting the "Annotations" for the press[c], and his little tract of the "Reasonableness of Christian Religion," he now composed his Latin one against Blondel in behalf of Episcopacy. As to the first of which, (his "Annotations,") the manner of its birth and growth was thus.

Having written in Latin two large volumes in quarto, of the way of interpreting the New Testament, with reference to the customs of the Jews, and of the first heretics in the Christian Church, and of the heathens, especially in the Grecian games, and above all the importance of the Hellenistical dialect, into which he had made the exactest search, (by which means, in a manner, he happened to take in all the difficulties of that sacred book;) he began to consider, that it might be more useful to the English reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and set every observation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the text. And having some years before collated several Greek copies of the New Testament, observed

published till after the death of the king.]

[b] [The allusion here is to a tract published by Antony Ascham, Lond. 8vo. 1648, entitled, 'A discourse wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the confusions and revolutions of government.' Ascham is not alluded to by name in the tract which is entitled 'A vindication of Dr. Hammond's Address, &c., from the exceptions of Eutactus Philodemius in two particulars.' Whilst the pamphlet was in the press, Goodwin published his ὑβριστοδίκαι, and in replying to this, the author added above twenty pages. It was published in 1650, in the usual small 4to. size.]

[c] [The first edition of the Annotations was published in octavo in 1653, and with a new title-page in 1656. The Δεύτεραι φροντίδες, or Review of the Paraphrase and Annotations, also in octavo in 1657. The folio of 1659 is called 'Second edition enlarged.' It had reached an eighth edition in 1702. The 'Reasonableness of Christian religion' was first published in duodecimo in 1650.]

the variation of our English from the original, and made an entire translation of the whole for his private use; being thus prepared, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears. The reasons of it need not to be here inserted, being set down by his own pen in his preface to his "Annotations."

The tractate against Blondel[d] grew to its last form and constitution by not unlike degrees, having a very different occasion from the last performance. The immediate antecedent cause is owned, and long ago presented to the world in that writing; the more remote original is as follows. The late most learned primate of Armagh[e] having received from Dav. Blondel a letter of exception against his edition of Ignatius, he communicated it to Dr. Hammond, desiring his sense of several passages therein contained, relating to the Valentinian

[d] [It was published at London 1651, in quarto, under the title "Dissertationes quatuor quibus Episcopatus jura ex S. Scripturis et primæva antiquitate adstruuntur, contra sententiam D. Blondelli et aliorum. Quibus præmittitur dissertatio procœmialis de Antichristo, de mysterio iniquitatis, de Diotrephe, et ἐν παρόδῳ, de Gnosticis sub Apostolorum ævo se prodentibus." This tract is placed in an Appendix at the end of the fourth volume of Hammond's collected works, p. 713, the paging of twenty pages 693—712 having been accidentally omitted.]

[e] [This was Ussher. His acquaintance with Hammond commenced in Oxford in 1643. Six letters which passed between them in 1648-49-50, have been published in Parr's Life of Ussher. The edition of the epistles of SS. Polycarp and Ignatius, referred to in the text, appeared at Oxford in 4to. 1644. It contains an introduction and notes to the epistles of SS. Polycarp and Ignatius, to the Apostolical constitutions, and to the canons ascribed to S. Clemens Romanus, after which occur the epistles divided into two classes. 1. *Polycarpiana Epistolarum Ignatianarum sylloge.* 2. *Epistolæ B. Ignatio adscriptæ a Mediæ ætatis Græcis sex.* The Latin version was also printed, and the three epistles which are extant only in Latin subjoined. Blondel's *Apologia* was published at Amsterdam in 1646, and the next year, 1647, appeared Ussher's "Appendix Ignatiana," in which he animadverted on the boldness of conjecture exhibited by him and Salmasius. This provoked the letter from Blondel, alluded to in the text. Hammond's Dissertations appear to have been written at first in English, but at Ussher's recommendation were published in Latin. They provoked no reply from either Salmasius or Blondel, but the cudgels were taken up by the London ministers, who published 'Jus divinum Ministerii Evangelici,' and by John Owen, in the preface to a volume which he published in folio, London, 1654, called "The doctrine of the Saints' Perseverance explained and confirmed," and in reply to this Hammond published "A Vindication of the Dissertations concerning Episcopacy from the exceptions of the London Ministers," 4to. London, 1654, and his "Answer to the Animadversions on the Dissertations touching Ignatius's Epistles," London, 4to. 1654. Grotius had expressed his opinion in a letter to Voss, that Blondel's judgment had been influenced by his prejudices, and Hammond, in the last of these tracts, enters upon a defence of Grotius from sundry charges that had been brought against him. In the following year, 1655, he published "A second Defence of the learned Hugo Grotius, or a Vindication of the Digression concerning him from some fresh exceptions," and in 1657, "A continuation of the Defence." Both of these were published at London in 4to. The last is dated Sept. 4, 1656.]

heresy, episcopal and chorepiscopal power, and some emergent difficulties concerning them, from the canons of several ancient eastern councils. To all this the Doctor wrote a peculiar answer, promising a fuller account if it would be useful. Upon the receipt whereof the archbishop being highly satisfied, returned his thanks, and laid hold of the promise: which being accordingly discharged, became the provision, and gave materials, to a great part of the "Dissertations." The primate's letter ran in these words:—

"I have read with great delight and content your accurate answer to the objections made against the credit of Ignatius's Epistles; for which I do most heartily thank you, and am moved thereby farther to intreat you to publish to the world in Latin what you have already written in English against this objector, and that other, who for your pains hath rudely requited you with the base appellation of Nebulo, for the assertion of episcopacy: to the end it may no longer be credited abroad, that these two have beaten down this calling, that the defence thereof is now deserted by all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his thesis of Church-government, at Sedan lately published; which I leave unto your serious consideration, and all your godly labours to the blessing of our good God, in whom I evermore rest,

"Your very loving friend and brother,

"Ja. Armachanus.

"Rygate in Surrey, Jul. 21, 1649."

Now in this request the archbishop was so concerned, that he reinforced it by another letter of August 30, and congratulated the performance by a third of Jan. 14; both which, though very worthy to see the public light, are yet forborne, as several of the like kind from the reverend fathers the bishops of this and our sister Churches, as also from the most eminent for piety and learning of our own and the neighbouring nations: which course is taken not only in accordance to the desires and sentiments of the excellent Doctor, who hated every thing that looked like ostentation, but likewise to avoid the very unpleasing choice, either to take the trouble of recounting all the Doctor's correspondences, or bear the envy of omitting some.

But to return to the present task, and that of the good Doctor, which now was to perfect his "Commentaries on the New Testament," and finish the "Dissertations:" amidst which cares he met with another of a more importunate nature, the loss of his dear mother; which had this unhappy accession, that in her sickness he could not be permitted, by reason of his being concerned in the proclamation that banished those that adhered to the king twenty miles from London[f], to visit her; nor while she paid her latest debt to nature, to pay his earlier one of filial homage and attendance.

A few months after, the rigour of that restraint with the declining of the year (a season judged less commodious for enterprise) being taken off, he removed into Worcestershire, to Westwood, the house of the eminently loyal Sir John Packington[g]; where being settled[h], and proceeding in the

[f] [An ordinance was passed May 23, 1648, "for putting papists and delinquents not only out of the lines of communication, but also for removing them twenty miles distance, after which they also brought in an additional ordinance to the same purpose, and at the last reading of it, (June 16, 1648, when it passed) declared that both these ordinances are intended to extend to all sequestered ministers that are sequestered for delinquency."—Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part i. p. 195.]

[g] [Sir John Packington was one of the few country gentlemen who obeyed the proclamation issued by Charles II. to all his subjects, to meet him 26 Aug. 1651, in the Pitchcroft, a meadow between Worcester and the river, just before the battle of Worcester.

To Lady Packington, wife of Sir John Packington, has been ascribed, but without much ground, the authorship of "The Whole Duty of Man," which was published in 1658, with a letter of recommendation prefixed by Hammond. The extreme care taken to conceal the authorship of this book, if Lady Packington is supposed to be the authoress, is utterly inconsistent with its being ushered into the world with Hammond's recommendation, as he was at the time of publication, a resident in the house of Sir John Packington. But though there is little evidence to shew who was its author, there is amply enough to prove that this lady did not write it.]

[h] [It must have been during the earlier part of his residence at Westwood, that Hammond paid the visit to Sanderson at Boothby Pannell, mentioned by Izaak Walton in his Life of Sanderson (p. 401.) where he gives an interesting anecdote of Hammond's persuading Sanderson to preach *ex tempore*. The familiarity of these two divines is the more interesting, when the difference of their ages, which was not much less than twenty years, is taken into account. One object of this visit was to discuss the points of the Quinquarticular controversy, The discussion originated from an objection made by the fraternity of Sion college, to an assertion in the Practical Catechism, that "Christ died for the sins of all mankind." After his Vindication was published, several letters passed between him and Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Pierce. The result was, that Sanderson's opinions were much modified, as may be inferred from a comparison of the edition of his sermons published in 1632, with that which came out in 1657. What the views of these divines were, may be seen in a treatise, entitled "Χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη, or a Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees in a letter of full accordance written to the Reverend and most Learned Dr. Robert Sanderson, by Henry Hammond, D.D. To

edition of those his labours which he had begun at Clapham, his Majesty coming to Worcester, by his neighbourhood to that place, the good Doctor, as he had the satisfaction personally to attend his sovereign, and the honour to receive a letter from his own hand of great importance, for the satisfaction of his loyal subjects concerning his adherence to the established religion of the Church of England, wherein his royal father lived a saint, and died a martyr: so likewise had he on the other part the most immediate agonies for his defeat; to which was added the calamity which fell upon the family where he dwelt, from the persecution and danger of the generous master of it. But it pleased God to give an issue out of both those difficulties, especially in the miraculous deliverance of his sacred Majesty; a dispensation of so signal an importance, that he allowed it a solemn recognition in his constant offices during his whole life; receiving that unusual interposition of providence as a pledge from heaven of an arriere of mercies, to use his own words, "that God, who had thus powerfully rescued him from Egypt, would not suffer him to perish in the wilderness; but though his passage be through the Red sea, He would at last bring him into Canaan; that he should come out of his tribulations as gold out of the fire, purified, but not consumed."

But notwithstanding these reflections, bottomed upon piety and reliance upon Heaven, the present state of things had a quite different prospect in common eyes; and the generality of men thinking their religion as troublesome a burden as their loyalty, with the same prudence by which they changed their mild and gracious sovereign for a bloody TYRANNY, began to seek a pompous and imperious Church abroad, instead of a pious and afflicted one at home. To which event the Roman missionaries[1] gave their liberal contribution,

which are annexed the extracts of three letters concerning God's Prescience reconciled with liberty and contingency." The volume is dated, Festo omnium Sanctorum, 1659.]

[1] ["It seems a fact beyond dispute, that the evils of these unhappy times were inflamed and aggravated by the machinations of many Romish incendiaries; and that especially under the disguise of fanatics and agitators. In 'Foxes and Firebrands, or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation,' the following anecdote is related, in which Dr. Hammond bore a part.

'Mr. John Crooke, sometime bookseller at St. Paul's Churchyard, at the *Ship*, in London, and since stationer and printer to his most serene Majesty in Dublin, told this story following unto Sir James Ware, knight, now deceased.

Anno 1656. the reverend divine Dr. Henry Hammond, being one day in

affording their preposterous charity to make them proselytes who had no mind to be confessors or martyrs. Hereupon the Doctor thought it highly seasonable to write his tract "Of Schism[j]," and oppose it to that most popular topic whereby

the next shop to this said John Crooke's, and there reading the works of St. Ambrose, a red-coat casually came in, and looked over this Divine's shoulder, and there read the Latin as perfect as himself, which caused the Doctor to admire that a red-coat should attain to that learning. Then speaking unto him, he demanded how he came to that science? The red-coat replied, 'By the Holy Spirit.' The Doctor hereupon replied, 'I will try thee further;' and so called for a Greek author, which the red-coat not only read, but construed. The Doctor to try him further called for the Hebrew Bible; and so for several other books, in which this red-coat was very expert. At last the Doctor, recollecting with himself, called for a Welsh Bible, and said, 'If thou beest inspired, read me this book, and construe it.' But the red-coat being at last catched, replied, 'I have given thee satisfaction enough: I will not satisfy thee further; for thou wilt not believe, though an angel came from heaven.' The Doctor smelling out the deceit, caused the apprentice to go for a constable; who being brought to the shop, the Doctor told the constable, he had something to say against this red-coat; and bade him bring him before Oliver Cromwell, then called the Lord Protector. The red-coat being brought to White Hall, and examined, he, after a rustic manner, *thoued* and *theed* Oliver: but being suspected, it was demanded, where he quartered. It being found out, at the Devil tavern, the Doctor intreated his chamber might be searched; where they found an old chest filled partly with his wearing apparel, as also with several papers, and seditious popish books; amongst which there being a pair of boots, and papers stuck in one of them, they found a parchment *bull of licence* to this impostor, granted under several names, *to assume what function or calling he pleased.* These being brought before Oliver; for what reasons it is unknown, yet the red-coat escaped; bringing several proofs of what great service he had done: and the greatest affliction which was laid on him, was banishment: and what proceeded further we know not.'"—Wordsworth, Eccles. Biog., vol. v. p. 370.]

[j] [This tract was published at London in 12mo. 1653, and is entitled "Of Schism, a Defence of the Church of England against the exceptions of the Romanists." An "Answer to the most material parts of the book of Schism," was soon after published by a person who calls himself a 'Catholic Gentleman,' which is dated from Brussels, Mar. 30, 1654, and is signed with the initials B. P. The "Reply to the Catholic Gentleman's Answer to the book of Schism, whereunto is annexed an account of H. T." (i. e. Henry Turbervil) "his appendix to his manual of controversies concerning the abbot of Bangor's answer to St. Augustine," was published at London in 4to. 1654. About the same time Bramhall published his "Just Vindication of the Church of England from criminous Schism." These were followed by a tract entitled, "Schism disarmed of the offensive weapons lent it by Dr. Hammond and the Bishop of Derry," published at Paris in 12mo. 1655, with the initials S. W. Some months after came out the reply to this by Hammond, entitled "The Disarmer's dexterities examined in a second Defence of the treatise of Schism," London, 4to. 1656, in which Hammond intimates his belief that S. W. and the 'Catholic Gentleman' were the same individual. He does not appear to have known who S. W. was. Wood informs us that his name was John (or more probably William) Sergeant, alias Smith, who had been secretary to Morton, bishop of Durham, and upon quitting that employment, went, in 1642, to the English college at Lisbon, that he returned to England in 1652, and was set to write controversial tracts. Soon after S. W. replied in a large 8vo. volume with the title "Schism dispatched, or a Rejoinder to the replies of Dr. Hammond, and the Lord of Derry," which is dated 1657. To this Hammond again replied in a volume entitled, "The Dispatcher dispatched, or an Examination of the Romanist's rejoinder to the replies of Dr. Hammond, being a third Defence of the treatise of Schism,"

they amused and charmed their fond disciples. And whereas the love of novelty prevailed in several other instances, as in controlling the "use and authority of the Scripture," defending "incestuous marriages, polygamy, divorce," the "anabaptizing of infants," the "schismatical ordination of ministers by mere presbyters," and "disuse of the festivals of the Church;" he applied his antidotes to each: by which means he made himself the common mark of opposition to all parties[k]. For (besides the assaults from a whole classis of antagonists which the dissertations had engaged against him, and to which he was preparing his defence) upon the Romanists' part he was charged by the Catholic Gentleman and his armour-bearer S. W.; on the presbyterian account by Mr. Cawdry[l] and Mr. Jeanes[m]; and in the behalf of the independents and anabaptists by Mr. Owen and Mr. Tombs[n]: not to mention several others that sought themselves a name by being his gainsayers, but failed of their purpose, by bringing only spite and passion into the quarrel, and so were to be answered only by pity and silence.

London, 4to. 1659, and the following year sent out a pamphlet in 4to. called "αἰεν ἀληθεύειν, or a brief Account of one suggestion of the Romanist against the Dispatcher dispatched." Bramhall calls S. W. Mr. Sergeant. For the part which he took in the controversy, see his works, vol. i. and ii.]

[k] [All these subjects were treated of in a volume entitled "A Letter of resolution to six Quæres of present use in the Church of England," London, 1653, 8vo. The quæres are, 1. "Of the way of resolving controversies which are not clearly stated and resolved in the Scriptures." 2. "Of marrying the wife's sister." 3. "Of polygamy and divorces." 4. "Of the baptism of infants." 5. "Of imposition of hands for ordination." 6. "Of the observation of Christmas-day, and other festivities of the Church."]

[l] [This was Daniel Cawdrey, minister of Billing Magna in Northamptonshire. He published a tract entitled *Triplex Diatribe*, which was answered by Hammond in an "Account of Mr. Daniel Cawdrey's Triplex Diatribe, concerning Superstition, Will-worship, and Christmas festival," 4to. London, 1654. Cawdrey replied in a 12mo. volume published in 1658, with the title of "Account Audited and Discounted; or a Vindication of the threefold Diatribe, Superstition, Will-worship, Christmas festival, against Dr. Hammond's Manifold Paradiatribes." Of this Hammond appears to have taken no farther notice.]

[m] [He was the author of a book entitled "A mixture of Scholastical Divinity with Practical," in which he attacks Hammond's reply to Cawdrey. This Hammond replies to in a treatise called "ἐκτενέστερον, or the degrees of ardency in Christ's Prayer reconciled with His fulness of habitual grace, in reply to the author of a book entitled 'A mixture of Scholastical Divinity with Practical,'" 4to. London, 1656. In the following year Hammond published in 4to. "εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, or the grounds of Uniformity from 1 Cor. xiv. 40, vindicated from Mr. Jeanes' exceptions to one passage in the 'View of the Directory.'"]

[n] [None of Hammond's works are directed against Owen by name. He published in 1655, 4to. London, his "Baptizing of Infants reviewed and defended from the exceptions of Mr. Tombes, in his three last chapters of his book entitled 'Antipædobaptism.'" The "Antipædobaptism," was itself published in three separate parts, 1642-4-7.]

Nor did he only stand and keep at bay this multiplied contest; but, as if this had not been task enough, besides the intercurrent offices of life, his reception of visits, answering of letters, his constant preaching and catechising, he found leisure to write his tract of "Fundamentals," his "Parænesis," his "Review of the Annotations[o];" and amidst all, to be in debt to his importunate antagonists for nothing but their railing, leaving that the only thing unanswered. Nay more than so, brought several of them even under their own hands to recognise their sense of their undue procedure used by them unto him: which their acknowledgments yet remain, and are producible upon occasion.

And would to God he had met no other opposition; for in the entrance on these conflicts that strength of body which before had faithfully attended his indefatigable mind began to fail him, and those four torments of disease, which single have been judged a competent trial of human sufferance, some years before his death, the stone, and near his end, the gout, the colick, and the cramp, the last of which was to him as tyrannous as any of the former, became in a manner the constant exercise of his Christian fortitude and patience; affording him from this time to the last period of his life very rare and short intervals of vigorous health.

But among all his labours, although polemic discourses were otherwise most uneasy, as engaging to converse with men in passion, a thing he naturally abhorred, his "Parænesis," a persuasive and practical tract, which now he wrote, and which upon that account was exceeding agreeable to his desires, cost him most throes and pangs of birth, as having been penned first in tears, and then in ink. For however with great serenity he entertained all other accidents, having habituated himself to his beloved doctrine of "submitting not to the will of God alone, but to His wisdom, both which," he was used to say, "were perfectly one thing in that blest agent," (and accordingly in the most dismal appearance of event made this constant motto גם זו לטובה "Even this for good;") yet in this instance the tenderness of his soul

[o] [The Tract of Fundamentals was first published in 12mo. London, 1654. The Parænesis also in 12mo. London, 1656. The Review of the Annotations in 8vo. London, 1657.]

seemed to have melted his resolution: the occasion of that treatise being the interdict of Jan., 1655[p], which disabled the loyal suffering clergy from doing any ministerial act, which he resented with the highest passion, not only upon the general account of God's more immediate displeasure to the nation legible therein, but (what he had much less reason to do) in reference to his own particular, he looking on this dispensation of providence as God's pronouncing him unworthy to do Him service, "the reproaching," to use his own words, "his former unprofitableness by casting him out as straw to the dunghill." Nor should any consideration that terminated on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction, had not charity to the family where he was, made him content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst he for some short time for-

[p] ["That declaration, so far as it concerned the clergy, was in these words.

'His highness, by the advice of his council, doth also publish, declare, and order, that as no person, or persons aforesaid, do, from and after the first day of January, 1655, keep in their houses or families, as chaplains, or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster: nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against, &c. And that no person, who for delinquency or scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall, from and after the first day of January aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family: nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained, upon pain that every person so offending, in any of the premises, shall be proceeded against as by the said orders is provided and directed.' But the extreme cruelty of this declaration seems to have prevented its being long and generally inforced. See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part i. p. 194. In reference to this interdict the following anecdote is told in Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, p. 75. 'According to the desires of many of the episcopal clergy, he went, and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell, for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised, (though with some difficulty,) that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government. But when the lord primate went to him a second time, to get this promise ratified, and put into writing, he found him under his chirurgeon's hands, who was dressing a great boil which he had on his breast. So Cromwell prayed the lord primate to sit down a little; and that, when he was dressed, he would speak with him. Whilst this was a doing, Cromwell said to the lord primate, 'If this core (pointing to the boil) were once out, I should quickly be well.' To which the good bishop replied, 'I doubt the core lies deeper. There is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.' 'Ah!' replied he, seeming unconcerned, 'so there is indeed,' and sighed. But when the lord primate began to speak with him concerning the business he came about, he answered him to this effect; that he had since better considered it, having advised with his council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government; and so he took his leave of him, though with good words and outward civility.'"—Wordsworth, Eccles. Biog., vol. v. pp. 373, 374.]

bore that attendance on the altar, which was the very joy of his life.

And now, though his physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed fastings, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice; yet he resumed his rigours, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted no exception, which should not be outlived, but that it became men to be martyrs too, and deprecate even in death.

While he thus earnestly implored the aids of Heaven, and exhorted unto present duty, he omitted not a third expedient, the securing a succession to the Church, thereby to preserve its future being. And this he did not only in reference to the superior order of episcopacy, which it has pleased God now to secure by another more gracious method of His favour, and even miraculous goodness; but also in the "inferior attendance on the altar:" the latter of which as it was an enterprise suiting well with his heroic mind, so was it no way answering his narrow fortunes. The thing in his design was this; whereas the ancient stock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered useless, and the Church was at best like the Roman state in its first beginning, *res unius ætatis populus Virorum*[q], a nation of ancient persons hasting to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted; he projected by pensions unto hopeful persons in either University, to maintain a seminary of youth instituted in piety and learning, upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church[r]. In which work, though the assistances he presumed on failed in a great measure, yet somewhat not inconsiderable in this kind by himself and friends he did achieve, and kept on foot until his death. In his instructions to them whom he employed in this affair, he gave in charge "carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts;" adding this as a certain maxim, "that exemplary virtue must restore the Church."

And whereas that black defeat at Worcester[s], raising the

[q] [Flori Epit., lib. i. cap. 1.]

[r] [Among those who were thus assisted by Hammond's liberality was Dr. Isaac Barrow, who wrote an epitaph on his benefactor, which is subjoined to the present edition of his life. See the life prefixed to the edition of Barrow's Theological Works, published at Oxford in 1830.]

[s] [The battle of Worcester was fought on Sept. 3, 1651.—Clarendon, Rebell., vol. vi. p. 510.]

insolent tyrant here unto that greatness which almost outwent the impudence of his hopes, made him to be feared by foreign nations almost as much as hated by his own, the loyal sufferers abroad became subjected to the worst effect of banishment, and even there expelled and driven from their flights: so paralleling in their exigencies the most immediate objects of that monster's fury. The excellent Doctor, to whose diffusive virtue the limits of the nation were too straight a circle, thought this a season to exert his charity: accordingly, though this greatest duty were solemnly declared treason, he then continued to send over several sums for their relief.

Which practice of his, by the surprise of the person intrusted, being discovered to the Tyrant, he was alarmed with the expectation of that usage which was then a certain consequent of such meritorious acts. But this adventure brought nothing of amazement or disturbance to the Doctor, his most importunate reflection being only this, that he seemed to have gained an opportunity of saying something very home to that fierce monster concerning his foul deeds, and to discourse the appropriate ways remaining to alleviate at least, if not to expiate for them; which he purposed within himself to press to the highest advantage: and indeed this was the only issue of that so threatening accident, God's restraining power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him what in others he was wont to observe, "that they who least considered hazard in the doing of their duties fared still best."

And this success as it was indeed, and accordingly he frequently acknowledged it for, an eminent act of the Divine providence; so we may likewise take it as a signal testimony of the commanding worth the Doctor had, which extorted a reverence to his person from that worst of men, and rendered him a sanctuary, perhaps the only one this architect of mischief stood in awe of, and even his sacrilege preserved inviolate.

Nor did this danger being over, as with others in all likelihood it would have done, persuade to caution for the future; but with the wonted diligence that formerly he used, he immediately proceeded, and cheerfully went on in the pursuit of his heroic charity.

Amidst these diversions grew up the labours of this hero, the issues of his brain being not only midwived into the world like natural births with torment and disease, but wrote like Cæsar's Commentaries, in dangers and in war. And now besides the replies which the importunities of Mr. Owen, Mr. Jeanes, and Mr. Tombs drew from him, W. S. continuing his loud clamours and impudent triumph at his own folly, the good Doctor suffered himself to be engaged on that long answer, which proved the last of that kind he made, excepting that single sheet put out a few months before his death, as a specimen to what desperate shifts the patrons of the Roman cause were driven; for though some of his friends advised him to remit that divinity buffoon to be answered in his own way by a slighter pen; he by no means would admit of the proposal, resolving "it unfit that another should do in his behalf what was indecent for himself to do; and though there was no respect to be had of W. S. yet was the sacred cause to be managed with reverence and awful regard." While this was in hand, the second "Review of the Annotations" came to light, as also the "Exposition on the Book of Psalms[t]," and soon after the pacific discourse of "God's Grace and Decrees[u]," ventilated between him and his dear friend the reverend and most learned Dr. Sanderson, afterward lord bishop of Lincoln, occasioned by some letters which had passed on that subject between the said Doctor and the reverend Dr. Pierce. To this immediately succeeded the Latin tract of Confirmation[v], in answer to the exceptions of Mr. Daillée, which was then prepared for the press, though detained much longer upon prudential or rather charitative considerations, a respect to which was strictly had in all the Doctor's writings; it being his care not only to publish sober and convincing, but withal seasonable, useful truths.

[t] [The "Paraphrase and Annotations on the books of the Psalms," was published in folio, London, 1659. These annotations appeared in the second volume of Poole's Synopsis in 1671.

The annotations on the Psalms were submitted to Pocock before they were sent to press. He also assisted Hammond, who frequently consulted him by letter whilst he was preparing his annotations on the New Testament. —Twells' Life of Pocock, p. 274.]

[u] [This was published in 8vo. London, 1660.]

[v] [This was not published till after the author's death, in 8vo. Oxon. 1661, under the title, "De confirmatione sive benedictione post baptismum solemni per impositionem manuum Episcopi celebrata commentarius ex sententia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ."]

He was likewise enterprising a farther "Commentary on the Old Testament," and began on the book of Proverbs[w], and finished a third part of it: but the completion of this and all other the great intendments of the equally learned, pious, and indefatigable author received here a full period; it pleasing the Divine providence to take to Himself this high example of all moral and Christian excellences, in a season when the Church and nation would least have been deprived of his aids toward the cementing of those breaches which then began to offer at a closure.

It is easily to be presumed the reader will not be disobliged, if we a while divert from this remaining sadder part of the undertaken narrative, and entertain him with a survey of the personal accomplishments of the excellent Doctor. The particulars whereof would not readily have fallen into the thread of history, or at least had been disjointed there, and under disadvantage; but will be made to stand in a much fairer light, when represented to the view by way of character and picture.

And therefore to this prospect we cheerfully invite all eyes in whose esteem virtue itself is lovely.

SECTION II.

The frame of his body was such as suited with the noble use to which it was designed, the entertaining a most pure and active soul, but equally to the advantages of strength and comeliness. His stature was of just height and all proportionate dimensions, avoiding the extremes of gross and meagre, advantaged by a graceful carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging. His face carried dignity and attractives in it, scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His eye was quick and sprightful, his complexion clear and florid, so that, especially in his youth, he had the esteem of a very beauteous person; which was lessened only by the colour of his hair: though if the sentence of other ages and climates be of value, that reasonably might be vouched as an accession to it.

[w] [The Annotations on the Proverbs reach only to the tenth chapter. They were not published separately, but are contained in the fourth volume of Hammond's collected works.]

To this outward structure was joined that strength of constitution, patient of severest toil and hardship; insomuch that for the most part of his life, in the fiercest extremity of cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than at the greatest distance that he could, to look upon it. As to diseases, till immoderate study had wrought a change, he was in a manner only liable to fevers, which too a constant temperance did in a great measure prevent, and still assisted to relieve and cure.

Next to his frame of body, if we survey his inward faculties, we shall find them just unto the promises of his outward shape. His sight was quick to an unusual degree; insomuch that if by chance he saw a knot of men, a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear was accurate and tuned to his harmonious soul, so that having never learned to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpsicon or theorbo; and frequently did so in his more vigorous years after the toil and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night. His elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience: and when with preaching at his country charge he had in some degree lost the due manage of his voice, his late sacred Majesty, by taking notice of the change, became his master of music, and reduced him to his ancient decent modulation; a kindness which the Doctor very gratefully acknowledged to his dying day, and reported not only as an instance of the meek and tender condescensions of that gracious prince, but improved to persuade others by so great an example to that most friendly office of telling persons of their faults, without which very commonly, as here it happened, men must be so far from amending their errors, that it is morally impossible they should ever know them.

As to his more inferior faculties, we must allow the first place to his invention, his richest, altogether unexhausted treasure, whose flowings were with that full torrent, that for several years, after his choice of subject, which generally he had in prospect beforehand, a little meditation on the Satur-

day night made up his sermon: but in the last twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts disturb his sleep, he remitted the particular care of the composition and method of his future discourse to the Sunday morning, wherein an hour's consideration fitted him to the office of the day. With the like swiftness he dispatched his writings, usually composing faster than his amanuensis, though a very dexterous person, could easily transcribe after him. His "Considerations of present necessity concerning Episcopacy" were drawn up after ten o'clock at night in a friend's chamber, who professes, that sitting by all the while, he remembers not that he took off pen from paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the bishop of Salisbury, he sent it to the press: to which work he could have no premeditation or second thoughts, he being that very night after supper employed by the before-mentioned lord bishop of Salisbury, after of Winchester, on that task. So likewise he began his tract "Of Scandal" at eleven at night, and finished it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having amidst his other diversions been sundry times his one day's work; adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper. And indeed such were his diversions, so many and so importunate, that notwithstanding this incredible ease of writing, it is hardly imaginable how he could compass the tithe of what he did. For he that shall consider his laborious way, immersed in almost infinite quotations, to which the turning over books and consulting several editions was absolutely needful; his obligation to read not only classic authors, but the more recent abortions of the press, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his perusal of the writings of his friends and strangers intended to be public; his review of his own works, and correcting them with his own hand sheet by sheet as they came forth, which he did to all his later tracts; his reception of visits, whether of civility, or for resolution of conscience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them schoolmasters for their children, and chaplains in their houses, in which

affair he had set up a kind of office of address; his general correspondencies by letter, whereof some cost him ten, others twenty, thirty, forty, nay sixty sheets of paper, and ever took up two days of the week entirely to themselves; the time exhausted by his sicknesses, which in the later years of his life gave him but short and seldom truce, and always made it necessary for him not to stir from his chair, or so much as read a letter for two hours after every meal, failance wherein being certainly revenged by a fit of the gout; his not only constant preaching and instructing the family where he was, and his visiting the sick both there and in the neighbourhood, but amidst all, his sure returns of prayer, so frequent and so constant as certainly to challenge to themselves a great portion of the day: he, I say, that shall compute and sum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly set down without any straining of the truth or flourish of expression, must be to seek what a point of vacant time remained yet undisposed; I do not say to write books, but even to breathe and rest a little in.

After a serious reflection on the premises, and full debate thereon, the account given by that excellent person who had the happiness of being the nearest and most constant witness of the before-recited severals, seems the best and chiefly satisfactory that possibly can be made; that he gained time for his writing books by the time he spent in prayer, whilst (a more than ordinary assistance attending his devotions) his closet proved his library, and he studied most upon his knees.

As to his memory, it was serviceable, but not officious; faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words: which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one sermon by heart than to pen twenty.

His way of speech and faculty of communicating notions was sufficiently happy, having only this best kind of defect, exuberance and surplusage of plenty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confined by periods; whereby his style, though round and comprehensive, was incumbered sometimes by parentheses, and became difficult to vulgar understandings: but by the use of writing, and his desire to

accommodate himself to all capacities, he in his later years had mastered that defect, which was so slight, that notwithstanding it, he deserved from (the most accurate judge and greatest master of English rhetoric which this age hath given) his late sacred Majesty this character and testimony, "That he was the most natural orator he ever heard[x]."

His judgment, as in itself the highest faculty, so was it the most eminent among his natural endowments: for though the finding out the similitudes of different things, wherein the fancy is conversant, is usually a bar to the discerning the disparities of similar appearances, which is the business of discretion, and that store of notions which is laid up in memory assists rather confusion than choice, upon which grounds the greatest clerks are frequently not the wisest men; he had to his sufficient memory and incomparable invention, a clear discerning judgment; and that not only in scholastical affairs and points of learning, which the arguings, and besides them the designment of his writings manifest beyond dispute, but in the concerns of public nature both of Church and state, wherein his guess was usually as near to prophecy as any man's; as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he has unravelled the studied cheats of great artificers in that liberal science, wherein particularly he vindicated a person of honour for whom he was intrusted, and assisted frequently his friends in their domestic intercurrent difficulties.

As to acquired habits and abilities in learning, his writings having given the world sufficient account of them, there remains only to observe, that the range and compass of his knowledge filled the whole circle of the arts, and reached those severals which single do exact an entire man unto themselves, and full age. To be accurate in the grammar

[x] [The following is an extract from an unpublished letter of the countess of Leicester to her husband, dated Dec. 4, 1638:—

"Her. Croft is here at this present, who preached to us on Sunday extremely well. Mr. Hammond, in my opinion is much mended in the performance of that work since you left us."—The person alluded to is Herbert Croft, afterwards successively dean and bishop of Hereford. This is the only evidence of Hammond's being acquainted with Croft. They were neighbours during the time of the usurpation, the latter residing at Sir Rowland Berkley's at Cotheridge, in Worcestershire.]

and idioms of the tongues, and then as a rhetorician to make all their graces serve his eloquence; to have traversed ancient, and yet be no stranger in modern writers; to be studied in philosophy, and familiarly versed in all the politer classic authors; to be learned in school divinity, and a master in Church antiquity, perfect and ready in the sense of fathers, councils, ecclesiastical historians and liturgies; to have devoured so much and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature and in diligence which has but few examples.

But after all we must take leave to say, and do it upon sober recollection, that the Doctor's learning was the least thing in him; the scholar was here less eminent than the Christian: his speculative knowledge, that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his practical. In the catalogue of his virtues, his chastity and temperance may claim the earliest place, as being the sacrists to the rest, and in him were therefore only not the greatest of his excellences, because every thing else was so.

And first, his chaste thoughts, words and carriage so disciplined his lower faculties, as not only restrained through all the heats of youth, made more than usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine constitution, (which his escape he gratefully referred unto the only mercy of Almighty God,) but gave a detestation of all those verbal follies, that have not only the allowance of being harmless mirth, but the repute of wit and gaiety of humour: so that the scurrilous jest could sooner obtain his tears in penance for it, than the approbation of a smile; and all approaches to this sin he looked upon not only with an utter disallowance in his will, but a kind of natural abhorrence and antipathy in his lower outward faculties.

In his first remove to Penshurst, he was persuaded by his friends that the matrimonial state was needful to the bearing of those household cares and other intercurrent troubles which his condition then brought with it; and on this ground he gave some ear to their advices: which he did then more readily, for that there was a person represented to him, of whose virtue as well as other more usually desired accomplishments he had been long before well satisfied. But

being hindered several times by little unexpected accidents, he finally laid down all his pretensions upon a ground of perfect self-denial; being informed that one of a fairer fortune and higher quality than his was, or else was like to be, and consequently one who in common account would prove the better match, had kindness for her. Having thus resolved, the charity of his mother, who undertook the manage of his family, became a seasonable assistant and expedient in this single state; till after several years her age making those cares too great a burden for her shoulders, he again was induced to resume his thoughts of marriage. But the national disturbances, that afterwards brake out in war and ruin, appearing then in ferment, he was again diverted by recollecting the Apostle's advice, 1 Cor. vii. 26, enforced upon his thoughts by the reading of St. Jerome's epistle to Ageruchia[y], where after glorious elogies of marriage, the

[y] [The author is mistaken in asserting that the epistle to Ageruchia contains high praise of marriage. It is entirely occupied with dissuading a widow from marrying again, and the concluding argument from the troublous state of the times, is as follows:—

Verum quid ago? Fracta navi de mercibus disputo, Qui tenebat de medio fit et non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui. *Væ prægnantibus et nutrientibus in illa die* quorum utrumque de fructibus nuptiarum est. Præsentium miseriarum pauca percurram. Quod rari hucusque residemus non nostri meriti sed Domini misericordiæ est. Innumerabiles et ferocissimæ nationes universas Gallias occuparunt. Quidquid inter Alpes et Pyrenæum est quod Oceano et Rheno includitur, Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmata, Halani, Gipedes, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemani et, O lugenda respublica! hostes Pannonii vastarunt. *Etenim Assur venit cum illis.* Moguntiacum nobilis quondam civitas capta atque subversa est et in Ecclesia multa hominum millia trucidata. Vangiones longa obsidione deleti. Remorum urbs præpotens, Ambiani, Attrebatæ, extremique hominum Morini, Tornacus, Nemetæ, Argentoratus translatæ in Germaniam. Aquitaniæ, novemque populorum, Lugdunensis, et Narbonensis provinciæque præter paucas urbes populata sunt cuncta. Quas et ipsas foris gladius, intus vastat fames. Non possum absque lacrymis Tolosæ facere mentionem quæ ut hucusque non rueret, sancti Episcopi Exuperii merita præstiterunt. Ipsæ Hispaniæ jam jamque perituræ, quotidie contremiscunt recordantes irruptionis Cimbricæ et quidquid alii semel passi sunt, illæ semper timore patiuntur.

Cætera taceo ne videar de Dei desperare clementia. Olim a mari Pontico, usque ad Alpes Julias, non erant nostra quæ nostra sunt. Et per annos triginta fracto Danubii limite, in mediis Romani imperii regionibus pugnabatur. Aruerunt vetustate lacrymæ. Præter paucos senes, omnes in captivitate et obsidione generati, non desiderabant quam non noverant libertatem. Quis hoc credet? quæ digna sermone historiæ comprehendent. Romam in gremio suo, non pro gloria sed pro salute pugnare? immo ne pugnare quidem sed auro et cuncta supellectile vitam redimere? Quod non vitio principum qui vel religiosissimi sunt sed scelere semibarbari accidit proditoris, qui nostris contra nos opibus armavit inimicos. Æterno quondam dedecore Romanum laborabat imperium, quod Gallis cuncta vastantibus, fusoque apud Alliam exercitu, Romam Brennus intravit. Nec pristinam poterat abolere ignominiam, donec et Gallias, genitale Gallorum solum et Gallograeciam in qua consederunt Ori-

father concluded in an earnest dehortation from it, upon a representation of a like face of things, the Goths then breaking into Italy, as they before had done into the other near parts of the Roman empire, and filling all with slaughter, cruelty, and ruin. Upon which prospect the good Doctor casting a serious eye, and with prophetic sorrows and misgivings fearing a parallel in this our nation, the second time deposited his conjugal intendments, and thenceforth courted and espoused, what he preserved inviolate, unto his death the more eminent perfection of spotless virgin chastity.

His appetite was good, but the restraint of it was very eminent and extraordinary; for his diet was of the plainest meats, and commonly not only his dishes, but the parts of them were such as most others would refuse. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of, but often expressed it his wonder "how rational creatures should eat for any thing but health, since he that did eat or drink that which might cause a fit of the

entis Occidentisque victores, suo imperio subjugasset. Hannibal, de Hispaniæ finibus orta tempestas quum vastasset Italiam, vidit urbem, nec ausus est obsidere. Pyrrhum tanta tenuit Romani nominis reverentia, ut deletis omnibus e propinquo recederet loco; nec audebat victor aspicere quam regum didicerat civitatem. Et tamen pro hac injuria, non enim dicam superbia, quæ bonos exitus habuit, alter toto orbe fugitivus tandem Bithyniæ mortem veneno repetit; alter reversus in patriam, in suo regno occubuit; et utriusque provinciæ populi Romani vectigales sunt. Nunc ut omnia prospero fine eveniant præter nostra quæ amisimus, non habemus quod victis hostibus auferamus. Potentiam Romanæ urbis ardens poeta describens ait; *Quid satis est si Roma parum est?* Quod nos alio mutemus elogio: Quid salvum est si Roma perit?

Non mihi si linguæ centum sint oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes captorum dicere pœnas,
Omnia cæsorum percurrere nomina possim.

Et hæc ipsa quæ dixi periculosa sunt tam loquentibus, quam audientibus, ut ne gemitus quidem liber sit, nolentibus, immo nec audentibus nobis flere quæ patimur.

Responde mihi, carissima in Christo filia, inter ista nuptura es? quem acceptura virum, cedo? fugiturum an pugnaturum? Quid utrumque sequatur intelligis. Et pro Fescennino carmine terribilis tibi rauco sonitu buccina concrepabit: ut quas habes pronubas, habeas forte lugentes. Aut quibus deliciis affluas quæ possessionum tuarum redditus perdidisti; quæ obsessam familiolam tuam morbo et fame cernis contabescere. Sed absit ut de te talia sentiam, ut sinistrum quippiam suspicer de ea quæ suam Domino animam consecravit. Non tam tibi quam sub tuo nomine aliis sum loquutus; quæ otiosæ et curiosæ atque verbosæ domos circumeunt matronarum: *quarum Deus venter est et gloria in confusione earum*, quæ nihil aliud de Scripturis, nisi digamiæ præcepta noverunt; quæ in alieno corpore sua desideria consolantur ut quod ipsæ fecerint, alias facere videant, et malarum societate palpentur. Quarum quum impudentiam et propositiones, Apostolicarum sententiarum interpretatione contriveris, legito quomodo tibi in viduitate servanda vivendum sit, librum ad Eustochium de Virginitate servanda, et alios ad Furiam, atque Salvinam: quarum altera Probi quondam Consulis nurus, altera Gildonis, qui Africam tenuit, filia est. Hic libellus *de Monogamia* sub nomine tuo titulum possidebit.—S. Hieron. Ep. cxxiii. ad Ageruch., tom. i. p. 907.]

stone or gout, though a year after, therein unmanned himself, and acted as a beast." So that his self-denials were quite contrary to the usual ones; for considering the time lost in eating, and the vacancy succeeding it, his meals were the greatest pressure, and his fasting-day the most sensual part of his week.

In the time of his full and more vigorous health he seldom did eat or drink more than once in twenty-four hours, and some fruit towards night; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember-week three days, he eat but once in thirty-six. Nor did he ever with so much regret submit unto any prescript, as when his physicians, after his great fever that he had in Oxford, required him to eat suppers. Which severity of injunction he soon shook off, and returned to his beloved abstinence, until renewed infirmities brought him back unto the penance of more indulgence to himself.

As he had the greatest indifference to what he eat, so had he the greatest observation too, especially when it came to be made point of diet and prescription; for in this case he was most exact, never tasting of any prohibited meats, though some of them had before the advantage of being customary towards their seeming necessary. And herein his palate was so tractable and subdued to the dictates of a higher choice, that he really thought no meat pleasant, but in proportion to its wholesomeness: even his beloved apples he would oft say he would totally abandon, as soon as they should appear to be no more than barely innocent, and not of use. And if by chance or inadvertency he had at any time tasted of an interdicted dish, as soon as he perceived it, he discovered a dislike both with himself and what he had been surprised with.

The carving at the table he always made his province, which he said he did as a diversion to keep him from eating overmuch: but certainly that practice had another more immediate cause, a natural distributiveness of humour, and a desire to be employed in the relief of every kind of want of every person. The report, and much more the sight, of a luxurious feeder, would turn his stomach, so that he was in more danger to be sick with others' surfeits than his own; charity seeming a part of his complexion, while he performed

a natural spontaneous penance for his neighbour's vice, as well as a deliberate one in sorrowing for it.

His temperance in sleep resembled that of his meats, midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, and very rarely six, the hour of rising. There was scarce any thing he resented so much in his infirmities and multiplied diseases, as their having abridged him of his night studies, professing thereby he lost "not only his greatest pleasure, but highest advantage in reference to business." And in his later time of weakness, when to take benefit of a gentle breathing sweat, which usually came in the morning, he had been engaged by his physician to continue in bed till it was over; and upon complaint of costiveness he was on the other side directed to rise somewhat early in the morning; this later injunction he looked upon as a mere rescue and deliverance, often mentioning it with thanks, as if it had been an eminent favour done him.

His disposal of himself in the other parts of time was to perpetual industry and diligence: he not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and seemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleness, and scarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as "to be furnished always with somewhat to do." This he proposed as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure, assuring that "no burden is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lie on one's hand; the idle man's brain being not only," as he worded it, "the devil's shop, but his kingdom too, a model of and an appendage unto hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief." Besides those portions of time which the necessities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not so much to recreate himself, as to obey the prescripts of his physician, he never failed to take a book with him, and read all the while: and in his chamber also he had one lay constantly open, out of which he read while he was dressing and undressing; by which one piece of husbandry, in short space he dispatched several considerable volumes.

His way was still to cast into paper all his observations, and direct them to his present purposes; wherein he had an

incredible dexterity, scarce ever reading any thing which he did not make subservient in one kind or other. He was used to say, "he could not abide to talk with himself," and therefore was so diligently provided of that which he called "better company." In his sicknesses, if they were not so violent to make the recollection of thoughts impossible, he never intermitted study, but rather re-enforced it then as the most appropriate revulsive and diversion of pain. The gout, by its most frequent and importunate returns, exceeded his other maladies; in which although the first most furious assaults were sure to beat him from his study, and for a time confine him to his bed, yet as soon as he had recovered his chair, he resumed his pen too, and plied it as hard as though he had ailed nothing.

Next to downright idleness he disliked "slow and dilatory undertakings," thinking it a great folly to spend that time in gazing upon business which should have served for the doing of it. In his own practice he never considered longer than till he could discern whether the thing proposed was fit or not: when that was seen, he immediately set to work. When he had perfected one business, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to set about.

But when we reckon up and audit the expenses of the Doctor's time, we cannot pass his constant tribute of it paid by him to Heaven in the offices of prayer; which took up so liberal proportions of each day unto itself for the ten last years of his life, and probably the preceding. Besides occasional and supernumerary addresses, his certain perpetual returns exceeded David's "seven times a-day." As soon as he was ready, which was usually early, he prayed in his chamber with his servant, in a peculiar form composed for that purpose. After this he retired to his own more secret devotions in his closet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a solemn intercession in reference to the national calamities: to this after a little distance succeeded the morning office of the Church, which he particularly desired to perform in his own person, and would by no means accept the ease of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on Sundays he en-

larged, and so religiously observed, that if any necessary business or charity had diverted him at the usual time, he repaired his soul at the cost of his body, and, notwithstanding the injunctions of his physicians, which in other cases he was careful to obey, spent the supper-time therein. About five of the clock the solemn private prayers for the nation and the evening service of the Church returned. At bed-time his private prayers closed the day: and after all, even the night was not without its office, the fifty-first Psalm being his designed midnight entertainment.

In his prayers, as his attention was fixed and steady, so was it inflamed with passionate fervours, insomuch that very frequently his transport threw him prostrate on the earth; his tears also would interrupt his words: the latter happening not only upon the pungent exigences of present or impending judgments, but in the common service of the Church; which, notwithstanding his concealments, being taken notice of by a person of good sufficiency, once a member of his house in Oxford, that became of late years a proselyte to the new extemporary way, he, among his other topics whereby he thought to disparage set forms, used in discourse to urge the heartless coldness of them, and to adorn his triumph, would make it his solemn wonder how a person of so good parts as Dr. Hammond was certainly master of, could find motive for his tears in the confession in the beginning of the liturgy. So much does passion and misguided zeal transport the most sensible, that this man, otherwise sagacious enough, never considered how ill an instance he had made; which shewed it was the coldness of the votary, and not the prayer, that was in fault, whenever fervour was deficient at the public office of the Church.

The charity and extent of his prayers was as exuberant as the zeal and fervour: he thought it very unreasonable that our intercessions should not be as universal as our Saviour's redemption was; and would complain of that thrift and narrowness of mind to which we are so prone, confining our care either to ourselves and relatives, or at most to those little angles of the world that most immediately concerned us, and which, on due account, bear very low proportions to the whole. There was no emergent distress, however remote,

but it enlarged his litany; every year's harvest and new birth of mischiefs, which for several ones past constantly fell on the orthodox and loyal party in the nation, removed itself from the sanguinary edicts of the tyrant, to be transcribed and expiated by his pathetical office of devotion. In which calendar and rubric the thirtieth of January was sure to have a very solemn place, and a peculiar service prepared for it.

Nor did he only take to heart general national concernments, but even the more private exigencies of the sick and weak had a staple interest in his prayers. Among all which none had so liberal a part as they that merited them least, yet wanted them most; his and, what was usually the same thing, the Church's and God's enemies. He never thought he had assured his forgiveness of injuries, unless he returned good for them; and though other opportunities of this best kind of retaliation might fail him, that of his intercessions never did.

Three persons there were who above all men by unworthy malice and impotent virulence had highly disobliged him; but he in recompense of their guilt had a peculiar daily prayer purposely in their behalf: and though in the openness of his conversation with his most intimate acquaintance he confessed thus much, yet he never named the persons, though probably that was the only thing which he concealed; it being his method to withhold nothing, especially of confidence or privacy, from one he owned as friend.

And having mentioned the name of friend, however incidentally, we must not leave it without homage; friendship being the next sacred thing unto religion in the apprehensions of our excellent Doctor, a virtue of which he was a passionate lover, and with which he ever seemed to have contracted friendship. The union of minds thereby produced he judged the utmost point of human happiness, the very best production that nature has in store, or grows from earth. So that with compassion he reflected on their ignorance who were strangers to it, saying that "such must needs lead a pitiful insipid herb-John-like life."

Upon this ground he used with all industrious art to recommend and propagate friendship unto others; and where

he saw several persons that he judged capable of being made acquainted to mutual advantage, he would contrive that league; and where himself had kindness unto any so allied, he would still enjoin them to be kinder to each other than to him; besides, he still laboured to make all his friends endeared to each of them; resolving it to be an error bottomed on the common narrowness of soul, which represented amity like sensual love, to admit no rivals, confined unto two persons.

When he ever happened to see or be in company with such as had an intimate and hearty kindness for each other, he would be much transported in the contemplation of it, and where it was seasonable, would openly acknowledge that his satisfaction.

In the list and number of his friends there chanced to be three persons, who having in their youth contracted a strict intimacy, had undertaken the same profession; and accordingly had the same common studies and designments, and with these the opportunity through the late troubles to live in view of each other: whom for that reason he was used with an obliging envy to pronounce "the most happy men the nation had[z]."

Accordingly he professed that for his particular "he had no such way of enjoying any thing as by reflection from the person whom he loved; so that his friends being happy was the readiest way to make him so." Therefore when one

[z] [There can be little doubt who the three individuals alluded to are, viz. Fell, the writer of the present life, Dolben, and Allestry. The fortunes of the two former singularly resembled each other. Both were born in the same year, both were students of Ch. Ch., both expelled at the same time, both made canons of Ch. Ch. at the Restoration, and soon afterwards deans, one of Ch. Ch., the other of Westminster, and later again bishops, one of Oxford, the other of Rochester, both having leave to hold their deaneries *in commendam*. Both also died in the same year. Allestry was six years older than the other two, but was a student of the same standing as Fell, who was only eleven years of age when appointed by his father to a studentship. For an account of Fell, see the note at the commencement of the Life, (p. xvii.) and for Dolben, the note p. cviii. For some time all three lived together, and performed the services of the Church of England to the loyal party in Oxford, but Allestry did not remain with them the whole time, having been employed in carrying messages between the king and his friends till he was detected in 1659, and imprisoned. He was with the other two appointed canon of Ch. Ch. at the Restoration, and in 1663 was appointed to the Regius Professorship of Divinity, and afterwards made provost of Eton. For further particulars see the interesting Life prefixed to the edition of his Forty Sermons, published at Oxford, folio, 1684, written by Fell.]

eminently near to him in that relation was careless of health, his most pressing argument was his complaint of unkindness to him. And this way of measuring felicities was so natural to him, that it would occur even in the most trivial instances: when there has been any thing at the table peculiarly wholesome in relation to his infirmities, if his friend, who was in a like weak condition, forbare to eat of it in civility to him, he would with vehemence of grief resent it as his singular unhappiness after so many professions not to be believed, "that he had a thousand times rather that his friend should have that which was conducible to health, than to have it himself;" and then assumed, "that if this were believed, it were impossible any one should attempt to express kindness by robbing him of his greatest pleasure."

The principal thing he contracted for in friendship was a free use of mutual admonition; which he confined not to the grosser guilts which enemies and common fame were likely to observe and mind men of, but extended it unto prudential failings, indecencies, and even suspicious and barely doubtful actions; nay beyond that, unto those virtuous ones which might have been improved and rendered better. He was used to say, "it was a poor design of friendship to keep the person he admitted to his breast only from being scandalous, as if the physician should endeavour only to secure his patient from the plague." And what he thus articled for, he punctually himself performed, and exacted back again to be returned unto himself.

And if for any while he observed that no remembrance had been offered to him, he grew afraid and almost jealous of the omission, suspecting that the courtier had supplanted the friend, and therefore earnestly enforced the obligation of being faithful in this point: and when with much ado somewhat of advertisement was picked up, he received it always as a huge kindness; and though the whole ground of it happened to be mistake, yet he still returned most affectionate thanks.

His good will, when placed on any, was so fixed and rooted, that even supervening vice, to which he had the greatest detestation imaginable, could not easily remove it, the abhorrency of their guilts leaving not only a charity but ten-

derness to their persons; and, as he has professed, his concernment rather increased than lessened by this means, compassion being in that instance added unto love. There were but two things which, he would say, were apt to give check to his affections, pride and falseness; where he saw these predominant, he thought he could never be a friend to any purpose, because he could never hope to do any good; yet even there he would intend his prayers, so much the more, by how much the less he could do besides. But where he saw a malleable honest temper, a Jacob's plain simplicity, nothing could there discourage him; and however inadvertency or passion, or haply some worse ingredient, might frustrate his design, he would attend the *mollia tempora,* as he called them, those gentle and more treatable opportunities which might at last be offered. He so much abhorred artifice and cunning, that he had prejudice to all concealments and pretensions. He used to say he hated a *Non-causa,* and he had a strange sagacity in discovering it. When any with much circumlocution and contrivance had endeavoured to shadow their main drift and purpose, he would immediately look through all those mists, and where it was in any degree seasonable, would make it appear he did so: his charity of fraternal correption having only this caution or restraint, the hearer's interest, of which he judged, that when advice did not do good, it was hardly separable from doing harm; and on this ground sometimes he did desist. But wheresoever he gave an admonition, he prefaced it always with such demonstrations of tenderness and good will, as could not fail to convince of the affectionate kindness with which it was sent, though it could not of the convenience or necessity to embrace it. And this he gave as a general rule, and enforced by his example, "never to reprove in anger," or the least appearance of it. If the passion were real, that then was evidently a fault, and the guilty person most unfit to be a judge: if it were resemblance only, yet even that would be so like to guilt, as probably to divert the offender from the consideration of his failance, to fasten on his monitor; and make him think he was chid not because he was in fault, but because the other was angry.

Indeed the person who would not be some way moved with his advices must be strangely insensate and ill-natured. Though his exhortations had as much evidence and weight as words could give them, he had over and above a great advantage in his manner of speaking: his little phrase, "Don't be simple," had more power to charm a passion than long harangues from others; and very many who loved not piety in itself, nor to be troubled with the news of it, would be well pleased to be invited and advised by him, and venerated the same matter in his language which they have derided in another's.

He would say, "he delighted to be loved, not reverenced;" thinking that where there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; somewhat of restraint and distance attending on the one, which was not well consistent with the perfect freedom requisite to the other. But as he was thus no friend to ceremonious respect, he was an open enemy to flattery, especially from a friend, from whom he started to meet the slightest appearance of that servile kindness. Having upon occasion communicated a purpose against which there happened to lie some objections, they being by a friend of his represented to him, he immediately was convinced, and assumed other counsels. But in process of discourse it happened something fell in that brought to mind a passage of a late sermon of the Doctor's, which that person having been affected with, innocently mentioned such apprehensions of it, and so passed on to talk of other matters. The next day the Doctor having recollected that probably the approbation given to the passage of the sermon might be an after-design to allay the plain dealing which preceded it, expostulated his surmise, protesting "that nothing in the world could more avert his love, and deeply disoblige him, than such unfaithfulness." But being assured that there was no such art or contrivance meant, he gladly found and readily yielded himself to have been mistaken. In other cases he was no way inclinable to entertain doubts of his friends' kindness: but if any irregularity chanced to intervene, and cause misapprehensions, he gave them not leave to root and fasten by concealment, but immediately produced his ground of jealousy; and exacted the like measure

back again, if his own proceedings fell at any time under a doubtful or unkind appearance. This he thought a justice essential to friendship, without which it could not possibly subsist: for we think not fit to condemn the most notorious malefactor before he hath had licence to propose his plea; and sure it is more strangely barbarous to treat a friend, or rather friendship itself, with less regard.

To the performances of friendship he "hated all mercenary returns," whereof he was so jealous, as hardly to leave place for gratitude. "Love," he said, "was built upon the union and similitude of minds, and not the bribery of gifts and benefits." So generous was he herein, that he has oft professed, he "admitted retributions of good turns, yet not so much on any score, as that his friend might have the pleasure of being kind."

There was a person of quality, a great and long sufferer in the late times of trial, to whom the Doctor had frequently sent supplies, and continued so to do, till there happened at last a change in the condition of the correspondent, such a one as, if it did not supersede the need of farther assistance, yet gave promise of an approaching affluence; whereupon the Doctor feared the adding a new obligation in this conjuncture of affairs might seem a piece of design rather than kindness or charity: and though this suggestion was not of force to divert his purpose, it proved sufficient to suspend it, till by enquiry he found his designed present would be a relief, and then he thought it an impertinence to consider what it could be called besides.

But doing good to relatives, or being kind unto acquaintance were low expressions of this virtue we exhibit. Misery and want, wherever he met with them, sufficiently endeared the object. His alms was as exuberant as his love; and in calamities, to the exigence he never was a stranger, whatever he might be to the man that suffered. So that several were surprised, and some amazed at his bounty; and I have been assured by a learned and sober person employed in this affair, that his beneficiaries frequently made it their wonder how the Doctor should either know of them, or their distress; and looked on his errand, who was employed to bring relief, as a vision rather than a real bounty.

And here, to secure his charities, the first preparative was to leave himself no motive to resist or slight the opportunities of giving; which he compassed by being a steward to himself as well as unto God, and parting still with the propriety of a set portion of his estate, that when at any time he relieved the wants of any, he might become no whit the poorer by his gift, have only the content of giving, and the ease of being rid of keeping another's money. The rate and sum of what he thus devoted was the tenth of all his income; wherein he was so strictly punctual, that commonly the first thing he did was to compute and separate the poor man's share. To this he added every week five shillings, which had been his lowest proportion in the heat of the war in Oxford, when he lived upon his Penshurst stock, and had no visible means or almost possibility of supply. Over and above this he completed the devotions of his weekly fast by joining alms thereto, and adding twenty shillings to the poor man's heap.

These were his debts to charity, the established fixed revenue of the indigent; in the dispensation of which he was so religiously careful, that if at any time he happened to be in doubt whether he had set apart his charitable proportions, he always passed sentence against himself, resolving it much better to run the hazard of having paid the same debt twice, than to incur the possibility of not having done it once. But beyond these he had his free-will offerings, and those proportioned more by the occasion of giving, than the surplusage he had to give. His poor man's bag had so many mouths, and those so often opened, that it frequently became quite empty: but its being so never diverted him from relieving any that appeared in need; for in such seasons he chose to give in more liberal proportions than at others.

In the time of the war at Oxford, to pass by other lesser reliefs, and many great ones, which his industrious concealment has preserved from all notice of the most diligent enquiry, though he were then at a very low ebb, he furnished an indigent friend with sixty pounds, which never was repaid him: as also upon another score he parted with twenty pounds, and another considerable sum besides that: and to

one in distress about the same time and on the same occasion a hundred pounds.

Instead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice still to seek for theirs. Those persons whom he trusted with his greatest secret and greatest business, his charity, seldom had recourse to him, but he would make enquiry for new pensioners: and though he had in several parts of the nation those whom he employed to find out indigent persons, and dispose his largess to them, and though the tyranny that then prevailed, made every day store of such; his covetous bounty still grasped for more. Besides his ordinary provision for the neighbouring poor, and those that came to look him out in his retirement, (which were not few; for that the liberal man dwells always in the road,) his catalogue had an especial place for sequestered divines, their wives and orphans, for young students in the Universities, and also those divines that were abroad in banishment: where over and above his frequent occasional reliefs to the last of these, the exiled clergy, besides what he procured from others, he sent constantly over year by year, a very considerable sum, such a one as men of far greater revenues do not use upon any occasion to put into the corban, and give away, much less as a troublesome excrescence every year prune off, and cast from their estates.

Now if we enquire into the stock and fountain that was to feed all these disbursements, it was at his flight from Penshurst barely three hundred pounds; which, at the sale of a lease left him for his portion from his father, and the assistance of his prebend in Christ Church, after all his lavish charities during those years, was near upon a thousand. The taking of use though he judged lawful, yet he never approved by practice, but lent still gratis both to friends and strangers. The only other way he had of income was the buying of leases for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which when there is defaulked the many whole editions he had nothing for, the charge he was at in the sending of his copies before he printed them unto his friends for their animadversions and advices, his sending them sheet by sheet when printed, and surveying the revises, and the great numbers he gave away to his

acquaintance, it will appear that the remainder was but a slight matter. As for private contributions or assistance of that kind, he had never any: for though there were many who would gladly have made those oblations, yet he industriously prevented them by public avowing that he needed not. In which refusal he was so peremptory, that when being in Oxford made prisoner at the sign of the Bear, thence to be sent immediately to Wallingford castle, a gentleman perfectly a stranger to him, and coming by chance to the inn, and hearing of his condition, having fifty pieces by him, would needs have presented them to him; though the Doctor had before him the barbarous usage of his brethren, clapped on shipboard under hatches[a], the like

[a] [This treatment had actually been experienced by three masters of colleges in Cambridge, Beale, Martin, and Sterne. "For these great men," says the author of the Life of Barwick, p. 41, "and several other very eminent divines were kept close prisoners in a ship on the Thames under the hatches, almost killed with stench, hunger, and watching, and treated by the senseless mariners with more insolence than if they had been the vilest slaves, or had been confined there for some infamous robbery or murder. Nay, one Rigby, a scoundrel of the very dregs of the parliament rebels, did at that time expose these venerable persons to sale, and would actually have sold them for slaves if any one would have bought them." In a note to this passage (ib. p. 42.) it is added, that "the name of the ship was the *prosperous sail* or the *prosperous sailor*. It lay before Wapping, where no less than eighty prisoners of quality were crowded under the hatches without so much as straw to lie on, though the decks [were] so low they could not stand upright. The three masters of colleges above mentioned, after almost a year's imprisonment in the tower and in the Lord Peter's house, were shut up here by order of the mock parliament on Friday, August 11, 1643. Mercur. Rustic., xii. p. 115, 116." In another note to the same passage (ib.), it is said that this Alexander Rigby [was] styled 'the lawyer,' *Querel. Cantabr.*, p. 6, and 'a beloved member,' I suppose of the Long Parliament, (Dugd. Short View, ch. xliv. p. 577,) where he is said to have moved twice, that those lords and gentlemen which were prisoners for no other cause but being malignants, as they termed them, should be sold as slaves to Algiers, or sent to the new plantations in the West Indies, because he had contracted with two merchants for that purpose. This account is confirmed by a letter of Sterne's, dated Ely House, Oct. 2, 1643, which is printed in Le Neve's Lives of the Bishops, vol. i. p. 247, where he says, "This is now the fourteenth month of my imprisonment; nineteen weeks in the tower, thirty weeks in the Lord Peter's house, ten days in the ship, and seven weeks here in Ely house. The very dry fees and rents of these several persons have amounted to above 100*l.*, besides diet, and all other charges which have been various and excessive, as in prisons is usual . . . . . And all this while I have never been so much as spoken withal, or called either to give or receive an account why I am here. Nor is anything laid to my charge, (not so much as the general crime of being a malignant,) no, not in the warrant for my commitment. What hath been wanting in human justice, hath been, I praise God, supplied by Divine mercy. Health of body, and patience, and cheerfulness of mind I have not wanted, no, nor on shipboard; where we lay the first night without any thing under or over us but the bare decks and the clothes on our backs; and after we had some of us got beds, were not able, when it rained, to lie dry in them, and when it was fair weather, were sweltered with heat and stifled with our own breaths; there being of us in that one small Ipswich

to which he might probably enough meet with; and though this extraordinary occurrence seemed to carry with it somewhat of providential designment; yet he wholly refused the offer, as afterwards he did a far greater sum from a person of honour that courted him with it. Only one twenty pounds he was surprised by, and thought fit to accept, which after some dispute with himself he did upon these two grounds; first, that he might not gratify the pride from whence he was used to say men's reluctances to receive benefits proceeded; and secondly, that he might not give the gentleman the discomfiture of seeing he had made an unseasonable offer.

But with all this disproportioned expense unto revenue, a thing which after a very deliberate and strict enquiry remains riddle still, and an event next door to miracle, the Doctor daily improved in his estate, and grew in spite of all his liberality rich, being worth at the time of his death about 1500*l.*, which yet we are not to marvel should be strange to us, since it was so to the Doctor himself, who often professed "to wonder at it," and thereupon would apply this axiom, "that half is more than the whole," his mean revenue by being scattered in the worst of times growing upon him, when others that had great ones, by griping made them less, and grew stark beggars.

As the Doctor was thus charitable, so was he gentle and liberal; his openness of hand in secular occasions was proportionable to that in sacred. When any one had sent him a slight present of apples or the like, his reward would usually much exceed the value; and he would be so well pleased to have such an occasion of giving to a servant, saying, "Alas, poor soul, I warrant he is glad of this little matter," that this seemed a part of the sender's courtesy.

coal-ship, so low built too that we could not walk or stand upright in it, within one or two of three score; whereof six knights, and eight doctors of divinity, and divers gentlemen of very good worth, that would have been sorry to have seen their servants (nay, their dogs) no better accommodated." To this account Walker (Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. p. 147) adds, that eighty prisoners of quality were stowed away in this vessel, and says, "that they might stifle one another, having no more breath than what they sucked from one another's mouth; most maliciously, and certainly to a murderous intent, they stopped up all the small augur holes, and all other inlets which might relieve them with fresh air: an act of such horrid barbarism, that no age, nor story, nor rebellion can parallel."]

Thus if there happened any other occasion of giving, or of gratifying, or advancing public works, (for instance the great Bible, upon which he was out 50*l.*, and re-imbursed himself only by selling two copies[b],) he would be sure to do it at a free and highly ingenuous rate. So that he was sparing only to himself, and that upon no other principle, but thereby to be liberal to those he loved better than himself, the necessitous and poor. A pregnant instance whereof may be, that the Doctor upon occasion calculating his expenses on himself, found them to be not above five pounds in the year.

Besides this, he had a further impediment to riches, an easiness which alone has wasted other men's estates; he commonly making those he dealt with their own arbitrators, and if they seriously professed they could go no higher, he descended to their terms, saying commonly, that "this trash was not worth much ado." And beyond this he was so careless after bargains, that he never received script of paper of any to whom he lent, nor bond of any for performance of covenants, till very lately from two persons, when he found it necessary to use that method with them. He was used to say, "that if he thought men knaves, he would not deal with them; and if indeed they were so, it was not all his circumspection that could prevent a cheat: on the other side, if they were honest, they needed no such caution."

[b] [This was Walton's Polyglot, in the publication of which many of the learned men of the day assisted. It came out in six folio volumes, London, 1657. It was the first book published in England by subscription. Nearly 4000*l.* was subscribed before the proposals for publication were issued. These proposals are dated March 1, 1652-3, and are signed by J. Armachanus, W. Fuller, Bruno Ryves, Brian Walton, S. Whelocke, H. Thorndike. To a subscriber of 10*l.* a copy was guaranteed, and to one of 50*l.* six copies. Provision is made for supplying the accidental vacancies in the number of persons concerned in preparing the work, by the stipulation, that in the choice of such, 'the advice of the Lord Primate, Mr. Selden, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Saunderson, Dr. Sterne, Dr. Hammond, and other learned men who have approved the work shall be desired.' About two months after the first issuing of the proposals for publication, it appears that 9000*l.* had been subscribed. Hammond was probably a subscriber of 50*l.*, and would have six copies in right of his subscription. Three of them he probably gave away during his lifetime, as his will contains mention of only one copy, which he left to Dr. George Morley. For some very interesting particulars connected with the publication of the Polyglot, see Twells' Life of Pocock, prefixed to his Theological works, and Dibdin's Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics. The principal scholars concerned in the publication of the Polyglot and Lexicon, besides those above mentioned, were Ferne, J. Johnson, R. Drake, Greaves, T. Smith, Huisse, L. Clarke, Lightfoot, Hyde, and Loftus.]

And possibly if we consider the whole matter, there was not such imprudence in the manage as at first appears: for bonds would have signified little to him, who in the best times would scarce have put them in suit; but would certainly have starved before he would have made an application to those judicatories which of late prevailed, and usurped the protection as well as the possession of men's rights, and were injurious not only in their oppressions but reliefs.

In those black days, being charged with the debt of about fifty or sixty pounds formerly by him paid, being offered a release if he would take his oath of payment, he thought the condition too unequal, and was resolved to double his payment rather than perform it: but a farther enquiry having cleared the account, he incurred not that penalty.

To a friend of his who by the falseness of a correspondent whom he trusted, was reduced to some extremity, and enquired what course he took to escape such usage, the Doctor wrote as follows;

"To your doubt concerning myself, I thank God I am able to answer you, that I never suffered in my life for want of hand or seal, but think I have fared much better than they that have always been careful to secure themselves by these cautions. I remember I was wont to reproach an honest fellow-prebend of mine, that whensoever a siege was near, always sent away what he most valued to some other garrison or friend, and seldom ever met with any again, the solicitude was still their ruin: whereas I venturing myself and my cabinet in the same bottom, never lost any thing of this kind. And the like I have practised in this other instance. Whom I trusted to be my friend, all I had was in his power, and by God's blessing I was never deceived in my trust."

And here amidst all these unlikelihoods and seeming impossibilities, riches thrust themselves upon him, and would take no refusal: it pleasing God, since he had exemplified the advices of his Practical Catechism to the duties of alms and charitable distributions, in him also to make good and signally exemplify the assurance he there and elsewhere made in the behalf of Almighty God upon such performance, the giving affluence of temporal wealth. Nor was he

the single instance of this truth; as he had proselytes to the speculative verity, he had partizans also of the effect and real issue of it. About four years since[c] a person of good estate, and without charge of children, coming to visit the Doctor, among other discourse happened to speak of the late dean of Worcester, Dr. Potter, whose memory, for his remarkable charity and all other excellences befitting his profession and dignity in the Church, is precious. This gentleman there related, that formerly enquiring of the dean how it was possible for one that had so great a charge of children, was so hospitable in his entertainment, and profuse in liberality, not only to subsist, but to grow rich; he answered, that several years before he happened to be present at a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, where the preacher recommending the duty of alms and plentiful giving, assured his auditory that that was the certainest way to compass riches. He, moved therewith, thenceforward resolved diligently to follow the counsel and expect the issue; which was such as now created so much wonder. It fortuned that at that time when this was telling, the Doctor's *Δεύτεραι φροντίδες* were newly come out, and therewith this sermon of the "Poor man's tithing." He therefore willing to improve the opportunity, confessed that he himself was that preacher which Dr. Potter referred to, and that there was the very sermon: which immediately giving to this visitant, he desired Almighty God it might have the like effect on him; and so after a short civility dismissed him.

As to the way and very manner of his charity, even that was a part of his donation and largess. One great care of his was to dispose of his reliefs so as to be most seasonable; to which purpose he had his spies and agents still employed to give him punctual notice of the occurrents in their several stations. His next endeavour was to dispense them so as to be most endearing. To persons that had been of quality he consulted to relieve their modesty as well as needs, taking order they should rather find than receive alms; and knowing well they were provided for, should not yet be able to

[c] [This passage has not been altered from the first edition of 1661, and so refers to the date 1657, in which year the *Δεύτεραι φροντίδες* was published.]

guess by what means they were so. To those who were assisted immediately from his hand, he over and above bestowed the charities of his familiar and hearty kindness: in the expressiveness of which he was used to say that "it was a most unreasonable and unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty;" but much more by the pleasure and transport which the very act of giving transfused into him: which whosoever noted, stood in need of no other proof of the truth of his usual affirmation, "that it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world to give." Upon which consideration he often took occasion to magnify "the exceeding indulgence of God, that had annexed future rewards to that which was so amply its own recompense." Another circumstance in the Doctor's liberality not to be passed over was his choice of what he gave; his care that it should not be of things vile and refuse, but of the very best he had. It happened that a servant in the family being troubled with the gout, the Doctor gave order that he should have some of the plaster which he used in the like extremity: but the store of that being almost spent, the person entrusted in this office gave of another sort, which was of somewhat less reputation. Which practice the Doctor within a while coming to know, was extremely troubled at it, and complained of that unseasonable kindness unto him, which disregarded the pressing interests and wants of another person, and thereby gave him a disquiet parallel to that which a fit of the gout would have done.

But besides this of giving, the alms of lending had an eminent place in the practice as well as judgment of the Doctor. When he saw a man honest and industrious, he would trust him with a sum, and let him pay it again at such times and in such proportions as he found himself able: withal when he did so, he would add his counsel too, examine the person's condition, and contrive with him how the present sum might be most advantageously disposed; still closing the discourse with prayer for God's blessing, and after that dismissing him with infinite affability and kindness. In which performance as he was exuberant to all, so most especially to such as were of an inferior degree; giving this for a rule to those of his friends that were of

estate and quality, to "treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness, that they may be glad to have met with them."

And as upon the grounds of his most gentle and obliging humanity he never suffered any body to wait that came to speak with him, though upon a mere visit, but broke off his beloved studies, upon which his intention was so great, that he extremely grudged to be interrupted by any bodily concernment of his own, and so would often intermit his prescribed walks and suppers in pursuance of it: so with a more exceeding alacrity he came down when it was told him that a poor body would speak with him. Such of all others he loved not to delay; and so much he desired that others should do the same, that when the lady of the house, diverted either by the attractives of his discourse, or some other occasion, delayed the clients of her charity in alms, or that other most commendable one in surgery, he in his friendly way would chide her out of the room.

As poverty thus recommended to the Doctor's care and kindness, in an especial manner it did so when piety was added to it: upon which score a mean person in the neighbourhood, a weaver by trade, but by weakness disabled much to follow that or any other employment, was extremely his favourite. Him he used with a most affectionate freedom, gave him several of his books, and examined his progress in them; invited him, nay importuned him, still to come to him for whatever he needed, and at his death left him ten pounds as a legacy. A little before which fatal time, he and the Lady P. being walking, his client happened to come by, to whom after the Doctor had talked awhile in his usual friendly manner, he let him pass, yet soon after called him with these words, "If it should please God that I should be taken from this place, let me make a bargain between my lady and you, that you be sure to come to her with the same freedom you would to me for any thing you want:" and so with a most tender kindness gave his benediction. Then turning to the lady, said, "Will you not think it strange I should be more affected for parting from this poor man than from you?" His treating him when he came to visit him in his sickness was parallel hereto in all respects.

Such another acquaintance he had at Penshurst[d], whom he likewise remembered in his will, and to whom he was used to send his more practical books, and to write extreme kind letters, particularly enquiring of his condition and children's: and when he heard he had a boy fit to put out to school, allowed him a pension to that purpose: and also with great contentment received from him his kind, though scarce legible, returns. In this place I cannot omit to add a very unexpected account of both these persons before mentioned; as a great instance how insecure our virtue is in this world, however established it may seem, and removed out of the way and hazards of temptation. Both the one and the other of these two, whether out of pride that their exemplary piety had recommended them to the Doctor, and thereby put them into esteem with others; or that his awe ceasing to be upon them, they gave way to those vicious inclinations which before they suppressed or concealed, or some other more unaccountable and hidden cause, upon a sudden after the Doctor died, which now immediately happened, to the amazement of all that formerly knew them, turned open debauchees; and one of them after several disorders in the country, went up to London, where he joined himself to the worst company of that place, and turned hector, with the addition of the liberal art of coining; but Divine vengeance remarkably pursued these two unhappy men, who after they had passed a great part of their life under the best advantages of institution, and seeming practice of strict duty, made such a change of their way of living, and shipwreck of their souls: the one being taken up drowned in a small brook near his house, not without violent suspicions that he had thrown himself wilfully into the water, to make himself away; the other, if my intelligence fail not, coming to a more shameful end, being hanged at Tyburn. The pretences of these persons to religion were so remarkable, and their apostacy from it, with the vengeance that followed, so extra-

[d] [In the first edition of Fell's Life of Hammond, published in 1661, the names of both these individuals are mentioned. The first, described as a weaver, is called Houseman. The other Sexton. The following passage in their history was added afterwards, and then the names were suppressed. The author has made a slight mistake in describing them, as it appears from the copy of Hammond's will that Sexton was the weaver. Moreover Houseman's name does not occur at all in the will.]

ordinary, the instruction naturally flowing from the whole, so very useful, that I presume this digression will not be thought an impertinence.

To return to our former subject of discourse, this exuberant kindness and condescension in the Doctor will not seem strange to any who shall consider how low a rate he put upon those usual distinctives, birth or riches; and withal how high a value on the souls of men: for them he had so unmanageable a passion, that it often broke out into words of this effect, which had with them still in the delivery an extraordinary vehemence, "O what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life were it to be the instrument of rescuing any one soul!" Accordingly in the pursuit of this design he not only wasted himself in perpetual toil of study, but most diligently attended the offices of his calling, reading daily the prayers of the Church, preaching constantly every Sunday, and that many times when he was in so ill a condition of health, that all besides himself thought it impossible, at least very unfit, for him to do it. His subjects were such as had greatest influence on practice, which he pressed with most affectionate tenderness, making tears part of his oratory. And if he observed his documents to have failed of the desired effect, it was matter of great sadness to him; where instead of accusing the parties concerned, he charged himself that his performances were incompetent to the designed end, and would solicitously enquire what he might do to speak more plainly or more movingly; whether his extemporary wording might not be a defect, and the like. Besides this, he liberally dispensed all other spiritual aids: from the time that the children of the family became capable of it till his death, he made it a part of his daily business to instruct them, allotting the interval betwixt prayers and dinner to that work, observing diligently the little deviations of their manners, and applying remedies unto them. In like sort, that he might ensnare the servants also to their benefit, on Sundays in the afternoon he catechised the children in his chamber, giving liberty, nay invitation, to as many as would, to come and hear, hoping they haply might admit the truths obliquely levelled, which bashfulness persuaded not to enquire for, lest they thereby should own the

fault of former inadvertency. Besides he publicly declared himself ready and desirous to assist any person single, and to that purpose having particularly invited such to come at their leisurable hours, when any did so, he used all arts of encouragement and obliging condescension; insomuch that having once got the scullion in his chamber upon that errand, he would not give him the uneasiness of standing, but made him sit down by his side: though in other cases amidst his infinite humility, he knew well how to assert the dignity of his place and function from the approaches of contempt. Upon this ground of ardent love to souls, a very disconsolate and almost desponding person happening some years since to come to him, there to unload the burden of his mind, he kept him privately in his chamber for several days with a paternal kindness, answering every scruple which that unhappy temper of mind too readily suggested, and with unwearied patience attending for those little arguments which in him were much more easily silenced than satisfied. This practice continued, till he at last discovered his impressions had in good proportion advanced to the desired effect; which proceeded carefully in this method, that duty still preceded promise, and strict endeavour only founded comfort.

On the same motive of this highest charity, when some years since a young man, who by the encouragement of an uncle, formerly the head of a house in Oxford, had been designed to learning, but by his ejectment at the visitation was diverted from that course to a country life, and being so, to engage him therein was also married and had children; amidst his toilsome avocations continued to employ his vacant hours in study, and happening on some of the Doctor's writings, was so affected with them, as to leave his wife and family and employment, to seek out the Doctor himself, whom being accordingly addressed unto, the excellent Doctor met this unknown romantic undertaker with his accustomed kindness, and most readily received this votary and proselyte to learning into his care and pupillage for several years, affording him all kind of assistance both in studies and temporal support, till he at last arrived at good proficiency in knowledge, and became an useful person in the Church.

Nor could this zeal to the eternal interests of souls be superseded by any sight of danger however imminent. The last year of the Doctor's life, one in the neighbourhood mortally sick of the small pox, desiring that he would come to him, as soon as he heard of it, though the disease did then prove more than usually fatal, and the Doctor's age and complexion threatened it particularly so to him, and though one might discern in his countenance vigorous apprehensions of the danger, he presently suppressed his fears, staying only so long as to be satisfied whether the party was so sensible that a visit might possibly be of use, and being informed thereof, cheerfully went; telling the person that happened to be present, whose dreads in his behalf were not so easily deposited, that "he should be as much in God's hands in the sick man's chamber as in his own:" and not contented with going once, appointed the next day to have returned again; which he had done, had not the patient's death absolved him of his promise.

So likewise when at another time a gentleman of no very laudable life had in his sickness desired to speak with the Doctor, which message through the negligence of the person employed was not delivered till he that sent it was in the last agonies of death; the Doctor was very much affected at it, passionately complaining of the "brutishness of those that had so little sense of a soul in that sad state:" and pouring out his most fervent prayers in his behalf, requested farther "that by this example others, and in particular the companions of that unhappy person's vice, might learn how improper a season the time of sickness, and how unfit a place the death-bed is for that one great important work of penitence, which was intended by Almighty God the one commensurate work of the whole life."

But though to advance the spiritual concerns of all that could in any kind become receptive of the good he meant them was his unlimited designment and endeavour, yet to nourish and advance the early virtue of young persons was his more chosen study: when he saw such a one, he would contrive and seek out ways to insinuate and endear himself, lay hold of every opportunity to represent the beauty, pleasure, and advantage of a pious life; and on the other side to express the toil, the danger, and the mischief of brutal

sensuality. Withal he would be still performing courtesies, thereby to oblige of very gratitude to him, obedience and duty unto God.

Where, to pass by the many instances that he gave of this his charity, it will not be amiss to insist on one as a specimen of the rest, which was thus. It happened during the Doctor's abode in Oxford in the war, that a young man of excellent faculties and very promising hopes in that place, by his love to music was engaged in the company of such who had that one good quality alone to recommend their other ill ones. The Doctor finding this, though otherwise a stranger to the person, gave him in exchange his own; and taking him as it were into his own bosom, directed him to books, and read them with him, particularly a great part of Homer, at a night dispatching usually a book, and if it proved holiday, then two; where his comical expression was when one Iliad was done, to say, "Come, because it is holiday let us be jovial and take the other Iliad," reflecting on the mode of the former debauches, whose word it was, "It is holiday, let us take the other pint."

And as the Doctor laboured in the rescue of single persons, he had an eye therein to multitudes; for wherever he had planted the seeds of piety, he presently cast about to extend and propagate them thereby to others: engaging all his converts "not to be ashamed of being reputed innocent, or to be thought to have a kindness for religion; but own the seducing men to God with as much confidence at least as others use when they are factors for the devil:" and "instead of lying on the guard and the defensive part," he gave in charge "to choose the other of the assailant." And this method he commended "not only as the greatest service unto God and to our neighbour, but as the greatest security to ourselves; it being like the not expecting of a threatened war at home, but carrying it abroad into the enemy's country. And nothing in the Christian's warfare" he judged "so dangerous as a truce, and the cessation of hostility. Withal, parley and holding intelligence with guilt in the most trivial things," he pronounced "as treason to ourselves, as well as unto God, for while," saith he, "we fight with sin, in the fiercest shock of opposition we shall be safe; for no attempts can

hurt us till we treat with the assailants: temptations of all sorts having that good quality of the devil in them, to fly when they are resisted." Besides, whereas young people are used to varnish over their non-performance and forbearance of good actions by a pretence unto humility and bashful modesty, saying they are ashamed for to do this or that, as being not able for to do it well, he assured them "this was arrant pride and nothing else."

Upon these grounds his motto of instruction to young persons was, *principiis obsta*, and *hoc age*, to withstand the overtures of ill, and be intent and serious in good; to which he joined a third advice, "to be furnished with a friend." Accordingly at a solemn leave-taking of one of his disciples, he thus discoursed: "I have heard say of a man who upon his death-bed being to take his farewell of his son, and considering what course of life to recommend that might secure his innocence, at last enjoined him to spend his time in making of verses and in dressing a garden; the old man thinking no temptation could creep into either of these employments. But I instead of these expedients will recommend these other, the doing all the good you can to every person, and the having of a friend; whereby your life shall not only be rendered innocent, but withal extremely happy."

Now after all these excellences, it would be reason to expect that the Doctor, conscious of his merit, should have looked if not on others with contempt, yet on himself with some complacency and fair regard: but it was far otherwise; there was no enemy of his, however drunk with passion, that had so mean an esteem either of him or of his parts as he had both of the one and other. As at his first appearing in public he was clearly over-reached and cheated in the owning of his books; so when he found it duty to go on in that his toilsome trade of writing, he was wont seriously to profess himself "astonished at their reception into the world, especially," as he withal was pleased to add, "since others failed herein, whose performance were infinitely beyond any thing which he was able to do."

From this opinion of his mediocrity at best, and the resolution of not making any thing in religion public before it had undergone all tests, in point not only of truth but pru-

dence, proceeded his constant practice of subjecting all his writings to the censure and correction of his friends, "engaging them at that time to lay aside all their kindness, or rather to evidence their love by being rigidly censorious[e]." There is scarce any book he wrote that had not first travelled on this errand, of being severely dealt with, to several parts of the nation before it saw the light; nay, so scrupulous was the Doctor herein, that he has frequently, upon suggestion of something to be changed, returned his papers the second time unto his censor, to see if the alteration was exactly to his mind, and generally was never so well pleased as when his packets returned with large accessions of objectings and advertisements. And in this point he was so strangely advisable, that he would advert unto the judgment of the meanest person, usually saying, "that there was no one that was honest to him by whom he could not profit;" withal, "that he was to expect readers of several sorts, and if one illiterate man was stumbled, it was likely others of his form would be so too, whose interest, when he writ to all, was not to be passed over. Besides, those less discerning observators, if they could do nothing else," he said "could serve to draw teeth;" that is, admonish if ought were said with passion or sharpness, a thing the Doctor was infinitely jealous of in his writings. Many years since he having sent one of his tracts unto an eminent person in this Church, to whom

[e] [That Ussher was one of the friends he consulted in this way, the following letter published by Parr in his life of the archbishop will testify.

My Lord,

Some few dissertations I have put together, with some purpose to adventure them to the press; but first desire to offer them to your grace's view to receive your judgment of the fitness of so doing.—If the whole do bring too great a trouble to your grace, you may then read over the *Lemmata* and thereby be directed to read where you think there will be most hazard of running into error.

And if upon survey your grace shall find cause to send back the book again for my further thoughts, it will be welcome if accompanied with your directions. But if there be no more dangerous *σφάλματα*, than what your pen may without much trouble correct, I desire it may then be returned to Mr. Royston this bearer, with a word of notice to him that he may proceed. But I must desire from your grace the favour of perfect secrecy till the book be printed, and then it shall visit your grace again, from

Your grace's most humble servant,
H. HAMMOND.

Dec. 6.

Another person whom Hammond consulted with regard to his publications, and to whose judgment he shewed great deference, was Wrenn, bishop of Ely, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence. These letters, which have never been published, bear ample testimony to Hammond's gentleness of disposition and humility, as well as to the pains which he bestowed on preparing his works for the press.]

he bore a very high and merited regard, to be looked over by him; he sending it back without any amendment, but with a profuse compliment of liking every thing; the good Doctor was much affected with the disappointment, only comforted himself herein, that "he had reaped this benefit, to have learned never to send his papers to that hand again:" which resolution to his dying day he kept.

Nor was this caution before the publishing of his books sufficient, but was continued after it, the Doctor importuning still his friends to send him their objections, if in any point they were not satisfied; which he with great indifference considered in his reviews and subsequent editions: however took more kindly the most impertinent exception than those advertisements of a different kind which brought encomiums and lavish praises, which he heard with as great distaste as others do the most virulent reproaches.

A farther proof of this low esteem the Doctor had of himself, if such were possible, would be meekness to those that slighted him and disparaged his abilities: this being the surest indication that our humility is in earnest, when we are content to hear ill language not only from ourselves but from our enemies: which with how much indifference this inimitable person did, it is neither easy fully to describe, nor to persuade to just belief. The short is, as he was never angry with his pertinacious dissenters for not being of his mind in points of speculation; no more was he in the least with his scornful opposites for their being of it in their little value of his person. And though he had, as well as other men, seeds of incitation in his natural temper, and more than others, temptation to it in his daily and almost intolerable injuries; yet such was the habitual mastery he had gained over himself, that the strictest considerers of his actions have not in ten years' perpetual conversation seen his passion betray him to an indecent speech.

Nor was his sufferance of other kinds less exemplary than that he evidenced in the reception of calumny and foul reproach: for though "pain were that to which" he was used to say "he was of all things most a coward," yet being under it, he shewed an eminent constancy and perfect resignation.

At the approach of sickness his first consideration was, "what failing had provoked the present chastisement," and to that purpose made his earnest prayer to God, and enjoined his friends to do the like, "to convince him of it: nor only so, but tear and rend away, though by the greatest violence and sharpest discipline, whatever was displeasing in His eyes, and grant not only patience, but fruitfulness under the rod." Then by repeated acts of submission would he deliver himself up into God's hands to do with him as seemed Him good; amidst the sharpest pains meekly invoking Him, and saying, "God's holy will be done." And even then when on the rack of torture, would he be observing every circumstance of allay: when it was the gout, he would give thanks it was not the stone or cramp; when it was the stone, he then would say it was not so sharp as others felt, accusing his impatience that it appeared so bad to him as it did. And then when some degree of health was given, he exerted all his strength in a return of grateful recognition to the author of it, which he performed with a vivacious sense and cheerful piety, frequently reflecting on the Psalmist's phrase, "that it was a joyful thing to be thankful." Which his transport whoever should attentively observe, would easily apprehend how possible it was for the infinite fruitions of another world to be made up by the perpetual act of grateful recognition, in giving lauds and singing praises unto God.

Upon this score he was a most diligent observer of every blessing he received, and had them still in readiness to confront unto those pressures he at any time lay under. In the intermissions of his importunate maladies he would with full acknowledgment mention the great indulgence, that he "who had in his constitution the cause of so much pain still dwelling with him, should yet by God's immediate interposing be rescued from the effect."

To facilitate yet more this his serenity and calm of mind, he laid this rule before him, which proved of great use, "never to trouble himself with the foresight of future events," being resolved of our Saviour's maxim, that "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof: and that it were the greatest folly in the world to perplex one's-self with that which perchance will never come to pass; but if it should,

then God who sent it will dispose it to the best; most certainly to His glory, which should satisfy us in our respects to Him; and, unless it be our fault, as certainly to our good, which, if we be not strangely unreasonable, must satisfy in reference unto ourselves and private interests. Besides all this, in the very dispensation God will not fail to give such allays which, like the cool gales under the line, will make the greatest heats of sufferance very supportable." In such occasions he usually subjoined Epictetus' Dilemma, "either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not: if it be, let us apply the remedy, and there will be no motive for complaint; if it be not, the grief is utterly impertinent, since it can do no good[f]." As also from the same author he annexed this consideration, "that every thing has two handles; if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate[g]:" and in every occurrent he would be sure to find some cool handle that he might lay hold of.

And to enforce all this he made a constant recourse to the experience of God's dealing with him in preceding accidents, which however dreadful at a distance, at a nearer view lost much of their terror. And for others that he saw perplexed about the manage of their difficult affairs, he was wont to ask them, "when they would begin to trust God, or permit Him to govern the world." Besides, unto himself and friends he was wont solemnly to give this mandate, *quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis,* in his English, "to rather nothing;" not only to be content or acquiesce, but be resolved the present state to be the very best that could be wished or fancied.

And thus all private concernments he passed over with a perfect indifference; the world and its appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took notice when any part dropped off, or sat uneasily. Herein indeed he was concerned and rendered thoughtful, if somewhat intervened that

[f] [εὐθὺς οὖν πάσῃ φαντασίᾳ τραχείᾳ μελέτα ἐπιλέγειν, ὅτι φαντασία εἶ, καὶ οὐ πάντως τὸ φαινόμενον· ἔπειτα ἐξέταζε αὐτὴν, καὶ δοκίμαζε τούτοις τοῖς κανόσιν, οἷς ἔχεις· πρώτῳ δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ μάλιστα, πότερον περὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἢ περὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν· κἂν περί τι τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ᾖ, πρόχειρον ἔστω τὸ, διότι οὐδὲν πρός σε.—Epict. Ench. c. 5.]

[g] [πᾶν πρᾶγμα καὶ πρόσωπον δύο ἔχει λαβάς, μίαν φορητὴν μίαν ἀφόρητον· ὁ ἀδελφος ἐὰν ἀδικῇ, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸ μὴ λάμβανε ὅτι ἀδικεῖ, αὕτη γὰρ ἡ λαβή ἐστιν αὐτοῦ οὐ φορητή· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖθεν μᾶλλον ὅτι ἀδελφὸς, ὅτι σύντροφος· καὶ λήψῃ αὐτὸ, καθ' ὃ φορητόν ἐστιν.—*Ib.* c. 65.]

had a possibility of duty appendant to it; in which case he would be solicitous to discern where the obligation lay: but presently rescued himself from that disquiet by his addresses unto God in prayer and fasting, which was his certain refuge in this as well as other exigents; and if the thing in question were of moment, he called in the devotions of his friends. Besides this case he owned to have some kind of little discomposure in the choice of things perfectly indifferent; for where there was nothing to determine him, the balance by hanging even became tremulous and by a propensity to either side inclined to neither, making useless offers, but promoving nothing: which condition of mind he was wont to call "the deliberation of Buridan's ass."

Upon which grounds of all other things he most disliked the being left to make a choice; and hugely applauded the state of subjection to a superior, where an obsequious diligence was the main ingredient of duty: as also he did the state of subjection unto pressure, as a privilege and blessing. And though he prayed as much and withal as heartily as any person for the return of the nation from captivity, he always first premised the being made receptive of such mercy by the intervention of repentance. He would often both publicly and privately assert solemnly, "that prosperous iniquity would not be deliverance, but the most formidable judgment: that the nation during its pressures was under the discipline of God, given up to Satan by a kind of ecclesiastic censure; and should the Almighty dismiss us from his hands, and put us into our own, give us up to ourselves, with a 'why should you be smitten any more?' this were of all inflictions the most dreadful." Though with admirable equanimity he could run over the black annals of this unhappy nation while its calamities were reckoned up, he could scarce hear the slightest mention of its incorrigible guilt without dissolving into tears; especially when he happened to advert unto the impudence of that hypocrisy which reconciled godliness and villainy, and made it possible for men to be saints and devils both together: whereby religion grew ruinous to itself, and besides the scandal of such enormities committed in the face of the sun, with such pretence to zeal and holiness, our faith became instructed to confute and baffle duty,

the Creed and the Commandments, belief and practice being brought into the lists, and represented as incompatible; while the flames intended for the sacred lamps, the establishment of doctrinals and speculative divinity, burnt up the altar and the temple, consumed not only charity, but good nature too, and untaught the common documents of honest heathenism.

And while this public soul in the contemplation of the mischief which our sins both were themselves and in their issues; great in their provocation and fatal in their plagues, indulged unto his pious and generous griefs: yet even then considering judgment not to be more just than useful to the sufferers, he found out means from that unlikely topic to speak comforts to himself and others.

In that last crisis of our gasping hopes, the defeat of the Cheshire forces[h], which promised all the misery consequent to the sway of a senate gorged in blood, and yet still thirsting more, and of a veteran army composed of desperate fanatics engaged in equal guilts among themselves, and equal hate against the other party, and therewithal the religion, liberty, and being of the nation; he thus addresses himself to the desponding sorrows of a friend.

"Sept. 2.

"Sir,

"I have received your last, and acknowledge the great fitness of it to the present opportunities under which God hath pleased to place us. If we look about us, there was never any louder call to lamentation and bitter mourning; and the sharpest accents of these are visibly due to those continued provocations which appear to have wrought all our woe: yet is there not wanting some gleam of light, if we shall yet by

[h] [The first day of August, 1659, was fixed for a general rising of the royalists in the different counties, but the plan was discovered and rendered abortive. In Cheshire only were they for a time successful. Sir George Booth, a recent convert to the cause of the Stuarts, took possession of Chester, and forced the parliamentary garrison to retire into the castle, but their courage began to fail upon learning that the rising in the other counties had been put a stop to, and that Lambert was coming to attack them with four regiments of cavalry, and three of foot. Instead of retiring into the town, "which," Clarendon says, "they might have defended against a much greater army, than Lambert had with him, longer than [he could stay before it," they marched out to meet him, Aug. 19, and were soon totally defeated, losing about thirty killed and three hundred taken prisoners. For this service the parliament voted £1000 to Lambert, which he distributed amongst his officers.]

God's grace be qualified to make use of it. It is the supreme privilege of Christianity to convert the saddest evils into the most medicinal advantages, the valley of Achor into the door of hope, the blackest tempest into the most perfect εὐδία, and it is certain you have an excellent opportunity now before you to improve and receive benefit by; and you will not despise that affection which attempts to tell you somewhat of it. It is plainly this; that all kind of prosperity (even that which we most think we can justify the most importunate pursuance of, the flourishing of a Church and monarchy) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to our great ills, and nothing is so entirely safe and wholesome as to be continued under God's disciplines. Those that are not bettered by such methods, would certainly be intoxicated and destroyed by the pleasanter draughts; and those that would ever serve God sincerely in affluence, have infinitely greater advantages and opportunities for it in the adverse fortune. Therefore let us all now adore and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorously to the task that lies before us, improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward lustre of a Church; and we shall not fail to find that the grots and caves lie as open to the celestial influences as the fairest and most beautified temples. We are ordinarily very willing to be rich, and flatter ourselves that our aims are no other than to be enabled by much wealth to do much good; and some live to see themselves confuted, want hearts when wealth comes in greatest abundance: so those that never come to make the experiment, have yet reason to judge that God saw it fit not to lead them into temptation, lest if they had been proved they should have been found faithless. And the same judgment are we now obliged to pass for ourselves, and by what God appears to have chosen for us, to resolve what He sees to be absolutely best for us; and it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for. And then, I pray, judge candidly whether any thing be in any degree sober or tolerable in any of us, beside the one great necessary wisdom as well as duty of resignation, and

making God's choices ours also. I have been these three weeks under restraint by the gout and other pains, and am not yet on my legs, yet blessed be God have all causes of thanksgiving, none of repining. And I shall with confidence pray and hope that the great multitudes of persons and families that are now under far sharper exercises, will find as much greater allays and sweetnesses, and the black cloud, as oft it hath done, vanish undiscernibly."

And when this most unlikely prophecy became fulfilled, when that black cloud he spoke of, contrary to all human expectation, broke not in tempest, but the fairest sunshine that ever smiled on this our land, when our despairs and resolute despondencies became unravelled by a miracle of mercy, which after-ages will be as far from giving credit to in its endearing most improbable circumstances, as this of ours (pardon the harshness of a true comparison) is from esteeming at its merited rate; our excellent patriot, and best of men, seeing the dawnings of this welcome day, paid down at once his greatest thanks and heartiest deprecations as a tribute to it, passionately fearing what he had more passionately wished for, suspecting his own hopes and weeping over his fruitions.

As to his sacred Majesty, he looked on his return with pity and compassion, as "bringing him to that uneasy, if not insuperable, task of ruling and reforming a licentious people; to that most irksome sufferance of being worried with the importunities of covetous and ambitious men, the restless care of meeting the designs of mutinous and discontented spirits: resolving, his most wished return could only be a blessing to his people, but unto him could not be so, but only on the score, by having opportunities through glorious self-denials to do good." And for all other persons he said, "that having seriously considered what sort of men would be better for the change, he could not think of any. As for the Church," it was certain, "persecution was generally the happiest means of propagating that; she then grew fastest when pruned most: then of the best complexion and most healthy when fainting through loss of blood. As to the laity, in all their several stations and estates they had

so much perverted the healthful dispensations of judgment, that it was most improbable they should make any tolerable use of mercy. And lastly, in reference to himself, he resolved," though sure on weaker grounds, "affliction most conducible." During the current of that tyranny, which for so many years we all groaned under, he kept a constant equable serenity and unthoughtfulness in outward accidents: but the approaching change gave him somewhat of pensive recollection, insomuch that discoursing of occurrents, he broke forth into these words, "I must confess I never saw that time in all my life wherein I could so cheerfully say my *Nunc dimittis* as now. Indeed I do dread prosperity, I do really dread it. For the little good I am now able to do, I can do it with deliberation and advice: but if it please God I should live and be called to any higher office in the Church, I must then do many things in a hurry, and shall not have time to consult with others, and I sufficiently apprehend the danger of relying on my own judgment." Which words he spake with the greatest concernment of earnest melting passion as is imaginable. Accordingly it pleased Almighty God to deal; and having granted to His servant the satisfaction of a full return and gracious answer to his prayer in the then every day expected reception of his sacred Majesty, not to deny his other great request of not sharing a temporary advantage from it: but as his merits were far beyond those transitory ensnaring retributions, to remove him from them to those solid and unmixed rewards, which could be nothing else than such, and would be such for ever.

But this sad part of our relation requiring to itself a fresh unwearied sorrow, and the saint-like manner of this excellent person's passage from the world being as exemplary and conducing to the uses of survivors as the notice of his life; we shall allow it a distinct apartment, and once again break off the thread of our discourse, for to resume it in its proper unentangled clue.

SECTION III.

At the opening of the year 1660, when every thing visibly tended to the reduction of his sacred Majesty, and all per-

sons in their several stations began to make way and prepare for it, the good Doctor was by the Fathers of the Church desired to repair to London, there to assist in the great work of the composure of breaches in the Church: which summons as he resolved unfit either to dispute or disobey, so could he not without much violence to his inclinations submit unto. But finding it his duty, he diverted all the uneasiness of antipathy and aversation into a deliberate preparation of himself for this new theatre of affairs on which he was to enter. Where his first care was to fortify his mind against the usual temptations of business, place, and power. And to this purpose, besides his earnest prayers to God for His assistance, and disposal of him entirely to His glory, and a diligent survey of all his inclinations, and therein those which were his more open and less defensible parts, he farther called in and solemnly adjured that friend of his with whom he had then the nearest opportunity of commerce, to study and examine the last ten years of his life, and with the justice due to a Christian friendship to observe his failances of all kinds, and shew them to him: which being accordingly attempted, the product, after a diligent inquest, only proving the representation of such defects which might have passed for virtue in another person; his next prospect was abroad, what several ways he might do good unto the public: and knowing that the diocese of Worcester[i] was by the favour of

[i] ["Dr. Hammond, for whom that see was designed, died a little before the Restoration, which was an unspeakable loss to the Church; for as he was a man of great learning and of most eminent merits, he having been the person that during the bad times had maintained the cause of the Church in a very singular manner, so he was a very moderate man in his temper, though with a high principle; and probably he would have fallen into healing counsels. He was also much set on reforming abuses, and for raising in the clergy a due sense of the obligations they lay under."—Burnet, Own Times, vol. i. p. 177.

"The bishop of Oxford likewise framed I know not what excuses, and those very frivolous, to hinder the work, raising little trifling objections against the incomparable Dr. Hammond, nominated by his Majesty to the bishopric of Worcester; as though forsooth it had been contrary to the practice of all ages to promote any one immediately from the degree of a presbyter to so noble a see, fitter, as was pretended, to be bestowed upon one that had some time enjoyed an inferior bishopric; when yet, to say nothing of others, the very last bishop of Worcester had been advanced to that see immediately from the degree of a presbyter. It was certain that in the opinion of all good men, Dr. Hammond would have greatly adorned that diocese, where he had dwelt some years in this disturbed state of things, and, to say nothing of his immense erudition, was universally esteemed and reverenced as a most illustrious example of primitive piety. But he was accounted more worthy to enjoy a throne among the saints in heaven; for he soon after departed this

his Majesty designed his charge, he thought of several opportunities of charity unto that place, and among others particularly cast in his mind for the repair of the cathedral church, and had laid the foundation of a considerable advance unto that work. Which early care is here mentioned as an instance of his inflamed desire of doing good, and singular zeal to the house of God, and the restoring of a decent worship in a like decent place: for otherwise it was far from his custom to look forward into future events, but still to attend and follow after providence, and let every day bear its own evil. And now considering that the nation was under its great crisis and most hopeful method of its cure, which yet if palliate and imperfect would only make way to more fatal sickness, he fell to his devotions on that behalf, and made those two excellent prayers[k] which were published immediately after his death, as they had been made immediately before his sickness, and were almost the very last thing he wrote.

Being in this state of mind fully prepared for that new course of life, which had nothing to recommend it to his taste but its unpleasantness, (the best allective unto him,) he expected hourly the peremptory mandate which was to call him forth of his beloved retirements.

But in the instant a more importunate, though infinitely more welcome summons, engaged him on his last journey: for on the fourth of April he was seized by a sharp fit of the stone, with those symptoms that are usual in such cases; which yet upon the voidance of a stone ceased for that time.

life, to the no small addition of grief to the Church in that her mournful estate."—Life of Barwick, p. 239. In a note to this passage (Ib. p. 241.) the author adds, "In a manuscript note on Dr. Price's mystery and method of his Majesty's happy restoration, p. 38, I find it observed that the king gave authority to Dr. Duppa, then bishop of Salisbury, and other bishops not there named, to consecrate Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Lacy, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Walton, and that the warrant was brought from Brussels by Mr. Allestry in May 1659. The writer of this note does not cite his authority, but seems to be well assured of what he advances in this and a few other manuscript notes on that book; because he directs what he has wrote on the margin to be inserted into the body of the book, not as notes but additions and amendments, which looks as if it had been done by Dr. Price himself."]

[k] [They were first published in 8vo. London, 1660, under the title, 'The last words of the Reverend pious and learned Dr. Hammond, being two prayers for the peaceful resettlement of the Church and state.' They occupy the last two pages of the first volume of Hammond's collected works.]

However on the eighth of the same month it returned again with greater violence; and though after two days the pain decreased, the suppression of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a distension of the whole body, and likewise shortness of breath, upon any little motion. When, as if he had by some instinct a certain knowledge of the issue of his sickness, he almost at its first approach conceived himself in hazard: and whereas at other times, when he saw his friends about him fearful, he was used to reply cheerfully, "that he was not dying yet;" now in the whole current of his disease, he never said any thing to avert suspicion, but addressed unto its cure, telling his friends with whom he was, "that he should leave them in God's hands, who could supply abundantly all the assistance they could either expect or desire from him, and who would so provide, that they should not find his removal any loss." And when he observed one of them with some earnestness pray for his health and continuance, he with tender passion replied, "I observe your zeal spends itself all in that one petition for my recovery; in the interim you have no care of me in my greatest interest, which is, that I may be perfectly fitted for my change when God shall call me: I pray let some of your fervour be employed that way." And being pressed to make it his own request to God to be continued longer in the world, to the service of the Church, he immediately began a solemn prayer, which contained first a very humble and melting acknowledgment of sin, and a most earnest intercession for mercy and forgiveness through the merits of his Saviour: next resigning himself entirely into his Maker's hands, he begged "that if the Divine wisdom intended him for death, he might have a due preparation for it; but if his life might be in any degree useful to the Church, even to one single soul, he then besought Almighty God to continue him, and by His grace enable him to employ that life He so vouchsafed industriously and successfully." After this he did with great affection intercede for this Church and nation, and with particular vigour and enforcement prayed for "sincere performance of Christian duty now so much decayed, to the equal supplanting and scandal of that holy calling; that those who professed that faith might live according to

the rules of it, and to the form of godliness superadd the power." This with some repetitions and more tears he pursued, and at last closed all in a prayer for the several concerns of the family where he was. With this he frequently blessed God for so far indulging to his infirmity, as to make his disease so painless to him; withal to send it to him before he took his journey, whereas it might have taken him in the way, or at his inn, with far greater disadvantages.

Nor did he in this exigence desist from the exercise of his accustomed candour and sweetness, whereby he was used to entertain the addresses of the greatest strangers. For two scholars coming at this time to see him, when they having sent up their names, it appeared they were such as he had no acquaintance with, though they that were about the Doctor, considering his illness, proposed that a civil excuse might be made, and the visitants be so dismissed; he resisted the advice with greatest earnestness, saying, I will by no means have them sent away, for I know not how much they may be concerned in the errand they come about, and gave order they should be brought up: and when upon trial it appeared that a compliment was the whole affair, yet the good Doctor seemed much satisfied that he had not disappointed that unseasonable kindness.

Likewise his own necessities, however pressing, diverted not his concernments for those of others. It so happened that a neighbour lady languishing under a long weakness, he took care that the Church-office for the sick should be daily said in her behalf: and though at the beginning of the Doctor's illness the chaplain made no other variation, than to change the singular into the plural, yet when his danger increased, he then thought fit to pray peculiarly for him; which the good Doctor would by no means admit, but said, "O no, poor soul, let not me be the cause of excluding her;" and accordingly had those prayers continued in the more comprehensive latitude. And indeed those offices which had a public character upon them he peculiarly valued. For as to the forms of devotion appropriate to his extremity, he took care they should not exclude the public ones, but still gave these a constant place: and when in his sharp agonies his friends betook themselves to their extemporary ejaculations,

he composed those irregularities by saying, "Let us call on God in the voice of His Church."

And in seasons of this kind whereas the making of a will[1] is generally an uneasy task, as being at once a double parting with the world; to him it was in all respects agreeable and welcome. For having bequeathed several legacies to his relatives and friends, and left the remainder of his estate to the disposal of his intimate and approved friend Dr. Henchman[m], now lord bishop of London[n], as if recovered from the worst part of his disease, the necessity of reflecting upon secular affairs, he became strangely cheerful, and overlooked the encroaching importunate tyranny of sickness.

On the twentieth of April, being Good Friday, he solemnly received the Sacrament; and again on the two-and-twentieth of April, which then was Easter-day. At which time when the number of communicants was too great to have place in his bed-chamber, and the whole office was over-long for him to go through with, it was ordered that the service being performed in the usual apartment, a competent number should afterwards come up and communicate with him: which though he allowed as most fitting, yet he did so with grief and trouble, breaking out into this passionate complaint, "Alas! must I be excommunicated?" To be absent from any part of public worship he thus deeply resented: so far was he from their opinion (and they would be thought godly too) who in their most healthful leisurable days make this not their penance, but election and choice.

[1] [His will is dated April 19, 1660.]

[m] [Humphrey Henchman, or as Clarendon (Rebell., vi. 540) spells the name, Hinchman, had been a fellow of Clare Hall and prebend of Salisbury. He owed his promotion to his services to Charles II. after the battle of Worcester. He met the king on Salisbury plain, and conducted him to the house of Mrs. Hyde at Heale, about three miles from Salisbury. After a vessel had been procured, he sent to the king to meet him at Stonehenge, and attended him thence to Brighton, where Charles embarked for Normandy. He was one of those first consecrated, (Oct. 28, 1660,) after the Restoration, having been chosen to the see of Salisbury, whence he was translated to London in 1663, and died in 1675. Burnet speaks of him as being vigorous, in preaching and directing his clergy to preach, against Popery. He was present at the ordination of Herbert, in 1630, and told Walton that "he laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and alas! within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to the grave."—Walton's Lives, p. 314.]

[n] [This is an instance in which the folio edition of 1674 has been altered from the second edition of the Life published in 1662. It was true at the time of publication, as Henchman was still living. The expression was not altered in the edition of 1684, when Henchman was dead, nor would this be worth being remarked upon, had it not been that other titles had been altered in the edition of 1684.]

Amidst his weakness and indisposition of all parts, in the act of celebration his devotion only was not faint or sick, but most intent and vigorous: yet equalled by his infinite humility, which discovered itself as in his deportment, so particularly in that his pathetical ejaculation, which brake forth at the hearing of those words of the Apostle, "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners;" unto which he rejoined, in an accent that neither intended a compliment to God nor men, to either of which he was not under a temptation, "of whom I am the chief."

The exuberance of this humility appeared in all other occasions of instance: particularly about this time a letter being sent unto him, in which, among many expressions of great value, there was added an intimation, that "there was now hope the days were come when his desert should be considered, and himself employed in the government as well as the instruction of the Church;" at this he was hugely discomposed, and expressed a grief and anguish beyond that his sickness in any period, however sharp, had extorted from him.

But now through the long suppression of urine the blood grown thin and serous, withal made eager and tumultuous by the mixture of heterogeneous parts, the excellent Doctor fell into a violent bleeding at the nose; at which the bystanders being in astonishment, he cheerfully admonished "to lay aside impatience in his behalf, and to wait God's leisure, whose seasons were still the best:" withal thankfully acknowledged God's mercy in the dispensation, alleging, "that to bleed to death was one of the most desirable passages out of this world."

And truly he very justly made this observation; for it pleased the Divine providence strangely to balance the symptoms of the Doctor's disease to his advantage: for the sharp pains of the stone were allayed by that heaviness of sense which the recuilment of serous moisture into the habit of the body and insertions of the nerves occasioned; and when that oppression endangered a lethargic or apoplectic torpor, he was retained from that by the flux of blood. Which several accidents interchangeably succeeded one the other, insomuch that in this whole time of sickness he neither had long vio-

lence of torment, nor diminution of his intellectual faculties. And here this violent hemorrhage of which we now speak, being of itself even miraculously stopped, when all applications were ineffectual, a drowsiness succeeding, which happened at the time of prayers, though he perfectly attended, and returned to every response amidst his importunate infirmity, he very sadly resented it, saying, "Alas! this is all the return I shall make to this mercy, to sleep at prayers."

When he was in pain he often prayed for patience, and while he did so, evidenced that his prayer was heard; for he exercised not only that, but thankfulness too, in his greatest extremity crying out, "Blessed be God, blessed be God." Among the providential alleviations of the Doctor's sickness, I shall not omit; because he valued it at a considerable rate; that he had the advantages of all the offices of the Church, and sacerdotal assistances; being attended not only by the domestic chaplain, but Mr. Dolben[o], now the lord bishop of Rochester[p], during all his illness; who coming casually to visit him at the time of his first being amiss, departed not from him till after his interment.

Nor did this excellent person according to the usual method, inflict his sickness upon those about him, by peevishness disquieting his attendants; but was pleased with every

[o] [John Dolben was chosen student of Ch. Ch. from Westminster school in 1640. He bore arms in his Majesty's service after the breaking out of the rebellion, held the rank of ensign at the battle of Marston Moor, was dangerously wounded at the siege of York, and afterwards was promoted to the rank of major. After his ejection from his studentship in 1648, he remained in Oxford, living in St. Aldate's parish with Mr. Ralph Sheldon, elder brother of Archbishop Sheldon, whose daughter he married. He assisted Fell and Allestry in keeping up the daily service of the Church during the usurpation, and after the Restoration became successively canon of Ch. Ch., archdeacon of London, dean of Westminster, bishop of Rochester, and archbishop of York, which see he held till his death in 1686. Burnet says of him "that he was an excellent preacher, but that he had more spirit than discretion."

A saying of his is recorded by bishop Hough in one of his letters, (Wilmot's Life of Hough, p. 252,) that "every good husband willingly gave up the government to his wife, but every prudent wife kept the secret to herself." He was employed with Dr. Barwick in the endeavour to extort a confession from Hugh Peters, suspected of having been one of the two masked executioners hired to behead the king, and Barwick trying gentle means and failing, Dolben thought he ought to be treated more sharply. Their efforts were unavailing, and though entreated to intercede with his Majesty for him, they both asserted that their intercession would be unavailing if made, and that they did not think it advisable to make it. Barwick's Life, p. 299.]

[p] [Here is another instance of an alteration having been made to accommodate the statement to the year 1674, and the same expression being preserved in the edition of 1684, when it was no longer true.]

thing that was done, and liked every thing that was brought, condescending to all proposals, and obeying with all readiness every advice of his physicians. Nor was it wonder he should so return unto the endeavours of his friends, who had tender kindness for his enemies, even the most inveterate and bloody. When the defeat of Lambert[q] and his party, the last effort of gasping treason in this nation before its blest return unto obedience, was told him, his only triumph was that of his charity, saying with tears in his eyes, "Poor souls! I beseech God forgive them." So habitual was pity and compassion to his soul, that all representations concentred there: virtue had still his prayers, because he loved it; and vice enjoyed them too, because it wanted them.

In his own greatest desolations he administered reliefs to those about him, mixing advices with his prayers, and twisting the tenderness of a friend to that of the Christian, he then dispensed his best of legacies, his blessings; most passionately exhorting the young growing hopes of the family, whose first innocence and bashful shame of doing ill he above all things laboured to have preserved, "to be just to the advantage of their education, and maintain inviolate their first baptismal vows:" then more generally commended unto all the great advantage of "mutual friendly admonitions." On which occasion when the good lady asked him what more special thing he would recommend unto her for her whole life, he briefly replied, "uniform obedience:" whereby (if we may take a comment from himself at other times) he meant not only a sincere reception of duty as such, because commanded, and not because it is this or that, pleasant or honourable, or perchance cheap or easy duty; but withal the very condition of obeying, the lot of not being to choose for one's-self, the being determined in all proposals by human

[q] [Lambert had escaped from the Tower, April 11, 1660, and assembled four troops of horse near Daventry, in Northamptonshire, April 22. Colonel Ingoldsby was sent against him; his troops began to desert, and he himself took to flight, was overtaken and made prisoner by Ingoldsby. He was one of those specially excepted from the benefit of the amnesty, proclaimed at the Restoration, and was sentenced to death, Feb. 19, 1662, though he protested that his opposition to Monk was owing to his ignorance of the attachment of the general to the house of Stuart. The sentence was commuted to banishment to the island of Guernsey. Six years afterwards he was removed to the island of St. Nicholas, near Plymouth, where he was kept a prisoner till his death, March 1684.—Lingard's History, vol. xi. p. 222.]

or Divine command, and where those left at large, by the guidance of God's providence, or the assistance of a friend.

But amidst these most Christian divertisements, these happiest anodynes of sickness, the twenty-fifth of April fatally drew on, wherein his flux of blood breaking forth again with greater violence than it had done before, was not to be stopped by outward applications, nor the revulsives of any kind, not of its own, the opening of a vein, first in the arm, and after in the foot; till at last the fountain being exhausted, the torrent ceased its course, and indeed that vital one which its regular motion kept on foot: for the good Doctor leaving off to bleed about three of the clock in the afternoon, became very weak and dispirited, and cold in the extreme parts, yet at this time Dr. Willis[r], and another friend of the Doctor's coming in, who alarmed with the news of his danger, had in part of that day come from Oxford; he observing them stand by his bed-side, found strength enough to say, with great tenderness of passion, "This is very kindly done;" which I mention, as the last testimony which he gave of the resentments which he had of friendship, of which no man ever was a greater votary; and which he thought of weight enough to interrupt his dying prayers, and last addresses to his Maker: having said this, he presently returned to his devotions, and in them persevered unto the last period of his life, about a quarter or half hour before his death breathing out those words which best became his Christian life, "Lord, make haste," which he repeated three or four times.

r [Thomas Willis was, according to Wood, (Ath. Ox., vol. ii. p. 402.) the most famous physician of his time. He was born in 1621, and bore arms in the king's service at Oxford. In 1646, after the surrender of Oxford, he began to practise, and "every Monday kept Abingdon market," says Wood, (*ib.*) Soon after this he was living opposite Merton College, and it was in his house that Fell, Dolben, and Allestry, "did constantly exercise, as they had partly before done in his lodgings in Canterbury quadrangle, the liturgy and sacraments according to the Church of England, to which most of the loyalists in Oxon, especially scholars that had been ejected in 1648, did daily resort." After the Restoration he was made Sedleian Reader in Natural Philosophy, but left Oxford in 1666, to practise in London, at the invitation of Archbishop Sheldon. He married Mary, daughter of Samuel Fell, dean of Ch. Ch., and sister of Hammond's biographer. He "left behind him the character of an orthodox, pious, and charitable physician," and some years before his death settled a salary for a reader to read prayers in St. Martin's church in the fields (in which parish he resided) early and late every day to such servants and people of that parish who could not, through the multiplicity of business, attend the ordinary service daily there performed.]

And so upon that very day, or, if he did not expire till after midnight, (for in that concern, the company that happened to be present had not leisure to consult clocks or watches,) the morrow after that, on which the parliament convened[s], which laid the foundation of our release and liberty, and brought at once this nation's return from its captivity, and its gracious sovereign Prince, this great champion of religion and pattern of all virtue, as if reserved for masteries and combats of exigence and hazard, for persecution and sufferings, was taken hence, and by his loss repressed the overflowing and extravagance of those joys that waited the reception of his sacred Majesty.

It will be below the greatness of the person as well as of this loss, to celebrate his death in womanish complaints, or indeed by any verbal applications; his worth is not to be described by any words besides his own, nor can any thing beseem his memory but what is sacred and eternal as those writings are. May his just fame from them and from his virtue be precious to succeeding times, grow up and flourish still: and when that characters engraved in brass shall disappear, as if they had been writ in water, when elogies committed to the trust of marble shall be illegible as whispered accents, when pyramids dissolved in dust shall want themselves a monument to evidence that they were once so much as ruin; let that remain a known and classic history describing him in his full portraiture among the best of subjects, of friends, of scholars, and of men[t].

The dead body being opened (which here is mentioned, for

[s] [The convention parliament, so called because it had not been legally summoned, met April 25, 1660.]

[t] [The following account of Dr. Hammond is from the pen of one who had no particular prejudice to influence his judgment.

"Besides those of the highest quality, this year is remarkable for the deaths of several others whose names ought to be remembered in history; the first of which was Dr. Henry Hammond, the famous divine, and the glory of the English nation, not only for theology but for many other learned acquisitions. He had been made archdeacon of Chichester, canon of Ch. Ch., in Oxford, and orator to that University, and likewise made chaplain in ordinary to the late king, to whom he was signally serviceable in the treaties of Uxbridge, the Isle of Wight, and in other emergencies. Notwithstanding his admirable learning and piety, he was driven from Oxford; from whence he retired to the house of Sir John Packington, in Worcestershire, where after several years living in the profoundest devotion and humility, and most unparalleled charity, he expired in the fifty-sixth year of his age, about a month before the glorious Restoration; which if he had survived, he would have adorned the Church in one of its highest stations."—Echard, Hist. of England, book iii. chap. i. p. 784.]

that the reader cannot want the curiosity to desire to know every thing that concerned this great person) the principal and vital parts appeared sound; only the right kidney, or rather its remainder, which exceeded not the bigness of an egg, was hard and knotty, and in its cavity, besides several little ones, a large stone of the figure of an almond, though much bigger, whose lesser end was fallen into the ureter, and as a stopple closed it up; so that it is probable that kidney had for divers years been in a manner useless. The other kidney was swollen beyond the natural proportion, otherwise not much decayed; but within the ureter four fingers' breadth a round white stone was lodged, which was fastened in the part, that the physician with his probe could not stir it, and was fain at last to cut it out: and so exactly it stopped the passage, that upon the dissection the water before enclosed gushed forth in great abundance: from whence it appeared perfectly impossible for art to have ennobled itself in the preservation of this great person; as it was also manifest that nothing but the consequences of his indefatigable study took him from us, in the perfection and maturity, the fifty-fifth year of his life.

On the 26th day of the same month, in the evening, he was, according to his desire[u], without ostentation or pomp, though with all becoming decency, buried at the neighbouring church of Hampton, with the whole office and usual rites of the Church of England, several of the gentry and clergy of the county, and affectionate multitudes of persons of less quality attending on his obsequies, the clergy with ambition offering themselves to bear him on their shoulders[x]; which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burden in the burial-place of the generous family which with such

[u] [The expression in his will is that he disposed his body to the next church or chapel which will conveniently entertain it.]

[x] ["Mr. Allestry having obtained liberty returned to Oxfordshire, from whence after a short stay he went into Shropshire; on his return from thence designing in his way to visit his excellent friend Dr. Hammond at Westwood, near Worcester, he at the gate met the body of that great man carrying to his burial; which circumstance is therefore mentioned, because that eminent light of the English Church, at his death gave this testimony not only of his kindness to Mr. Allestry but also of his esteem of his parts and learning, that he left to him his library of books as a legacy, well knowing that in his hands they would be useful weapons for the defence of that cause he had during life so vigorously asserted."—Fell's preface to Allestry's sermons.]

friendship had entertained him when alive: where now he rests in peace, and full assurance of a glorious resurrection.

Having thus given a faithful though imperfect, draught of this excellent person, whose virtues are so far from imitation by practice, that they exercise and strain the comprehension of words; and having shewed how much he has merited of this nation in its most pressing exigents, both by his writings and by his example, and perchance above both these by his unwearied intercession in devotion; it may possibly be neither useless nor unacceptable to offer a request unto the reader in his behalf, and shew him an expedient whereby he may pay his debt of gratitude, and eminently oblige this holy saint though now with God.

It is this, to add unto his account in the day of retribution by taking benefit by his performances: and as he being dead yet speaks, so let him persuade likewise.

That the covetous reader would now at his request put off his sordid vice, and take courage to be liberal, assured by his example, that if in the worst of times profuseness could make rich, charity shall never bring to beggary.

That the proud opinionated person on the same terms would in civility to him descend from his fond heights, instructed here that lowly meekness shall compass great respects, and instead of hate or flattery be waited on with love and veneration.

That the debauched or idle would leave upon this score his lewd unwarrantable joys, convinced that strict and rugged virtue made an age of sunshine, a life of constant smiles, amidst the dreadfullest tempests; taught the gout, the stone, the cramp, the colic, to be treatable companions, and made it eligible to live in bad times and die in flourishing.

That the angry man, who calls passion at least justice, possibly zeal and duty, would for his sake assume a different temper, believe that arguments may be answered by saying reason, calumnies by saying no, and railings by saying nothing.

The coward and disloyal, that durst not own in words, much less by service and relief, his prince; that complimented his apostacy and treason by the soft terms of chang-

ing an interest, will from hence learn that the surest way to safety is to have but one interest, and that espoused so firmly as never to be changed; since such a constancy was that which a Cromwell durst not persecute.

That the employed in business would from hence dismiss their fears of regular piety, their suspicion that devotion would hinder all dispatch and manage of affairs; since it appeared, his constant office (like the prayer of Joshua, which made the sun stand still) seemed to have rendered unto him each day as long as two.

That the ambitious person, especially the ecclesiastic, would think employment and high place a stewardship, that renders debtors both to God and man; a residence at once of constant labour and attendance too; a precipice that equally exposes both to envy and to ruin: and consequently to be that which should become our greatest fear and terror, but at no hand our choice: since it was that which this heroic constancy was not ashamed to own a dread of, and whose appearance did render death itself relief and rescue.

Lastly, that the narrow self-designing person, who understands no kindness but advantage; the sensual, that knows no love but lust; the intemperate, that owns no companion but drink; may all at once from him reform their brutish errors: since he has made it evident that a friend does fully satisfy these distant and importunate desires, being as the most innocent and certainly ingenuous entertainment, so besides that the highest mirth, the greatest interest and surest pleasure in the world.

They that had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with this best of men, this saint, who seems in our decays of ancient virtue lent us by special Providence even for this end and purpose, that we might not disbelieve the faith of history, delivering the excellency of primitive Christians; know with what thirst and eagernesss of soul he sought the spiritual advantage of any single man how mean soever, with what enjoyment he beheld the recovery of any such from an ill course and habit. And whatever apprehensions other men may have, they will be easily induced to think, that if blessed spirits have commerce with earth,—as surely we have reason to believe it somewhat more than possible,—they, I say, will

resolve it a connatural and highly agreeable accession unto his fruitions, that when there is joy in the presence of the angels of God for a sinner that repents, he may be an immediate accessory to that blessed triumph, and be concerned beyond the rate of a bare spectator.

Persuasions to piety now-a-days are usually in scorn called preaching: but it is to be hoped that this, how contemptible an office soever it be grown, will be no indecency in this instance; that it will not be absurd if his history, who deservedly was reckoned among the best of preachers, whose life was the best of sermons, should bear a correspondence to its subject, and professedly close with an application: that it adjures all persons to be what they promised God Almighty they would be in their baptismal vows, what they see the glorious saints and martyrs and confessors, and in particular this holy man has been before them; be what is most honourable, most easy and advantageous to be at present; and, in a word, to render themselves such as they desire to be upon their death-beds, before they leave the world, and then would be for ever.

Which blessed achievement as it was the great design of the excellent Doctor's both words and writings, his thoughts and actions, is also (besides the payment of a debt to friendship and to virtue) the only aim of this imperfect, but yet affectionate and well meant, account: and may Almighty God by the assistance of His grace give all of these this their most earnestly desired effect and issue.

COPY OF DR. HAMMOND'S WILL.

EXTRACTED FROM THE REGISTRY OF THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY.

[IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I Henry Hammond, Doctor of Divinity, doe make my last Will and Testament as followeth. First I resigne with all cheerefullnes my soule into the hands of God that gaue it, most humbly beeseeching him to accept itt as a Lambe of his owne flocke, A sinner of his own Redeeminge; my body I dispose to the next Church or Chappell which will conveniently entertaine itt. Of the worldly goods which it hath pleased God to bestow on mee I make this disposition. To my Nephewes Charles Dingley[a] and Henry Temple[b] I bequeath one hundred pounds apeece. To Doctor Johnson and Dr Willis my good friends and Phisitians Twenty pounds apeece. To Dr Robert Sanderson and Dr John Earles[c] fiftie pounds apeece. To Mr John Barwicke[d] and Mr John Fell

[a] [This was probably a son of Sir John Dingley, knight, who married a sister of Hammond's, whose name does not appear. Another person of the name is mentioned by Sir William Temple in a codicil to his will, bearing date, Feb. 2, 1647-8, where he says, I leave one hundred pounds to my cousin William Dingley, student at Oxford. There is another son of Sir John Dingley, named Robert, mentioned by Wood, (Ath. Ox., ii. 155,) who died Jan. 12, 1659-60. William Dingley must have been contemporary with Robert, both being of Magdalen college; the latter taking his degree of B.A., Jan. 27, 1637, the former that of M.A., Nov. 3, 1640.]

[b] [This was the younger brother of the celebrated Sir William Temple, son of Sir John Temple by his wife, Mary Hammond. He brought the "Triple Alliance" to England in 1668. He is mentioned in his brother's will, dated March 8, 1694, but from a codicil added Feb. 2, 1697-8, it appears that he was then dead.]

[c] [The former of these is the well-known Bp. of Lincoln, whose life was written by Izaak Walton. The latter, whose name is generally written Earle, was fellow of Merton college, Oxford, and chaplain and tutor to the Prince of Wales (Charles II.) He lived mostly retired during the usurpation, and at the king's return was made dean of Westminster, and succeeded Gauden in the bishopric of Worcester, from which he was translated to Salisbury on the removal of Henchman to the see of London. He died in 1665. "He was," says Wood, (Ath. Ox., vol. ii. p. 251,) "a very gentle man, a contemner of the world, religious, and most worthy of the office of a bishop. He was a person also of the sweetest and most obliging nature (as one that knew him well, though of another persuasion, saith) that lived in our age, and since Mr. Richard Hooker died, none have lived whom God had blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious peaceable primitive temper than he." To this account of him Walker (Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. p. 63) adds, that "he had been in his younger years an excellent orator and poet, and in his more advanced ones, was an admirable preacher and disputant."]

[d] [Of this remarkable man, history has taken scarcely any notice. The history of his life was written in Latin by his brother, Dr. Peter Barwick, physician to Charles II. This work was

twentie pounds apeece. To S^r^ John Packington, to his Lady and their three children, and to D^r^ Gilbert Sheldon I giue

begun in 1671, and left in manuscript by the author. It was first published from a MS. in the library of St. John's college, Cambridge, in 1721, and afterwards translated into English, and published by the editor of the Latin life in 1724. From this the following account has been abridged. Dr. John Barwick was born in 1612, at Wetherstack in Westmoreland. In 1631 he entered at St. John's college, Cambridge, of which college he was elected fellow April 5, 1636. He was one of the principal persons concerned in the publication of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*. After his expulsion from Cambridge he carried on the king's correspondence between London and Oxford, where the king's head quarters were, and resided in London under pretence of being chaplain to Morton, Bp. of Durham. One principal method he made use of for conveying messages to the king was by sewing letters privately within the covers of books issued by Royston, the bookseller, who employed women to carry the books he published in defence of the royal cause, and disperse them in the parliament's army as well as the king's. These women strolled about like beggars, loitering at places agreed upon, to take up books which had been conveyed by stealth to barges on the Thames, from which they were secretly put on shore among other goods. Barwick afterwards served in the army of the parliament at the king's command, to act as a spy, and make report how the common soldiers and inferior officers stood affected towards the royal cause. During the time the king was in the Isle of Wight, he corresponded every week with Barwick in cypher. After the king's death he was seized with a dangerous illness, and committed to his brother Edward the management of the young king's correspondence. He was betrayed, and both were imprisoned in the gatehouse of Westminster, though he for some time contrived to elude pursuit. The brother was released in a few weeks, having suffered so much that he soon after died of consumption. Barwick himself was detained for more than two years, and it is related of him, that his Christian patience and unwearied piety made such an impression on the deputy lieutenant of the tower, that he with his family joined him daily at prayers, and soon after gave up his post, and retired to his former trade. The lieutenant also became so interested in his prisoner that he interceded with the government for his release, which was granted in August, 1652, upon condition that he could find security for his appearance at any time within twelve months to take his trial. After his release he lived in the house of Lady Ersfield, the widow of Sir Thomas Ersfield, by whom he was taken to the house of her sister, who had married Sir Thomas Middleton. With Sir Thomas he consulted about the king's affairs, and it was agreed that he should go and live with his brother, Mr. Peter Barwick, the author of the life, who had lately begun to practise as a physician in London. He was concerned in most of the secret transactions which took place in the interval between the death of Cromwell and the Restoration, but seems to have taken a more peculiar interest in the affairs of the Church, being the person employed to carry the messages from the king and the chancellor to the bishops, and likewise between the bishops themselves. Difficulties of various kinds occurred which prevented any consecrations taking place till after the Restoration. The earl of Derby earnestly requested him to accept the bishopric of Sodor and Man, but he declined lest he should be thought to have laboured so indefatigably to preserve the succession, with a further view of elevating himself, consenting however to accept it if it should be thought absolutely necessary. But the dowager countess of Derby requesting him to decline the appointment, that she might appoint her chaplain, Mr. Samuel Rutter, he readily acquiesced, and soon after excused himself from accepting the see of Carlisle. He was not long after made dean of Durham, and in the course of the next year he reluctantly changed the deanery of Durham for that of St. Paul's, in compliance with the wishes of others. He died after an illness of nearly two years, Oct. 24, 1664. He was attended in his last moments by Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards bishop of Ely, who preached his funeral sermon, the service at his burial being read by Henchman, bishop of London.]

fiue pounds apeece to buy each of them a Ring. To Mr Phillipp Barwicke I giue five pounds to buy him a Ringe. To Dr George Morley[e] I bequeath thirtie pounds and the Biblia Polyglotta out of my Studdy. To Mr Thomas Peirce[f] I giue the Councells and Bibliotheca Patrum Græcorum out of my Studdy, and to his sonne Robert Peirce my Godsonne Twenty pounds. To Gilbert Dolben my Godsonne I bequeath fiftie pounds. To Mr James Pitt Grotius his Coments on the Bible out of my Studdy and twenty pounds. To Mr Toby Henshaw I giue Tenne pounds. To Thomas Sexton of Penshurst in the Countie

[e] [Morley was one of the eight canons of Ch. Ch. who, with the single exception of Dr. John Wall, were expelled from their canonries by the parliament. Morley might have kept his preferments if he would have given his word only that he would not actually appear against their proceedings, it being promised him that he should neither have to say, do, or subscribe any thing contrary to his conscience; but he chose, says Walker, (Sufferings of Clergy, part ii. p. 106,) to suffer in such good company; i. e. with Fell, Sanderson, Hammond, Iles, Gardiner, Payne, and Pocock, than to remain with Wall, and such persons as should be nominated by the parliament in the room of those who were ejected. At the beginning of the Long Parliament he preached one of the sermons before the commons, who ordered all the other sermons but his to be printed. Yet after this he was nominated to be one of the assembly of divines, amongst whom he never sat. "After this," says Wood, (Ath. Ox., ii. p. 582,) "he was chosen by the members of the University, with some other assistants named by himself, to negociate the making good of their articles, which were framed at the surrender of the garrison of Oxon to the said forces; which he did to that degree as to give time for the getting in of their rents, and to dispose of themselves; I mean as many of them as were resolved not to submit to their new masters." The principal occasions on which he appears in history after this are at the treaty of Newport, towards the end of which he was allowed access to the king, and at the execution of Lord Capel, whom he accompanied to the foot of the scaffold. He then resolved to quit this country and find out the young king, and never to return till he and the crown and the Church were restored. After this we find him residing with Dr. John Earle at Antwerp, where he remained some years, till he was invited by the queen of Bohemia to the Hague to be her chaplain. After this he went to Breda, whence he was sent to England in 1660 to assist in arranging the affairs of the Church. He was immediately made dean of Ch. Ch., and as soon as he had filled up the vacant places there, was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester, Hammond's death having taken place in the interval. He, with Sheldon, Henchman, Sanderson and Griffith, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey, Oct. 28, 1660, and two years afterwards was translated to Winchester, being succeeded in the see of Worcester by his friend Dr. John Earle. To the very high eulogium which he passes on this prelate, Wood adds, "He was a great Calvinist, and esteemed one of the main patrons of those of that persuasion."]

[f] [Thomas Pierce was born at Devizes in Wiltshire, became in 1639 demy and afterwards fellow of Magdalen college. He was ejected in 1648, but afterwards obtained the rectory of Brington in Northamptonshire, which he was permitted to hold during the usurpation. At the Restoration he became prebendary of Canterbury and Lincoln, and at the death of Dr. Oliver succeeded him as president of Magdalen. In the year 1671 he resigned, and in 1675 was appointed dean of Salisbury. In 1683 he was engaged in a dispute with Dr. Ward, then bishop of Salisbury, about the appointment of his son Robert to a prebend in Salisbury cathedral. The bishop having refused to appoint him, the dean raised a controversy as to the bishop's right, endeavouring to maintain the king's right of presentation. He died in 1691.]

of Kent Weaver, Tenne pounds. The remaynder of my bookes not herebefore disposed of, I giue to M^r^ Richard Allestree. To my servant William Moreton I giue all my Apparrell, and one yeares wages aboue what shall bee due vnto him att the day of my death. The rest and residue of my goods and whatsoeuer else is mine, my debts legacies and funerall expences discharged, I giue to Humphrey Henchman of Salisbury Doctor in Divinitie, Whome I appointe and constitute the sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, desiringe him that if (his owne wants which in the first place I designe to supply being in some comfortable measure relieued) any thing shall remaine in his hands of my poore estate, hee will out of it compassionate the necessities of the poore in such wayes and proporcons as to his Charitable discrecon shall seeme fitt, not exceedinge the sume of two hundred pounds. Lastly, whereas there is due vnto mee from Theodore Lovel Executor of the last Will and Testament of Richard Lovel Deceased, the sume of four hundred pounds, my will is that my Executor before named doe pay the said sume within one moneth after hee shall haue received itt to M^r^ John Sudbury[g], To bee by him disposed according to the Trust reposed in mee by the aforesaid M^r^ Richard Lovell deceased. In witnesse whereof I haue hereunto sett my hand and Seale, and published and declared this my last Will and Testament, this nineteenth Day of Aprill, one thousand Six hundred Sixtie

(Hen. Hammond)

Signed sealed and published the day abovewritten in the presence of vs G. Dolben, Jo. Hemminge, George Smith.

PROBATUM fuit Testamentum supscriptum apud London coram ven^li^ viro Willmo Mericke legum Dcore, Curiæ Prærogatiuæ Cant. mro Custode siue Com^rio^ ltime constituto, Vicesimo octauo Die menss Augusti, anno Dni Millmo Sexcentesimo Sexagesimo, Juramento Humphredi Henchman Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris Executoris in eodem testamento nominat. Cui comissa fuit Adtsraco omm et singulor bonorum Jurium et Creditorum dict. defunct. De bene et fidelr administrand ead^m^ Ad Sancta Dei Evangelia (in debita Juris forma) Jurato.]

g [Dr. John Sudbury succeeded Barwick in the deanery of Durham, where he was installed Feb. 15, 1661-2.]

By the generous piety of the right reverend Father in God Humphrey lord bishop of Sarum, there is now erected to the sacred memory of this great person in the parish church of Hampton, the place of his interment, a fair monument of white marble bearing this inscription.

HENRICUS HAMMONDUS,

AD CUJUS NOMEN ASSURGIT
QUICQUID EST GENTIS LITERATÆ,
(DIGNUM NOMEN
QUOD AURO, NON ATRAMENTO,
NEC IN MARMORE PERITURO, SED ADAMANTE POTIUS
EXARETUR)
MUSAGETES CELEBERRIMUS, VIR PLANE SUMMUS,
THEOLOGUS OMNIUM CONSUMMATISSIMUS,
ERUDITÆ PIETATIS DECUS SIMUL ET EXEMPLAR;
SACRI CODICIS INTERPRES
FACILE OMNIUM OCULATISSIMUS,
ERRORUM MALLEUS
POST HOMINES NATOS FELICISSIMUS,
VERITATIS HYPERASPISTES
SUPRA QUAM DICI POTEST NERVOSUS;
IN CUJUS SCRIPTIS
ELUCESCUNT
INGENII GRAVITAS ET ACUMEN,
JUDICII SUBLIMITAS ET Ἀκρίβεια,
SENTENTIARUM Ὄγκος ET Δεινότης,
DOCENDI METHODUS UTILISSIMA,
NUSQUAM DORMITANS DILIGENTIA.

HAMMONDUS (INQUAM) ὁ πάνυ,
IN IPSA MORTIS VICINIA POSITUS,
IMMORTALITATI QUASI CONTIGUUS,
EXUVIAS MORTIS VENERANDAS
(PRÆTER QUAS NIHIL MORTALE HABUIT)
SUB OBSCURO HOC MARMORE
LATERE VOLUIT,
VII. CAL. MAIAS,
ANN. ÆTAT. LV.
MDCLX.

The marble tablet would receive no more in charge; but ours indulging greater liberty, I shall set down the whole elogy, as it grew upon the affectionate pen of the reverend Dr. T. Pierce, who was employed to draw it up.

SED LATERE QUI VOLUIT, IPSAS LATEBRAS ILLUSTRAT;
ET PAGUM ALIAS OBSCURUM
INVITUS COGIT INCLARESCERE.
NULLIBI *Μνημόσυνον* ILLI POTEST DEESSE,
QUI, NISI *ἀξιομνημόνευτον*,
NIHIL AUT DIXIT AUT FECIT UNQUAM.
Ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.
ANIMI DOTIBUS ITA ANNOS ANTEVERTERAT,
UT IN IPSA LINGUÆ INFANTIA *τρίγλωττος*,
EAQUE ÆTATE MAGISTER ARTIUM,
QUA VIX ALII TYRONES, ESSET.
TAM SAGACI FUIT INDUSTRIA,
UT HORAS ETIAM SUBCISIVAS UTILIUS PERDERET
QUAM PLERIQ; MORTALIUM SERIAS SUAS COLLOCARUNT.
NEMO RECTIUS DE SE MERUIT,
NEMO SENSIT DEMISSIUS;
NIHIL EO AUT EXCELSIUS ERAT, AUT HUMILIUS.
SCRIPTIS SUIS FACTISQUE
SIBI UNI NON PLACUIT,
QUI TAM CALAMO QUAM VITA
HUMANO GENERI COMPLACUERAT.
ITA LABORES PRO DEI SPONSA, IPSOQUE DEO EXANTLAVIT,
UT CŒLUM IPSUM IPSIUS HUMERIS INCUBUISSE VIDERETUR.
Παραλληλίαν OMNEM SUPERGRESSUS
ROMANENSES VICIT, PROFLIGAVIT GENEVATES,
DE UTRISQUE TRIUMPHARUNT
ET VERITAS ET HAMMONDUS:
UTRISQUE MERITO TRIUMPHATURIS,
AB HAMMONDO VICTIS, ET VERITATE.
QUALIS ILLE INTER AMICOS CENSENDUS ERIT,
QUI DEMERERI SIBI ADVERSOS VEL HOSTES POTUIT?
OMNES HÆRESES INCENDIARIAS
ATRAMENTO SUO DELERI MALUIT,
QUAM IPSORUM AUT SANGUINE EXTINGUI,
AUT DISPENDIO ANIMÆ EXPIARI.
CŒLI INDIGENA
EO DIVITIAS PRÆMITTEBAT,
UT UBI COR JAM ERAT,
IBI ETIAM THESAURUS ESSET:
IN HOC UNO AVARUS,
QUOD PROLIXE BENEVOLUS PRODIGA MANU EROGAVIT
ÆTERNITATEM IN FŒNORE LUCRATURUS.

QUICQUID HABUIT, VOLUIT HABERE,
ETIAM INVALIDÆ VALETUDINIS.
ITA HABUIT IN DELICIIS NON MAGIS FACERE QUAM SUFFERRE
TOTAM DEI VOLUNTATEM, UT FRUI ETIAM VIDERETUR
VEL MORBI TÆDIO.
SUMMAM ANIMI γαλήνην TESTATAM FECIT
HILARIS FRONS ET EXPORRECTA:
NUSQUAM ALIAS IN FILIIS HOMINUM
GRATIOR EX PULCHRO VENIEBAT CORPORE VIRTUS.
OMNE JAM TULERAT PUNCTUM,
OMNIUM PLAUSUS:
CUM MORS, QUASI SUUM ADJICIENS CALCULUM,
FUNESTA LITHIASI TERRIS ABSTULIT
CŒLI AVIDUM,
MATURUM CŒLO.
ABI, VIATOR,
PAUCA SUFFICIAT DELIBASSE:
RELIQUA SERÆ POSTERITATI NARRANDA RESTANT,
QUIBUS PRO MERITO ENARRANDIS
UNA ÆTAS NON SUFFICIT.

[*Epitaphium in Henricum Hammond*, 1660.

Ne te prætergressum pœniteat, siste pedem
Hic, et animum, viator : etenim,

Hic jacet H. Hammond, S.T.D. theologorum sui seculi coryphæus. Literatorum princeps. Anglicæ gentis decus. Ecclesiæ columen. Veritatis assertor peritissimus. Pacis cultor devotissimus. Ordinis fautor studiosissimus. Antiquitatis genuinæ fidissimus interpres, et propugnator acerrimus. Sanctitatis magister præstantissimus. Omnibus ornamentis instructissimus. Philosophus solide acutus, dilucide subtilis. Orator inaffectate politus, nervose copiosus. Disputator vehemens extra acerbitatem. Egregius criticus, absque superbia tamen aut supercilio. Lectionis infinitæ, sed exquisite digestæ. Maximi ingenii, majoris judicii, consummatæ eruditionis cum pari modestia ; tantis dotibus usus præclarissime. De ecclesia, principe, patria optime meritus. Utriusque tabulæ legum præco, observator, vindex. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ensis et clypeus : quem a falsi schismatis labe purgavit, a veri contagio munivit, Romanis hostibus, et perfugis sectariis fusis, fugatis. Sinceræ doctrinæ radio veteres tenebras pseudo-catholicas dispulit, nova lumina anti-catholica extinxit. Presbyteranam paritatem prostravit. Fanaticam licentiam coercuit. Temporum iniquitatem expugnavit scriptis victricibus, patientia triumphali. Ecclesiastici ordinis jurisque vindex fortissimus, ac felicissimus. Liturgiæ patronus consultissimus. Theologicorum dogmatum scrutator sedulus. Difficultatum enodator accuratus. Veritatum explorator sagax. Novum Testamentum et Psalterium Davidicum luculenta Paraphrasi, eximio Commentario, sancto exemplo illustravit. Calamo scripsit, vita edidit, practicum Catechismum. Christianæ fortitudinis, patientiæ, mansuetudinis illustre exemplar. Mentis insigni prudentia, invicta constantia, candore illibato, solertia indefessa mirabilis. Morum integritate spectabilis, gravitate venerabilis, comitate amabilis. Summa pietate in Deum ; extrema fide in principem ; propensa charitate in omnes conspicuus. Vir, scho-

lasticus, theologus plane incomparabilis, omni epitheto major, quolibet elogio potior. Meruit haberi martyr assiduis pro ecclesia curis et vigiliis confectus. Occidit diei nostri Lucifer anno 1660 salutis partæ, primo regis restituti, patriæ liberatæ, ecclesiæ instauratæ; quæ a se strenue promota, et ardenter concupita præsagiit animo, sed oculo non adspectavit, in hoc felicissime infelix.

Vade, cogita, imitare.

Nec magnum tamen Hammondum satis ulla loquuntur
Saxa, nec a morsu temporis ulla tegant:
Clarius ostendit scriptis se illustribus, illo
Digna sui tantum sunt monumenta libri.]

A

PRACTICAL CATECHISM.

FUIT OPINIO CELEBRIS QUOD TOTA THEOLOGIA NOSTRA DEBERET MAGIS CENSERI AFFECTIVA QUAM SPECULATIVA.

GERSON. OP., pars i. p. 566 D.

ἦ καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ βελτιῶσαι τὴν ψυχήν ἐστιν, οὐ διδάξαι.

S. CLEM. ALEX. Pæd. i. c. 1. p. 78.

TO THE READER.

The end of Christ's incarnation, humiliation, and death itself, being by St. Paul defined to be the "redeeming us from all iniquity, and purifying unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works;" and the end of His resurrection being by St. Peter set down proportionably to that, to "bless us, in turning every one of us from our iniquities;" and the design of Christ's own sermons when He was in the world, being to make our "righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Pharisees;" so in effect, the reformation of lives, and heightening of Christian practice to the most elevated pitch, being the one only design of all our Christianity; it must needs be matter as of terror, so of astonishment also, a most direful prodigy, a most ominous, fatal prognostic in these last days, that Christians have so quite unlearned their Master, made their lives such a continued contradiction and confutation of all His methods, such a frustration of all His aims, that the principles of Christian purity, and meekness, and mercifulness, and peaceableness, should, not only of old among Julian's soldiers, but even now among Christian professors, among those that make good all the formal outward part of discipleship, that have had Christ's "eating and drinking daily among them," and "teaching in their presence," be perfectly abandoned and rejected even with reproach and scorn, out of all their thoughts; yea, that the declination of Christian practice should be at last so great

[Tit. ii. 14.]

[Acts iii. 26.]

[Matt. v. 20.]

as to tear up the very root and foundation, I mean all natural, moral justice and honesty, and in place thereof to set up a new body of Carneades' philosophy, instead of those old heathen dry principles of integrity and uprightness, that one law of interest, and passion, and self-preservation. So that as Machiavel thought, religion would emasculate and enfeeble commonwealths, we have more reason to complain, that it hath debauched and corrupted lives; and were it not that God hath been pleased to preserve a scattered remnant, a few in every nation, to be the records, as it were, from whom it may be seen what Christianity is able to do, if it may be hearkened to, were it not that there are a few ancient primitive spirits, by whom, as by a standard, all others may and ought to be reformed; we have reason to think and say, that Christian men are the impurest part of the world; that Satan's after-game hath proved more lucky and prosperous to him than his first designment did; that his night-walk hath brought him more proselytes than his unlimited range of going up and down "to and fro over the face of the earth;" that "as sin by the law," so Satan by the "faith of Christ," hath taken occasion, and so deceived and ruined us more desperately, more universally, than by all the national idolatrous customs of heathenism he hath been able to do. What the one great error is, what the fundamental transcendent distemper that hath had all this inauspicious influence upon us, may perhaps be no great difficulty to discern. Is it not, that Christianity hath been taken, if not with the atheist for an art or trick, yet with the scholastic for a science, a matter of speculation, and so, that he that knows most, that believes most, is the only sanctified person? Is it not, that of the two sorts of things that belong to another life, the vision, which is peculiar to that state, is by men desired to be anticipated and acquired here, and the love and purity which only belong to it, are taken for impertinent things, that we are

[Job i. 7.]

[Rom. vii. 11.]

not concerned in? Is it not, that the factions and animosities which are thus begotten in us, against all that are not of our opinions in religion, are thought to be our duty, and our piety, and all our zeal laid upon this one head, of hating and condemning of all others, and so "the love of many being grown cold," by a natural consequence all kind of "iniquity is increased?" If this be not the bottom of the matter, if one, or more of these in conjunction, have not had the privilege to engross all our sin and ruin, yet sure it hath been a mighty and a most pestilent ingredient in it; and I shall venture to guess but at one more, some "wresting of Scripture to our own destructions," either by undertaking without a guide to understand difficult prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, and accommodating them to the feeding of our own passions, making them to comply with our designs, whatsoever they are, which, next pretending to immediate inspirations and enthusiasms, and ruling ourselves not by the standing rule of Scripture, but by somewhat quite distant from that, whether we miscall it spirit or conscience, is the most infallibly pernicious, or else by mistaking of some plainer places, and so swallowing and prepossessing ourselves with some doctrines which directly incline to carnal or spiritual security, and then insisting more violently on them than on any other, making them marks of the most spiritual, sanctified men, and so able to excuse those trifles of vicious life, that such pious professors may possibly be guilty of. What these doctrines are I shall not in this place particularly define, but rather labour, by instilling those distant principles which most naturally and directly and immediately tend to Christian practice, to prevent or cure those poisons. This and nothing but this, is entirely the design of this ensuing platform; which being again reviewed, hath received such alterations and increases, as seemed most conducible to the ends to which it was first designed, and having now attained the just growth, hath

[Matt. xxiv. 12.]

[2 Pet. iii. 16.]

more reason to expect the benefit of the reader's prayers, the blessing influence of heaven upon him and it. The Lord remove all the prejudices and resistances which may forestal or obstruct the desired fruits and effects of it.

H. Hammond.

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A

PRACTICAL CATECHISM.

LIB. I.

SECT. I. Of divinity.

Scholar. I have by the grace of God, and your help and care, attained in some measure to the understanding of the principles of religion, proposed to those of my age by our Church catechism; and should in modesty content myself with those rudiments, but that I find myself, as a Christian, not only invited, but obliged to "grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Shall I therefore beseech you to continue my guide, and to direct me, first, what kind of questions it will be most useful for me to ask, and you to instruct me in, that I may not please myself, or trouble you with less profitable speculations?

[2 Pet. iii. 18.]

Catechist. I will most readily serve you in this demand, and make no scruple to tell you, that that kind of knowledge is most useful, and proper to be superadded to your former grounds, which tendeth most immediately to the directing of your practice; for you will easily remember, that it was the form of the young man's question, "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" and our books tell us that the oracle, that is, the devil himself, was enforced to proclaim Socrates to be the wisest man in the world, because he applied his studies and knowledge to the moral part, the squaring and ordering of men's lives: and Gerson, a very learned and pious man, hath defined divinity[a], of all others, to be an affective, not only speculative, knowledge; which you will best understand the meaning of, by a very ancient writer's words[b], which are in English these, that "the end of

Of practical points. Mark x. 17.

[a] [Fuit opinio celebris quod tota theologia nostra deberet magis censeri affectiva quam speculativa. Gerson. Op. pars i. p. 566 D.]

[b] ἥ [καὶ] τὸ τέλος [αὐτοῦ] βελτιῶσαι [τὴν ψυχήν ἐστιν,] οὐ διδάξαι. Clem. Alex. Pæd. [i. c. 1. p. 78.]

LIB. I. Christian philosophy is to make men better, not more learned; to edify, not to instruct."

S. I shall most willingly entrust myself to your directions: and though the vanity of my heart, and the unruliness of my youthful affections may perhaps make me an improper auditor of such doctrines, yet I hope the doctrines themselves, and the assistance of God's grace, obtainable by our prayers, may be a means to fit me to receive profit by them. I beseech you therefore to tell me your opinion, what kind of doctrines, and what parts of Scripture, will be likely to have the most present influence on my heart, or contribute most to a Christian practice.

The principal sorts of them.

C. I conceive especially these five; first, the doctrine of the first and second covenant, together with the difference of them: secondly, the names, and, in one of them intimated, the offices of Christ: thirdly, the nature of the three theological graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity, together with self-denial, and repentance, or regeneration: fourthly, the difference and dependence betwixt justification and sanctification: and lastly, the thorough understanding of our Saviour's sermon on the mount, set down in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel. And when those are done, I may perhaps give you a second view of some particulars which you have already learned, but not so distinctly, in order to practice: such are the creed itself, the sacraments, and the vow of baptism, a most practical point. But you will be frighted with the length of this task, and discouraged from setting out on so tedious a journey.

S. I shall think it unreasonable for me to be tired with receiving the largest favours that you have the patience and the charity to bestow upon me: and to shew you that I have an appetite to the journey, I shall not give you the least excuse of delay, but put you in mind where it was that you promised to set out, or begin your first stage, and beseech you to go before me my guide and instructor, first, in the doctrine of the two covenants; to which purpose my ignorance makes it necessary for me to request your first help, to tell me what a covenant is.

C. A covenant is a mutual compact, as we now consider it, betwixt God and man, consisting of mercies on God's part

made over to man, and of conditions on man's part required by God. SECT. I.

S. It will be necessary for me to demand, first, what you mean by the first covenant. Of the first covenant.

C. I mean that which is supposed to be made with Adam, as soon as he was created, before his first sin, and with all mankind in him.

S. What then was the mercy on God's part made over to him in that covenant?

C. It consisted of two parts, one sort of things supposed before the covenant, and absolutely given to him by God in his creation: another promised, and not given but upon condition. The mercy given in it.

S. What is that which is absolutely given? Absolutely.

C. 1. A law written in his heart, teaching him the whole duty of man. 2. A positive law, of not eating the fruit of one tree in the garden, all others but that one being freely allowed him by God. 3. A perfect strength and ability bestowed on him to perform all that was required of him, and by that a possibility to have lived for ever without ever sinning.

S. What is that which was promised on condition? On condition.

C. 1. Continuance of that light and that strength, the one to direct, the other to assist him in a persevering performance of that perfect obedience. 2. A crown of such performance, assumption to eternal felicity.

S. What was the condition upon which the former of these was promised?

C. Walking in that light, making use of that strength; and therefore upon defailance in those two, on commission of the first sin, that light was dimmed, and that strength, like Samson's when his locks were lost, extremely weakened.

S. What was the condition upon which the eternal felicity was promised?

C. Exact, unsinning, perfect obedience, proportioned to the measure of that strength; and consequently upon the commission of the first sin this crown was forfeited, Adam cast out of Paradise, and condemned to death, and so deprived both of eternity and felicity: and from that hour to this there hath been no man living, Christ only excepted, who was God as well as man, justifiable by that first covenant, all having

LIB. I. sinned, and so coming short of the glory of God promised in that covenant.

S. You have now given me a view of the first covenant, and I shall not give my curiosity leave to importune you with more questions about it. Only, if you please, tell me, what condition Adam, and consequently mankind, were concluded under, upon the defailance or breach of the condition required in that first covenant; for I perceive Adam sinned, and so brake that condition.

The state of man after the breach of the first covenant.

C. I have intimated that to you already, and yet shall further enlarge on it. Upon the fall of Adam, he and all mankind forfeited that perfect light and perfect strength, and became very defective and weak both in knowledge and ability of performing their duty to their Creator, and consequently were made utterly incapable of ever receiving benefit by that first covenant; it being just with God to withdraw that high degree of strength and grace, when He saw so ill use made of it.

S. But why should God inflict that punishment upon all mankind, for, or upon occasion of, the sin of that one man? Though he used his talent so very ill, others of his posterity might have used it better, and why should they all be so prejudged upon one man's miscarriage?

God's wisdom therein.

C. Many reasons may be rendered for this act of God's, and if they could not, yet ought not His wisdom to be arraigned at our tribunal, or judged by us. Now this is an act of His wisdom, more than of distributive justice, it being free for Him to do what He will with His own, and such is His grace and His crown. But the most full satisfactory reason may be this, because God, intending to take the forfeiture of that first covenant, intended withal to make a second covenant, which should tend as much, or more, to the main end, the eternal felicity of mankind, as, or than, the first could have done. And that you will acknowledge when you hear what this second covenant is.

Of the second covenant.

S. I beseech you then, what is the second covenant? and first, with whom was it made?

C. It was made with the same Adam now after his fall, in these words, "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head," and afterwards repeated more plainly to Abraham.

Gen. iii. 15. Gen. xxii. 17, 18.

SECT. I.

S. But who is that seed of the woman?

C. It is our Saviour Jesus Christ, which sprang from the progeny of that woman.

The promises thereof.

S. What then is the first thing promised in that second covenant?

C. The giving of Christ, to take our nature upon Him, and so to become a kind of second Adam, in that nature of our's to perform perfect, unsinning obedience, and so to be just, according to the condition of the first covenant, and yet being faultless, to undergo a shameful death voluntarily upon the cross, to satisfy for the sin of Adam, and for all the sins of all mankind, to taste death for every man, to die for all those which were dead in Adam. And this being the first thing, all other parts of this covenant are consequent and dependent on this: and so the second covenant was made in Christ, sealed in His blood, as it was the custom of the eastern nations to seal all covenants with blood, and so confirmed by Him, which is the meaning of those words, "All the promises of God in Him are yea, and in Him Amen," that is, are verified, which is the importance of yea, and confirmed, which is meant by Amen, into an immutability, in or by Christ.

Heb. ii. 9.
2 Cor. v. 15.
2 Cor. i. 20.

S. Well then, what are the promises or mercies made over unto us in Christ, and since His coming into the world, by this second covenant?

The first mercy. Gracious precepts.

C. First, that which is peculiar to Christ, since His coming into the world, the giving us such precepts as by their own inward goodness are able to approve themselves to our reasonable nature, and so to the meanest as well as learnedest men, whereas the more Mosaical observances were of another nature, such as whose goodness depends wholly on God's commanding them; and again, not outward carnal observances, as the Mosaical were, but spiritual, to the purifying of affections; viz. that law of faith, according to which we Christians ought to live. And this is set down as a part of that covenant, taken out of Jer. xxxi. 31, where the duty of the new covenant, which under the times of Christ should be revealed, is set down, first, privatively, not like that of Mosaical observances, external and carnal, but positively, laws given into their minds and hearts, i. e. agreeable to the rational

Heb. viii. 10, 11.
ver. 9.
ver. 10.

LIB. I. soul, and "I will be their God, and they shall be My people," i. e. sincere, honest obedience; not such as was fit to be imposed on hard-hearted Jews, to encumber and trash them, but such as becomes an ingenuous people: and then it
ver. 11. follows, "They shall not teach," &c., i. e. there shall be no need of such laborious instruction out of the law, what to do in point of abstinences, sacrifices, uncleannesses, purgations,
[ver. 12.] &c., as among the Jews; and lastly, "I will be merciful to their unrighteousness," &c., free pardon to all true penitents and sincere servants of God, merely by God's free grace and mercy in Christ, without those expiations under the law. So
Rom. x. 8. again, where this new covenant is set down, out of Deut. xxx. 11, &c., "The commandment which I command thee this day is not hidden from thee," the Hebrew word there is by the translators best expressed, 'it is not too heavy for thee[c],' and in other places, 'it is not impossible for thee[d];' and that further expressed in Deut. ver. 12, 13, "it is not in heaven, nor beyond sea," &c., i. e. it will cost no great pains to bring you to the knowing of it, nor, if you please, to the practising, it being very agreeable and consentaneous to every one's nature, the very soul within us being able to tell us, that what Christ commands is better even for us, as
ver. 14. men, than any thing else; and therefore it follows, "it is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it," i. e. it is very easy for thee to learn and understand, and practise also. And what this is, is punc-
ver. 9. tually set down in that tenth to the Romans, "confessing of Christ, and cordial belief of His resurrection;" the first containing under it a sticking fast to Christ when the Christian doctrine or profession is persecuted, and the second, a rising from sin as He rose, a new Christian life, in the practice of those rules of life which He hath left us. To this purpose
[1Joh.v.3.] again is that of St. John, that Christ's commandments are not grievous, not heavy, or unsupportable; and of Christ
[Matt. xi. 30.] Himself, that His yoke is easy, the Greek[e] signifies more, a
The second mercy, pardon of sins. good, a gracious yoke, and His burden a light burden. The second mercy made over to us by the second covenant, is,
Heb. viii. 12. that even now intimated, the promise of pardon or mercy to our unrighteousness, and our sins, and our iniquities; to wit,

[c] οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπέρογκος. [d] οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ. [e] χρηστός.

to the frailties which those that serve God sincerely do yet fall into, and whatever enormities they have formerly been guilty, but now repented of. The third is, the giving of grace or strength, although not perfect, or such as may enable us to live without ever sinning, yet such as is sufficient to perform what is necessary now under this second covenant, or so as God in Christ will accept, according to that of St. Paul, that "he can do all things through Christ that strengthens him;" able to do nothing of himself in order to the attaining of bliss. "We are not sufficient of ourselves," saith he in another place, "to do any thing," but yet through "Christ that strengthens me, I can do all things" that are now required of me. "Our sufficiency is of God." SECT. I. The third mercy, giving of strength. [Phil. iv. 13.] [2 Cor. iii. 5.]

S. I beseech you, where is this part of the promises of the second covenant set down in Scripture?

C. It is intimated in these and many other places, but is distinctly set down in the song of Zacharias. He there speaks of the oath which God sware to our father Abraham, which he styles God's holy covenant, and he specifies two parts of it: 1. Deliverance or safety from the power of our enemies, sin and Satan, in these words, "that we being delivered without fear[f]," for so the pointing of the Greek words in the most ancient copies teaches us to read, that is, without danger, safe and secure out of the hand of our enemies. 2. Giving of power or strength to us, to enable us to serve Him, so as He will accept of, and to preserve in that service, in the rest of the words, that He would grant, or as the word[g] is rendered, Rev. ii. 3, give power, unto us that we might serve Him, or, to serve Him, in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of our life. Lu. i. 74. ver. 73. ver. 72.

S. This place is, I acknowledge, a clear one to the purpose, and I have nothing to object against it; only pardon my curiosity, if having been told by you, that this second covenant was repeated to Abraham, and finding it here called the oath sworn to Abraham, and yet by reading of that oath in Genesis, not finding any such form of words there expressed, I beseech you to satisfy this scruple of mine, and reconcile those two places, which both you and the margins of our Bibles acknowledge to be parallel the one to The oath unto Abraham. Gen. xxii. 16.

[f] ἀφόβως, ἀκινδύνως. [g] δώῃ.

LIB. I. the other, but the sound of the words doth not so readily consent to it. The granting me this favour may, I hope, make the whole matter more perspicuous.

Interpreted. *C.* I am of your opinion, and therefore shall readily do it, and it will cost me no more pains than this, 1. to tell you that there is one part of the oath mentioned in Genesis which belonged peculiarly to the temporal prosperity of the people of the Jews, which were to spring from that Abraham, "I will ver. 17. multiply thy seed," &c., and indeed that whole verse may literally and primarily be referred to that; but then besides that, which Zacharias respecteth not, there are three things more promised, spiritual blessing, spiritual victory, and the incarnation of Christ; the last of these Zacharias mentions not in the words of the oath, because it is supposed in his whole song, occasioned only by it, and uttered on purpose to celebrate the incarnation of Christ; but the other two parts are specified and interpreted by him; the victory over, or [Lu. i. 71, sqq.] possessing the gates of the enemies there, is here called deliverance, without fear or danger, from the hands of our enemies; and the blessing there is explained here to be giving us power to serve Him in holiness and righteousness before Him all our days, that is, giving us the grace of God for the amending of our lives, according to that of the Apo-Gal. iii. 14. The blessing of Abraham. stle, where the receiving the promise of the Spirit is called the blessing of Abraham, the power of Christ, assisting and enabling us to persevere, being really the most inestimable blessing that this life is capable of; to which purpose St. Peter, speaking of Christ sent by God to bless us, ex-Acts iii. 26. presseth the thing wherein that blessing consists, to be, "in turning away every one from his iniquities."

S. I have troubled you too far by this extravagance; I shall make no delay to recall myself into the road again, and having been taught by you these several particulars of God's promise in the second covenant, I shall desire you to proceed to tell me what is the condition required of us in this covenant; unless perhaps here be some further particulars promised on God's part, which you have not yet mentioned.

The fourth promise, giving more grace. *C.* The truth is, there are two more promises of God, though implied in the third degree before mentioned, yet fit now to be more explicitly insisted on, the first, of giving

more grace, the second, of crowning with glory; but both these are conditional promises. The first, upon condition that we make use of those former talents, those weaker degrees of grace given us, which is the intimation of the parable of the nobleman, the sum of which is, that "unto every one that hath," that is, hath made good use of the talent of grace intrusted to him, as to have grace signifies to make use of it to the end to which it is designed, "shall be given, and from him that hath not," i. e. hath not made that use he ought, "even that he hath shall be taken from him." The second, upon condition that he be, at the day of death or judgment, such a man as Christ now under the second covenant requires him to be. SECT. I. Lu. xix. 13, sqq. Heb. xii. 28. The fifth promise, crowning with glory.

S. What then is the condition of the second covenant, without which there is yet no salvation to be had? The condition of the second covenant.

C. I shall answer you first negatively, then positively. Negatively, it is not 1. perfect, exact, unsinning obedience, the never offending at all in any kind of sin. This is the condition of the first covenant. Nor 2. is it never to have committed any deliberate sin in the former life. Nor 3. never to have gone on or continued in any habitual or customary sin for the time past, but it is positively, the new creature, or renewed, sincere, honest, faithful obedience to the whole Gospel, giving up the whole heart unto Christ, the performing of that which God enables us to perform, and bewailing our infirmities, and frailties, and sins, both of the past and present life, and beseeching God's pardon in Christ for all such; and sincerely labouring to mortify every sin, and perform uniform obedience to God, and from every fall rising again by repentance and reformation. In a word, the condition required of us, is a constellation or conjuncture of all those Gospel graces, faith, hope, charity, self-denial, repentance, and the rest, every one of them truly and sincerely rooted in the Christian heart, though mixed with much weakness and imperfection, and perhaps with many sins, so they be not wilfully and impenitently lived and died in, for in that case nothing but perdition is to be expected. Negatively. Positively.

S. What part of the promises is it, of which this condition is required to make us capable?

C. Pardon of sins, and salvation; by which you see that

LIB. I.

no man shall be pardoned or saved, but he that observes this condition.

S. What condition is then required to make us capable of that other part of the conditional promise, to wit, of more grace or continuance of that we have already?

C. A careful industrious husbanding of it, and daily prayer for daily increase, and attending diligently to the means of grace.

S. Methinks I understand somewhat of the nature and difference of these two covenants, and shall not need to ask you which of them it is in which we Christians are now concerned, for I take it for granted that it is the second. Only be pleased to tell me which of these two it was by which the Jews were to expect salvation?

C. Both Jew and Gentile, that is every man that ever was or shall be saved from the beginning of the world, was, and is, and shall be saved by this second covenant.

S. How then were the Jews obliged to the observation of the law? Is not the law the first covenant?

The Jews' concernment in the second covenant.

C. The Judaical law was not the first covenant, in the notion wherein now we take it, but the law of unsinning, perfect obedience made with Adam in innocence. The truth is, the Judaical law did represent unto us the first covenant, and that especially, and therefore is so called, but so it did the second also; the first, by requiring perfect obedience, and pronouncing a curse on him that continued not in all those many burdensome ordinances which the law gave no power to any to perform; the second, in the sacrifices, and many other rites, which served as emblems to shew us Christ, and in Him the second covenant.

Heb. viii. 7, 13.

S. I shall not interpose any more difficulties which my ignorance might suggest, but only put you in mind, that you told me, that this doctrine had a most present influence on our lives; be pleased to shew me how.

The influence of this doctrine on men's lives.

C. It hath so, many ways. I will mention a few. First, by prescribing the condition, it sets us at work to the performance of it, and that is, living well. Secondly, by shewing us how possible or feasible that condition is, by the grace and help of Christ, it first obliges us to a diligent performance of the duty of prayer for that grace, and then stirs us

up to endeavour and industry in doing what we are enabled to do, that we "receive not the grace of God in vain." Thirdly, by shewing us the necessity, indispensable necessity of sincere obedience, it shuts the door against all temptations to carnal security, sloth, presumption, hypocrisy, partial obedience, or habitual going on in sin. And fourthly, by shewing the true grounds of hope, it fortifies us against desperation. And lastly, if we need any encouragements in our Christian walk, His promise to enable first, and then to accept, will most abundantly contribute to that purpose.

SECT. I. [2 Cor. vi. 1.]

S. I acknowledge the usefulness of your directions, and I beseech God to assist me in bringing forth the fruit which it is just for you to expect, and for God to require from them; and I promise you by His help to be mindful of your admonitions. I shall desire you to proceed to the second kind of doctrine, which at first you mentioned, the names, and in one of them the offices of Christ. I beseech you what names do you mean?

SECT. II. Of the names of Christ.

C. Those two eminent and vulgarly known, so often repeated, but so little weighed, Jesus and Christ.

S. I pray you what is the importance of the word Jesus?

Of the name Jesus.

C. It is a Hebrew word which signifies saviour or salvation. I shall not need to prove it, when an angel hath asserted it, "Thou shalt call His name Jesus: for He shall save His people from their sins." Matt. i. 21.

S. The place you cite I have considered, and find some difficulty in it, by giving myself liberty to read on to the two next verses, the words of which are these: "All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel." How could His name be called Jesus and Emmanuel too? or how could the calling His name Jesus, be the fulfilling of that prophecy that foretold that they should call His name Emmanuel? [ver. 23.] [Is. vii. 14.]

C. You are to know that in the Hebrew tongue, word and thing, and so also calling and being, name and person, are all one; "No word shall be impossible with God," is, 'nothing shall be impossible;' and, "Mine house shall be called a house of prayer," is, 'My house shall be the house of prayer for all people,' that is, for the Gentiles as well as the Jews; and "so [Luke i. 37.] [Is. lvi. 7.] [Acts i. 15.]

LIB. II.

many names," that is, 'so many men;' and according to that idiom, retained both in the prophets of the Old, and evange-

Matt. i. 23. lists of the New Testament, this phrase, "They shall call His name Emmanuel," is in signification no more than this, He shall be God with us, or God incarnate in our flesh; which incarnation of His, being on purpose "to save His people from their sins," that prophecy which foretold it was perfectly fulfilled in His birth and circumcision, at which time He was called Jesus; which name was but a signification of His design in His coming into the world, according to

[Luke ii. 11.] another place; "This day there is born in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord."

S. By the answering of my impertinent scruple, I have gained thus much knowledge, viz., that the whole end of Christ's birth, of all He did and suffered for us, was that He might save us. I pray you then, what is meant by saving?

Saving from sin.

C. To save is to redeem from sin, as you will acknowledge if you observe but these two plain places; first, that which

Matt. i. 21. even now I cited, "He shall save His people from their sins," which is the only reason there rendered why He is called a

Tit. ii. 14. Saviour, then, Christ gave Himself to be crucified for us, "that He might redeem us from all iniquity."

S. Wherein doth this saving or redeeming from sin consist?

In three things.

C. In three things: first, in obtaining pardon for sin, or reconciling us to God, and consequently to that, in delivering us from the eternal torments which from God as judge, and from Satan as accuser first, and then as executioner, are in strict justice, or by the first covenant, due to sin: secondly, in calling men to repentance, thereby weakening the reigning power of sin, and the tempting power of Satan, by mortifying the old man, that is, the sinful desires of the natural and sinful habits of the carnal man, and by implanting a new principle of holiness in the heart: and thirdly, in perfecting and accomplishing all these so happy beginnings, at the end of this life in heaven.

S. How can it be said that Christ came thus to save, to do all this, when so many, so long after His coming, are so far from being thus saved in all or any of these three senses?

How then it comes that all are not saved.

C. That He came to save is certainly true, whatsoever objections you can have against it; and that by saving these

three things are meant, if you please, I shall manifest from other Scriptures. The first sense is contained in the word "salvation[h]," or that we should be saved from our enemies, which must needs be our spiritual enemies, sin and Satan; and if you doubt whether sin be there meant, or the pardon of sin by that saving, the next verse will clear the difficulty, where it follows, "to perform the mercy, or mercifully to deal with our fathers, and to remember His holy covenant[i]," of which covenant you know this one special part, "I will be merciful to their sins[k]," which explains the merciful dealing there, and "their iniquities will I remember no more." And then for the second sense, that saving signifies calling to repentance, may appear not only by comparing those two places, "I came to call sinners to repentance," and "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," but also by a notable place, very useful for the explaining of that word, it is reported that St. Peter said unto them, "Repent," &c., and "in more other words he testified unto them[l]," or 'preached' unto them, saying, "Be ye saved[m]," or 'escape ye from this perverse generation:' whence it is clear, that being saved, &c., is but more other words to signify repentance, and therefore surely that word which we render, "such as should be saved[n]," but is literally, "the saved," signifies particularly those who "received that exhortation," that is, those that repented of their sins; and accordingly it is rendered by the Syriac, "The Lord added daily such as became safe in the Church," i. e. which recovered themselves from that danger in which they were involved in that wicked generation, and betook themselves to the Church as to a sanctuary. But this by the way. As for the last acception of the phrase, it is so ordinary for salvation to signify the holy pure life in heaven, that I shall not need give you any proof of it. Having therefore cleared the truth, this were sufficient, although I wanted skill to answer your objection: but yet that may easily be done too, by saying that Christ hath really performed His part toward every one of these, and that whosoever hath not the effect and fruit of it, it is through his own wilful neglect,

Luke i. 71.

Heb. viii. 12.

[Matt. ix. 13.] [1 Tim. i. 15.]

Acts ii. 40.

ver. 47.

ver. 41.

[h] σωτηρία.

[i] ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ [τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης ἁγίας αὐτοῦ.]

[k] Ἵλεως ἔσομαι.

[l] ἑτέροις πλείοσι.

[m] σώθητε.

[n] σωζόμενοι.

LIB. I. and even despising of so great salvation. "Light came into the world, and men loved darkness more than light;" and having made a covenant with death and damnation are most worthy to have their portion therein.

[John iii. 19.]

How Christ is a Saviour.

S. What then is the short or sum of Christ's being Jesus?

C. It is this, that He came into the world to fetch back sinners to heaven, that whosoever of mankind should truly repent and fly to Him, shall through Him obtain pardon of sin and salvation[o]; a mercy vouchsafed to men, but denied to angels, who being once fallen, are left in that wretched state, and no course taken, and consequently no possibility left for their recovery: which most comfortable truth is clearly

Heb. ii. 16. set down by the Apostle, though in our English reading of it it be somewhat obscured. The words rightly rendered run thus: "He doth not take hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham He taketh hold[p]." Where the word which I render 'taking hold of,' signifies to catch any one who is either running away, or falling on the ground, or into a pit, to fetch back or recover again. This Christ did for men in being born, and suffering in our flesh, but for angels He did it not.

S. What special influence will this whole doctrine have upon our lives?

The influence of this on men's lives.

C. I will shew you. 1. It is proper to stir up our most affectionate love and gratitude to this Saviour, who hath descended so low, even to the death of the cross, to satisfy our sins, to obtain pardon for us: this love of Christ constraineth us, saith the Apostle. 2. It is proper to beget in us a just hatred of sin, which brought God out of heaven to make expiation for it. 3. It is a most proper enforcement of repentance and amendment of life, to remember, first, That without that we are likely to be little benefited by this Saviour; except we repent, salvation itself shall not keep us from perishing: secondly, That that was an end of Christ's death, to

Tit. ii. 14. "redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works," and not only to satisfy for us. 4. It is proper to teach us fear of offending, and keep us

[o] [Ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ] αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, [καὶ ἴδωμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ Θεῷ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν, παντὶ τῷ] κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ὑπήνεγκεν.—Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor. [c. 7. p. 34.]

[p] Οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται.

from security, when we find what an exemplary punishment God saw fit, if not necessary, to inflict on sin in the person of His Son: and remember how much more guilty we now shall prove, if we still damn ourselves in despite of all these precious means of saving us.

Of the name Christ, and His three offices.

S. I beseech God to open my heart to these considerations, and then I shall further importune you to proceed, and tell me the signification of the word Christ, wherein you told me the offices of Christ were intimated: but I beseech you first, what do you mean by offices?

What office signifies.

C. I mean by that word, places of charge and dignity, to which God thought fit to design Christ, that He might the better accomplish the end for which He sent Him; the trust or charge supposing somewhat to be done by Him, and the dignity implying somewhat to be returned by us, as you will see in the particulars.

S. What then is meant by the word Christ?

C. Anointed, and that intimates the three offices to which men were at any time inaugurated by God, such inauguration being fitly expressed, because ordinarily solemnized among men, by the ceremony of anointing.

S. What are those three offices?

C. Of King, and of Priest, and of Prophet.

Of Christ's kingly office.

S. What belonged to Christ to do as King?

C. To set up His throne in our hearts, or to reign in the souls of men, and to give evidence of His power through the whole world.

S. What was required of Him to that purpose?

Over His enemies, temporal and spiritual.

C. 1. To weaken and shorten the power of Satan, which Christ really did at His suffering, by death destroying the devil, casting Lucifer from heaven, that is, from the more unlimited power which he had before: and 2. to give strength and grace to overcome all rebellious lusts, and habits of sin, to bring them down in obedience to His kingdom, and this He hath done also by sending His Spirit, in reference to which are those words cited out of the Psalmist, "He hath led captivity captive, and given gifts unto men," and in a word, "to reign till He had brought all His enemies under His feet."

Heb. ii. 14.

[Ps. lxviii. 18.]

1 Cor. xv. 25.

S. What and how many be those enemies?

LIB. I.

C. He hath many enemies, some temporal, but most spiritual.

S. What mean you by His temporal enemies?

Temporal, 1, the Jews.

C. I mean first the Jewish nation, that rejected and crucified Him, which within the compass of one generation were according to His prediction, destroyed by the Romans, and preyed upon by those eagles, by which allusively are noted the Roman armies, whose ensign was the eagle[q], which found them out, as such vultures[r] do the carcase, whereso-ever they dispersed themselves. For that that prophecy of Christ's belongs to this matter, primarily or strictly, not to the day of judgment, to the destruction of those present crucifiers, and the Jewish state, and not to the destruction of all enemies at His great appearing yet to come, is apparent by the 34th verse, "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled;" where the word "generation[s]," signifies such a space, that they that were then alive, might and should live to see it, in that sense as the word is used, where the time or space of fourteen men's lives in a line succeeding one another, is called fourteen generations; not that 'generation' signifies the whole space of a man's life, for that is oft sixty, eighty, or an hundred years, but rather the third part of that[t]: For of any man's age, part he lives in his father's life time, and part after his son's birth; and thereupon it is wont to be said, that three generations make one sæcle or hundred years, as you shall find it did in the Genealogies, Matt. i., and ordinarily it doth. So that the plain meaning of that speech of Christ, "this generation shall not

Matt. xxiv. 28.

Job xxxix. 30.

Matt. xxiv. [4, sqq.]

Matt. i. 17.

[Mat. xxiv. 34.]

[q] Καὶ γὰρ ἀετοφόρων λεγεώνων δόξα πεσεῖται. Sib. Or. l. 8. [v. 78. p. 680.]

[r] Homer calls the eagle *περκνὸν θηρητῆρα*, Il. ω. [316.] a sagacious hunter. [*αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε τελειότατον πετεηνῶν μόρφνον θηρητῆρ' ὃν καὶ περκνὸν καλέουσιν.* There appears to be no authority for this interpretation of *περκνός*.]

[s] *γενεὰ*.

[t] Γενεὰ Homero, Tullio, ætas, triginta annorum spatium. Vide Rhodig. [l. x. c. 61. p. 544.] And Homer of Nestor Il. α [250.] *τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ* [*μερόπων ἀνθρώπων ἐφθίαθ'*, &c.,] and Herodotus, lib. 2. [c. 142.] *καίτοι τριηκόσιαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέαται μύρια ἔτεα·* [*γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτεά ἐστι·*] and Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 335 D., *εἰς* [*μέντοι*] *τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη, τρεῖς ἐγκαταλέγονται γενεαί.* Vide Hesych. [in verb. *γενεὰ, φυλὴ ἐπὶ διαστήματος χρόνων τῶν μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ βεβιωκότων· . . τὴν δὲ γενεὰν ὑφίστανται ἐτῶν, οἱ μὲν εἴκοσι οἱ δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα,*] with whom the word is taken to signify either the life of a man, or thirty years, or twenty-five, or twenty, as it is also for seven years by the physicians, and for ten clearly in the Epistle of Jeremy [Baruch c. 6.] v. 2. ["So when ye be come unto Babylon, ye shall remain there many years, and for a long season, namely, seven generations: and after that I will bring you away peaceably from thence."]

pass," &c. is this, that all this should come to pass in their age, or within the life of some that were then men, as, "There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." Which though some by the next chapter following are persuaded to interpret of the transfiguration, as if that were Christ's coming in His kingdom, may yet more properly be interpreted of this matter, so immediately consequent to His being killed by the Jews, and rising again, which was the ground of this speech of His, viz., Christ's illustrious coming to destroy those Jews: to which also that other place belongs, which will clear both these, "If I will that John tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" which, saith St. John, was not to be interpreted, "that he should never die," but only that he should tarry till this coming of Christ; which of all the disciples peculiarly, and I think, only, John lived to see, and, as I think I have reason to believe, immediately before it, saw many visions concerning it, which are set down in his Revelation. This destroying or subduing his enemies and crucifiers, so terrible, that when it is foretold, it is generally mistaken for the day of final judgment, is many times in the New Testament styled the "Kingdom of God," and "the coming of Christ," the "end of all things," and the "end of the world," because Christ's powerful presence was so very discernible in destroying of that nation, and in that effect of His kingdom, in bringing His enemies under His feet; and is without doubt the thing designed in that whole 24th chapter of St. Matthew, and every part of it, and particularly in those verses, which are most thought to belong to another matter. For the "darkening of the sun and moon, and falling of the stars from heaven," are not literally to be understood, or if they were, would perhaps as little belong to the day of the last judgment, but in the same sense that the prophets use them, perhaps to signify no more, but only a great slaughter or effusion of blood; that, say the naturalists, sending forth abundance of hot exhalations, which first fill the air with black clouds, taking away the light of heaven, the sight of the stars, &c., and at last turn into meteors in the shape of falling stars. On which ground it is, that those phrases of "the sun being turned into darkness," and "the moon not

SECT. II.

Matt. xvi. 28.

ver. 21.

John xxi. 22.

ver. 23.

Matt. xxiv.

ver. 29, 30, 31.

Isa. xiii. 10; xxxiv. 4. Ezek. xxxii. 7. Joel ii. 31.

Isa. xxxiv. 4. Rev. vi. 13.

L I B. I.

giving her light," and "the falling of the stars from heaven," are used in prophetical, which seldom are clear, speeches, for great slaughters and destructions, and nothing else. But there is another more commodious way of interpreting that whole verse, by the sun and moon and stars, understanding the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the rest of the cities of Judea, and by the darkening and falling of them, the great tribulations and destructions that should befall all these; both which are very agreeable to the style wherein prophecies are written. Which being supposed to be the interpretation of the 29th verse, that of the "sign of the Son of man," and His "coming," and "the sound of the trumpet gathering of the elect," will without much difficulty belong to it also, and signify the remarkableness of this punishment on the Jews, as an act of signal revenge from the crucified Christ, and the saving or delivering of a remnant, according to all the prophecies, i. e. of some few Jews, out of this general incredulity and slaughter.

[Joel ii. 10.]

ver. 30.

ver. 31.

S. Were there any other sort of temporal enemies to be destroyed by Him?

2. The Romans.

C. Yes, those other who joined with the Jews in crucifying of Him; I mean the Romans themselves, or heathen Rome: on which that another cup of God's wrath was to be poured out, is, I conceive, the importance of another great part of the revelation, which was remarkably fulfilled by Alaricus and others in sacking it and destroying the heathen, but sparing the Christian part of it: in which also was remarkably founded the conversion of that city and empire from heathenism to Christianity, and so the subjecting it to Christ's kingdom.

S. You have satisfied both my reason and my curiosity in this particular, and I shall not importune you farther; I pray then, besides these rebellious crucifying Jews and Romans, what other enemies did you mean?

Spiritual enemies. Sin. Satan.

C. First, sin, the great enemy of souls, which He labours to destroy in this life by the power of His grace, and will totally destroy at the day of judgment. Secondly, Satan, which I told you of, who, therefore, when Christ comes to dispossess him of his hold in the poor man, demands, "Art Thou come to destroy us?" and at another time, "Art Thou

Mark i. 24.

[Matt. viii. 29.]

come to torment us before our time?" acknowledging that Christ was to destroy him, he understood so much in the sacred predictions, but withal hoping it was not yet the time for that execution, and in the mean while, counting it a kind of destruction and torment to him, to be cast out or deprived of any of the power which he had over the bodies or souls of men. SECT. II.

S. Are there no other enemies that this King must destroy? Wicked men.

C. Yes, two more: first, all wicked and ungodly men, that after all His methods of recalling them to amendment, do still persevere in impenitent rebellions, to whom eternal perdition belongs by the sentence of this King. "Those that will not let Me reign over them, must be brought forth and slain before their King." Secondly, death itself, according to that of the Apostle, "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death:" He shall despoil the grave, and make it restore all its captives, and then death shall be no more, shall be swallowed up in victory. Death. 1 Cor. xv. [26.]

S. What is required of us in answer and return to this office of His?

C. Principally and by indispensable necessity, that we rerender ourselves obedient, faithful, constant subjects to this King, hold not any disloyal fort, any rebel lust or sin against Him, but as to a king, vow and perform entire allegiance unto Him. And then consequently that we entrust Him with our protection, address all our petitions to Him, have no war or peace, but with those who are His and our common enemies or friends, fight His battles against sin and Satan, pay Him our tribute of honour, reverence, obedience, yea, and of our goods also, when they may be useful to any poor member of His. Our returns to Christ's regal office.

S. I shall detain you no longer with less necessary queries about this office of His, as, when Christ was inaugurated to it; because I have had the chance to observe, by comparing two known places of Scripture together, that "Christ's reigning," and "His sitting at God's right hand," are all one: from whence I collect that the time of His solemn inauguration to His regal office was at His ascension. Psal. cx. 1. 1 Cor. xv. 25.

C. You have guessed aright, and therefore I shall not farther explain that unto you, nor put you in mind of any

LIB. I. other niceties, but instead of such, rather remember you of the practical conclusion that this office of Christ's may suggest unto you, that you are no farther a Christian, than you are an obedient subject of Christ's; that His Gospel consists of commands as well as promises, the one the object of the Christian faith as well as the other.

Of Christ's priestly office. *S.* O Lord, increase this faith in me. Please you now to proceed to the second office of Christ, that of His priesthood.

C. I shall, and first tell you, that the nature of this office of Christ is a little obscure, and therefore I shall tell you nothing of it, but what the Scripture gives me clear ground to assert.

S. What doth the Scripture tell us of priesthood?

Two priesthoods. *C.* It mentions two orders of priesthood, one after the order of Aaron, the other after the order of Melchizedek.

Aaronical. *S.* What was the office of the Aaronical priest?

C. To offer sacrifice and to bless the people, but especially to sacrifice.

Melchizedekian. *S.* What of the Melchizedekian priest?

C. It is not improbable that Melchizedek offered sacrifice also; but because the sacred story mentions nothing of him as belonging to his priesthood, but only his blessing of Abraham, therefore it is resolved that the Melchizedekian priesthood consisted only in blessing. This you will best discern by looking into the story of Melchizedek meeting Abraham.

Gen. xiv. 18-20. *S.* What is there said of him?

C. It is said that "Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine," i.e. treated and entertained Abraham as a king, "and he was priest of the most high God, and he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abraham of the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand."

S. Which of these kind of priests was Christ to be?

Both in Christ. *C.* Christ being considered in the whole purpose of God concerning Him, was to undertake both these offices of priesthood, to be an Aaronical priest first, and then for ever after a Melchizedekian priest: He was appointed first to offer up sacrifice for the sins of the world, which He performed once for all upon the cross, and therein exercised the office of an Aaronical priest, and withal completed and perfected that whole work of satisfaction for sin, to which all the old legal sacrifices referred; and that being done, He was to enter

upon His other office of Melchizedekian priesthood, and exercise that continually from that time to the end of the world, and therefore is called a "Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." And his second kind of priesthood is that which the Scriptures of the New Testament, especially the epistle to the Hebrews, doth mainly refer to, when it speaks of Christ, and is to be conceived to speak of that, whensoever it indefinitely mentions Christ's priesthood. SECT. II. [Heb. vii. 17.]

S. But what then, is not Christ a priest after the order of Aaron?

C. I told you that He was, but now I tell you that He is not: He was one in His death, but never was to repeat any act of that afterwards, and so now all the priesthood that belongs to Him is the Melchizedekian. I will set this down more plainly. It is most truly said and resolved, that Christ's death was a voluntary offering and sacrifice of Himself once for us, and that will serve to denominate Him an Aaronical priest in His death, or rather to conclude that His death was the completion of all the rites and ceremonies, such as the sacrifices, of the Aaronical priesthood. But this being but one act never to be repeated again, is not the thing that Christ's eternal priesthood, denoted especially by His unction or chrism, refers to, but that other Melchizedek priesthood that He was to exercise for ever[u]. Besides, it may be said that this sacrifice at His death, may under that notion of an Aaronical sacrifice, pass for the rite and ceremony before His consecration, or at the consecrating Him to be our eternal high priest. For such sacrifices we find mentioned, "the ram, the ram of consecration;" and of this nature I conceive the death of Christ to be, a previous or preparatory rite to Christ's consecration to His great eternal priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, whereupon it is said that it "became God to consecrate[x] the captain of our salvation by sufferings," for so the word signifies, which we render 'to make perfect.' This suffering and satisfying for our sins, fitted Him for the office of Intercessor. To which purpose you may observe two things:—1. That Christ's priesthood is said to be an eternal priesthood, Thou "art a priest for ever," and a priesthood not transitive[y], but for ever fastened in the

But now only the Melchizedekian.

Lev. viii. 22.

Heb. ii. 10.

[u] εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. [x] τελειῶσαι. [y] ἀπαράβατος.

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Heb. vii. 24. ver. 16.

person of Christ, "after the power of an indissoluble[z] life," which cannot appertain to that one single finite unrepeated sacrifice of Himself upon the cross. 2. That Christ was not inaugurated to this His priesthood till after His resurrection, for then only He was instated in that indissoluble life: and this seemeth to be the importance of Acts iii. 26, where it is said, that "God having raised up His Son Jesus, sent Him to bless you;" where questionless that mission to bless notes the office of Melchizedekian priesthood, and most probably the phrase of "raising Him up" denotes His resurrection.

S. Will not this notion of Christ's priesthood derogate something from the suffering of Christ, or satisfaction wrought by it?

The necessity of Christ's death in two things.

C. No, nothing at all, but rather demonstrate that this death of His was necessary in a double respect: 1. As an act of an Aaronical priest, and a completion of all those legal rites which vanished at the presence of this great sacrifice. 2. That in respect of the satisfaction wrought by it, it was necessary to make Him our eternal priest, or to make us capable of the benefits of that priesthood of His.

S. Well then, I shall acknowledge those plain words of Scripture, that Christ is now to us, and ever shall be, a priest of Melchizedek's order, and not strive to fancy him still an Aaronical priest, that sacrifice being offered up once for all, because I have no ground now for such fancy. But then I beseech you wherein lies the parallel betwixt Melchizedek's priesthood and Christ's? Is it in offering of bread and wine, which we read of Melchizedek, or in anything answerable to that?

The parallel between Melchizedek and Christ.

Negatively.

C. No, that is the Papists' fancy, caused by a great mistake of theirs; they conceive that Melchizedek offered up bread and wine to God, and that in that respect he is called a priest, or that he was sacrificing, or did sacrifice. But in this there are two mistakes. For first, Melchizedek brought forth this bread and wine, and presented it to Abraham, did not offer it to God; and therefore Philo a Jew, well seen in that story, sets it as an act of hospitality in Melchizedek, not of priesthood, contrary to the crabbed niggardliness of Amalek, he would not allow water, but Melchizedek brought

[Exod. xvii. 8.]

[z] ἀκαταλύτου.

forth bread and wine. Secondly, this he did as a king; and so Christ as a king may perhaps be said to entertain and feed us in the sacrament with bread and wine, and the spiritual food annexed to, or represented by it, the giving of grace and pardon being a donative of His kingly office; but the priestly acts of Melchizedek are those that follow, wherein only Christ's eternal or Melchizedek priesthood consists. SECT. II.

S. What are they? Positively, in

C. 1. Blessing us. 2. Blessing God for us.

S. What is the meaning of Christ's blessing us?

C. You will see that by reviewing the place even now cited, "God having raised up His Son Jesus sent Him to bless us;" which now you perceive is a denotation of His priestly office, every priest, especially the Melchizedek priest, being to bless. 1. Blessing us. Acts iii. 26.

S. I do so, but how doth that shew me what that blessing is?

C. Yes, there are words that immediately follow, which clearly describe wherein this blessing consists, in "turning away every one of you from his iniquities."

S. Be pleased to make use of that key for me, and shew me clearly wherein that part of Christ's priesthood, His blessing of us, consists.

C. In using all powerful means to convert or turn, i.e. to bring all mankind to repentance.

S. What be those means? The parts and branches of that. Rom. viii. 11.

C. First, the communicating that spirit to us, whereby He "raised up Jesus from the dead." Secondly, sending the Holy Ghost "to convince the world of sin, and righteousness, and of judgment," that is, appointing a succession of ministers to the end of the world, to work in men's hearts a cordial subjection to that doctrine, which at Christ's preaching on earth was not believed. Thirdly, the giving of grace, inspiring of that strength into all humble Christian hearts, that may enable them to get victory over sin. Fourthly, His interceding with God for us, which you know is the peculiar office of the priest, as He promised He would for St. Peter, "that his faith fail not;" that is, that God will give us the grace of perseverance, which intercession of His being now with power and authority,—"all power is given to Me," saith Christ,—is all one in effect with the actual donation of that grace, and as a [John xvi. 8.] [Luke xxii. 32.] [Matt. xxviii. 18.]

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crown of this follows another kind of blessing, actual bestowing of heaven upon such blessed persevering children of His Father.

S. What is required of us in answer to this part of His office?

Our returns thereto.

C. First, to seek and pray for grace to descend towards us through this conduit of conveyance. Secondly, to receive it when it thus flows, with humble grateful hearts. Thirdly, to count grace the greatest blessing in the world. Fourthly, to make use of it to the end designed by Christ; not to pride or wantonness or contempt of our meaner brethren, but to the converting and reforming of our lives. And fifthly, to look for no final benefit, pardon of sins, or eternal salvation from that priest, either as suffering or satisfying for us, but upon the good use of His grace, which will engage us to walk painfully here, and to approach humbly to receive our reward, the crown not of our works, but God's graces, hereafter.

S. What is the second part of Christ's Melchizedek-priesthood?

2. Blessing God for us.

C. Blessing or praising God for ever in heaven for His goodness, His mercy, His grace towards us poor sinful enemies of His, in giving us the victory over our so bitter adversaries, sin, and Satan, and death, and hell, by the blood of the Lamb, and the power of His grace.

S. What is our part in this business?

C. To follow this precentor of ours in blessing and magnifying that God of all grace, and never yielding to those enemies, which He hath died to purchase, and given us power to resist and overcome.

S. I do already discern the influence of this office, thus explained, upon our lives: yet if you please, give me your direction and opinion what is the main practical doctrine emergent from this office of Christ, especially as it consists in blessing.

The influence of this doctrine on our lives.

C. This is it, that from hence we learn, how far forth we may expect justification and salvation from the sufferings of Christ; no farther, it appears, than we are wrought on by His renewing and sanctifying and assisting grace, this being the very end of His giving Himself for us, not that absolutely

SECT. II.

or presently we might be acquitted and saved, but that He might redeem us from all iniquity, from the reigning power, as well as guilt, and that impartially, of all iniquity, and "purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works," without which acquisition of purity, and zeal of good works in us, as in a peculiar people, Christ fails of His aim and design in dying for us, He is deprived of that reward of His sufferings, which is mentioned Isa. liii. 10. "The seeing of His seed," the having the "pleasure of the Lord," which is said to be "our sanctification," "prosper in His hand, the seeing of the travail of His soul," "dividing His portion with the great, and the spoil with the strong," that is, rescuing men out of the power of sin to amendment of life, and to holiness, which is the crown and reward of His "pouring out of His soul to death, and making intercession for the transgressors." And if He fail of His hope, much more shall we of ours; after all that Christ hath done and suffered, the impenitent unreformed fiduciary shall perish. And what can you imagine more obligatory to good life than this?

Tit. ii. 14.

1 Thes. iv. 3. [Isa. liii. 11.] ver. 12.

S. I acknowledge the truth of what you say to be very convincing, and shall think myself bound in charity to my poor tottering soul no longer to flatter and fool myself with such vain hope, that Christ's active and passive obedience shall be imputed to me, unless I am by His blessing thus qualified to receive this benefit from His death. Yet now I think of it, if Christ's active obedience may be imputed to me, then what need have I of obeying myself? If the righteousness that was in Him by never sinning be reckoned to me, what need I any other initial imperfect inherent righteousness or holiness of my own? This is to me a scruple yet not answered by you.

C. I confess it is, for I have had no occasion to mention that active obedience of Christ, it being no part of His priestly office. And now if you will have my opinion of it, I conceive that Christ's active obedience is not imputed unto any other person, so as he shall be thought perfectly to have obeyed by this only, because Christ hath perfectly obeyed; much less to him that lives in all kind of disobedience, and means Christ's obedience shall serve his turn. For, first, if Christ's active obedience were thus imputed to me, then by that I should

Of Christ's active obedience.

L I B. I. be reckoned of, and accepted by God as if I had fulfilled the whole law, and never sinned; and then I should have no need that Christ should suffer for my sins, and so this would exclude all possibility of having Christ's passive obedience imputed to me. For what imaginable reason could be given, why I should suffer for sin, or any other surety for me, if by some former act I am accounted to have performed perfect unsinning obedience, at least have the benefit of that obedience performed by that surety of mine, and accepted for me? It is true when the penitent believer's sins are pardoned by the sufferings of Christ, Christ's perfect obeying the law may so far be imputed to such a one, as to give a gloss or tincture to his still imperfect obedience, at least so far as that they shall be accepted by God; but that will not belong at all to, or avail for such as obey not sincerely; for their impenitent sins are far different from those imperfections, but only for them that "walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit;" the prime place which seems to belong to that matter. Secondly, the truth is clear, that Christ's active obedience was required in His person, as a necessary qualification to make it possible for Him to suffer or satisfy for us; for had He not performed active obedience, that is, had any guile been found in His mouth or heart, had He ever sinned, He must have suffered for Himself, and could no more have made satisfaction for us, than one of us sinners can do for another. It is true indeed, Christ merited as well as satisfied for us; but that by which He merited was not His never sinning, or perfect obedience, for that was due to the law under which He was born, but His voluntary giving up Himself to death, even to the death of the cross, and all that was preparative to it performed by Him, freely without any obligation or duty lying upon Him, as a man, to do so, according to that of Heb. x. 7, out of the Psalmist, "Then said I, Lo, I come, to do Thy will, O God; I am content to do it;" and Christ Jesus "being in the form of God, &c., made Himself of no reputation, and took on Him the form of a servant, and was made in likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross;" which is there set as the foundation of His merit, "Wherefore God hath highly exalted

Rom. viii. 4.

[Ps. xl. 7.]

Phil. ii. 6.

Him," &c. By this means it is true that He merited for us as well as for Himself: for us He merited grace and glory; for Himself, that He might have the power of dispensing them to whom, and in what manner and measure He pleased. This was the meaning of those words, "All power is given to Me," &c.; and "God hath given Him a name which is above every name;" and "When He ascended up on high He gave gifts unto men." But all this you see is quite another matter from His active obedience, or fulfilling the law, being so imputed to us, as that the drunkard shall be accounted sober, the adulterer chaste on this one score, because Christ was sober and chaste in our stead. No, that which He merited for us, being the gift of grace, which was on purpose to deliver us from the reigning power of sin, and to "bless us in turning every man from his iniquities," a power of "serving God acceptably in righteousness and godly fear," He is so far from meriting for us any excuse or immunity from the indispensable force of this obligation, that He "gave Himself for us," did and suffered all this to this very end, "that He might redeem us from all iniquity," rescue us out of the slavery of every evil habit, and "purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works;" and if this use be not made of the grace which He purchased for us, if we do not "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling," with which the use which St. Paul makes of the doctrine of Christ's merit, we shall have little privilege by that part of His merit, and shall "fall short of the glory" purchased also. By all which it is clear that Christ's active obedience will not supply the place of ours, or make ours, I mean our sincere renewed obedience, less necessary; and consequently that our renewed obedience and sanctification, or sincere, honest, faithful purpose of new life, witnessed to be such by the conformity of the future action, is still most indispensably required, though mixed with much of weakness, ignorance, frailties, recidivations, to make us capable of pardon of sin or salvation, which sure is the intimation of those places which impute our justification rather to the resurrection of Christ, and the consequents of that, the subsequent acts of His priesthood heretofore mentioned, than to His death. Such are, "It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died,

SECT. II.

[Matt. xxviii. 18.] [Eph. i. 21.] [Eph. iv. 8.]

[Acts iii. 26.] [Heb. xii. 28.]

Tit. ii. 14.

Phil. ii. 12.

Rom. viii. 34. [Rom. viii. 33.]

LIB. I. yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us:" which last words refer peculiarly to that act of this His priesthood in Rom. iv. 25. blessing or interceding for us: and "who was delivered" to death "for our offences, and was raised again for our justification;" the death of Christ not justifying any who hath not his part in His resurrection.

S. I perceive this theme of Christ's priesthood to be a rich mine of Christian knowledge, every scruple of mine opening so large a field of matter before you. I shall satisfy myself with this competency which you have afforded me; I beseech God I may be able to digest it into kindly juice, that I may grow thereby. Please you now to proceed to the third and last office of Christ, that of a prophet?

Of the prophetic office of Christ.

C. I shall, and promise you not to exercise your patience so largely in that, as in the former.

Wherein it consists.

S. Wherein doth His prophetic office consist? In foretelling what things should happen to His Church?

C. No, that is not the notion we have now of a prophet, although that He hath also done in some measure, as far as is useful for us.

S. What other notion have you of a prophet?

1 Cor. xi. 4, and xiv. 6.

C. The same that the Apostle hath of prophesying.

S. What is that?

C. Expounding, signifying, or making known the will of God to us.

S. Wherein did Christ do that?

C. In His sermons, but especially that on the mount, telling us on what terms blessedness is now to be had under the gospel, and revealing some commands of God which before were, either not at all, or so obscurely revealed in the Old Testament, that men thought not themselves obliged to such obedience. Besides this, the prophetic office was exercised in ordaining ceremonies and discipline for His Church, the use of the sacraments, and the power of the keys, that is, the censures of the Church.

S. What else belongs to His prophetic office?

C. Whatsoever else He revealed concerning the essence and attributes of God, concerning the mystery of the calling of the Gentiles, and whatsoever other divine truth He

revealed to His auditors, either in parables or plain enunciations. SECT. II.

S. What are we to return to this office of His? What we must return to it.

C. Our willing full assent, never doubting of the truth of any affirmation of His; a ready obedience to His institutions and commands, neither despising nor neglecting the use of what He hath thought fit to prescribe us, and subduing carnal proud reason to the obedience of faith.

S. You have gone before me through the names and offices of Christ severally: is there any influence on practice that all of them jointly may be thought to have over and above what from the severals you have shewed me?

C. I shall commend only one consideration to you for this purpose, that Christ being an union of these three offices, is a Jesus or Saviour finally to none but those who receive Him under all His three offices uniformly into their hearts.

S. The Lord grant that I may do so; that I may be not a little way, or a partial, unsincere, but a true Christian. What hinders but that you now proceed, according to your method proposed, to the particulars of the third rank, the theological graces and Christian virtues? SECT. III.

C. I shall, if your patience and appetite continue to you.

S. To begin then with the first, what is faith? Of faith.

C. There is not any one word which hath more significations than this hath in the word of God, especially in the New Testament. It sometimes signifies the acknowledgment of the true God, in opposition to heathenism; sometimes the Christian religion, in opposition to Judaism; sometimes the believing the power of Christ to heal diseases; sometimes the believing that He is the promised Messias; sometimes fidelity or faithfulness; sometimes a resolution of conscience concerning the lawfulness of anything; sometimes a reliance, affiance, or dependance on Christ either for temporal or spiritual matters; sometimes believing the truth of all divine relations; sometimes obedience to God's commands in the evangelical not legal sense; sometimes the doctrine of the gospel, in opposition to the law of Moses; sometimes it is an aggregate of all other graces; sometimes the condition of the second covenant in opposition to the first: and other senses The several acceptions of the word.

LIB. I. of it also there are, distinguishable by the contexture, and the matter treated of, where the word is used.

S. I shall not be so importunate as to expect you should travel with me through every of these severals, but shall confine your trouble to that which seems most necessary for me to know more particularly. As first, which of all these is the notion of that faith which is the theological grace, distinct from hope and charity?

1 Cor. xiii. 13.

C. It is there the assenting to, or believing the whole word of God, particularly the gospel, and in that the commands, and threats, and promises of that word, especially the promises. This you will acknowledge if you look on verse 12. of that chapter, and there observe and consider, that vision in the next life is the perfecting of that faith in this life, or that faith here is turned into vision there, as hope into enjoying, for this argues faith here to be this assent to those things which here come to us by hearing, and are so believed by adherence, or dark enigmatical knowledge, but hereafter are seen or known demonstratively, or face to face. Hence it is that faith is defined by the Apostle, the confident[a] expectation of things hoped for, the conviction[b], or being convinced, or assured, of things which we do not see. The confident expectation of things future, and at a distance, out of our reach, and the being convinced of the truth of those things, for which there is no other demonstration, but only the word and promise of God, and yet upon that, an inclination to believe them as assuredly as if I had the greatest evidence in the world.

Faith opposed to vision.

Heb. xi. 1.

S. I cannot but desire one trouble more from you in this matter, i.e. to know what kind of faith was the faith of Abraham, which is spoken of in the New Testament, and seems to be meant as the pattern by which our faith should be cut out, and upon which both he was, and we may expect to be justified.

Abraham's faith.

Rom. iv. [1.] Gal. iii. [6.] Heb. xi. [17.] Jam. ii. [23.]

C. I cannot but commend the seasonableness of the question before I answer it, for certainly you have pitched upon that which is the only sure foundation and ground-work of all true knowledge and resolution in this matter, Abraham being the father of the faithful, in whom that grace was most eminent, very highly commended and rewarded in the Scrip-

[a] ὑπόστασις. [b] ἔλεγχος.

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ture, and like whom we must be, if ever we expect to approve ourselves to, or to be justified by God.

S. But what then was the faith of Abraham?

C. Many acts of Abraham's faith there are mentioned in the New Testament, which were several exercises of that grace in him, and they are mentioned indistinctly as the pattern of that faith which is now required under the gospel. But more especially two there are, by which in two trials of his faith he approved himself to God so far as that God imputed them to him for righteousness, i. e. accepted of those acts of his as graciously as if he had performed perfect, unsinning obedience, had lived exactly without any slip or fall all his life, yea and gave him the honour of being called the friend of God.

Gal. iii. [6 sqq.] Two special acts of it.

S. What was the first of those acts?

C. That which St. Paul refers to, his believing the promise of God made unto him.

[Rom. iv. 3.] [Gen. xv. 5.]

S. What was that promise?

C. It consisted of two parts. First, that God would shield and defend, or take him into His protection, and withal reward him abundantly for all the service that he should ever perform unto Him. This promise is set down in these words, "Fear not, Abraham, I am thy shield and exceeding great reward." The sum of which is, that God will protect all those that depend and trust on Him, reward all His faithful servants in a manner and measure inexpressibly abundant, and particularly that He would then deal so with Abraham, a true faithful servant of His, and consequently that he should not fear. This promise it is not said in the text expressly that Abraham believed; but yet it is so far implied that there is no doubt of it: for Abraham's question, "What wilt thou give me seeing I go childless?" is in effect a bowing and yielding consent to the truth of this promise, and firmly depending upon it, and thereupon proceeding to a special particular, wherein he desired that favour of God to be made good to him, the giving him a child for his reward, whereas otherwise, having none, and so his servant being his only heir apparent, all the wealth in the world would not be valuable to him: and thereupon as a reward, of that his former faith on the former promise, God proceeds to make

The first, consisting of two parts.

[Gen. xv. 1.]

ver. 2.

LIB. I. him that second more particular promise, which I called the second part of it.

S. What was that?

C. The promise that he should have an heir of his own body, from whom should come a posterity as numerous, or rather innumerable, as the stars of heaven, and among them at length the Messias, in whom all the people of the world should be blessed, for that is the meaning of "so shall thy seed be," and of the same words delivered by way of ellipsis, "who believed that he should be the father of many nations, according as had been said to him by God." So, i.e. as the stars of heaven, shall thy seed be. The second part of the promise being a particular contained before under the general of rewarding him exceedingly, but not till now explicitly revealed to Abraham, that God would then reward him by giving him a son, and a numerous posterity, and the Messias to come from him, was a particular trial whether his former belief were sincere, i.e. whether he would trust and depend on God or no, there being little reason for him to expect a child then, having remained so long without one, and so some difficulty in so believing; and then it follows that in this trial he was found faithful, "he believed," or, as St. Paul heightens it, "beside or beyond hope he believed, and God counted it to him for righteousness," i.e. took this for such an expression of his faithfulness and sincerity and true piety, that he accepted him as a righteous person, upon this performance, though no doubt he had many infirmities and sins, which he was or had been guilty of in his life, irreconcileable with perfect righteousness.

Gen. xv. 5.

Rom. iv. 18.

Gen. xv. 6.

Rom. iv. 18.

S. What was the second of those acts of Abraham's faith?

C. That which St. James mentions, and St. Paul, "offering his son Isaac" upon the altar. For God having made trial before of his faith in one particular, that of believing His promise, makes now a new trial of it in another, that of obedience to His commands: for when God gives commands as well as promises, the one is as perfect a season and means of trial of faith as the other; and to say I have faith, and not thus to evidence it, not to bring forth that fruit of it, when God by expecting it and requiring it puts me to the trial, is either to manifest that I have no faith at all,

The second.

Jam. ii. 21.

Heb. xi. 17.

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or else not a thorough faith, but only for cheaper, easier services, not able to hold out to all trials; or else that this is but a dull lifeless habit of faith without any vital acts flowing from it: which yet are the things that God commands, and without yielding of which in time of trial, or when occasion is offered, the habit will not be accepted by Him. And this I conceive the clearest way of reconciling St. James and St. Paul in what is affirmed by them in this matter. "Abraham was justified by faith," saith St. Paul, "and not by works," i. e. by believing and depending on God for the performance of His promise, and resigning up wholly to Him to obey His precepts; or more clearly, by that faith which, howsoever it was tried, whether by promises of strange incredible things, or commands of very hard duties, killing his only son, did constantly approve itself to be a true faith, and so was accepted by God, without performance of absolute unsinning obedience, much more without performance of the Mosaical law, Abraham then being uncircumcised: which two things, one or both, are generally by St. Paul meant by works. But then, saith St. James, "Abraham was justified by works," i. e. his faith did approve itself by faithful actions, particularly by offering up his son, that being an act of the greatest fidelity and sincerity and obedience in the world; and if in time of trial he had not done so, he had never passed for the faithful Abraham, had never been justified, i. e. approved or accepted by God: which is in effect all one with that which St. Paul hath said; neither one nor the other excluding or separating faithful actions or acts of faith from faith, or the condition of justification, but both absolutely requiring them as the only things by which the man is justified: only St. Paul, disputing against the Jew who relied and depended on his legal righteousness, mentions the works of the law, and excludes them from having any thing to do toward justification, leaving the whole work to faith; and St. James, disputing not against the Jews, but uncharitable Gnostics, the pattern of all presumptuous fiduciaries, hath no occasion to add that exclusive part to shut out works, which belonged only to the Jew, but rather to prevent or cure that other disease which he saw the minds of men through mistake and abuse of St. Paul's doctrine possessed with, or sub-

St. James reconciled with St. Paul.

[Rom. iv. 2, 3.]

[Jam. ii. 21.]

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ject to, thinking that a dead habit of faith would serve the turn, and mistaking every slight motion or formal profession, (such as bidding the poor go, and be rich, and giving them nothing,) for that habit of faith, and in opposition to that, resolveth that the faith which in time of trial, when occasion is offered, doth not bring forth acts, is such a dead carcase of faith that God will never be content with, to the justifying or accepting of any, or counting any man, as Abraham, His friend; for such are none, saith Christ, but those which do whatsoever He commands them.

ver. 16.

John xv. 14.

S. I thank you for this very plain delineation of Abraham's faith: be only now pleased, to prevent any mistake of mine, to change the scene, and bring home the whole matter to my own heart, and tell me what is that faith which is required of me, and which alone will suffice to denominate me a child of faithful Abraham, and which will be sure to be accounted to me for righteousness by God. And this you may please to do only with reflection, and in proportion to what you have already told me of Abraham.

What faith in us is parallel to that by which Abraham was justified.

C. I will obey you. The faith which is now required of you, and which God will thus accept to your justification, is a cordial sincere giving up yourself unto God, particularly to Christ, firmly to rely on all His promises, and faithfully to obey all His commands delivered in the Gospel, which will never be accounted by God that sincere cordial faith, unless it be such as will, whensoever any trial is made of you, act and perform accordingly, believe what Christ hath promised in the gospel, against all spiritual or worldly temptations to the contrary, and practise what Christ commands, against all the invitations of pleasure or profit or vainglory to the contrary; to which purpose it is that Christ saith that they "cannot believe which receive the praise of men," by that one carnal motive, (and that now-a-days a most prevailing one, the notion of honour being mostly taken from women and children, and the worst of men, and so making all vice necessary to a good reputation, and all virtue, especially the most precious Christian virtues, meekness, &c., the only reproachful thing,) by that one carnal motive, I say, as by an example or instance of the rest, illustrating this truth, that he that the world, or flesh, or devil, can carry away from the

John v. 44.

profession of and obedience to Christ, is no son of the faithful Abraham, no believing disciple of his. For if it be said that Abraham was faithful before those acts of his faith, at least before the second of them, that of obedience, being justified upon the believing the promise before, and so that you may have true faith before you produce these effects of it, at least, that by believing the promises of Christ you are so justified, without respect unto, or abstracting from, this obedience to His commands; I shall soon satisfy that scruple, by confessing the truth of it as far as concerned Abraham, on this ground, because Abraham was by God, who saw his heart, discerned to be faithful before any of these trials, nay had formerly given evidence of it, by going out of his country at God's command, which was an act of great obedience[c]. And after, being tried at that time only with a promise, he gave full credit to that promise, and still gave evidence of his fidelity as fast as occasions were offered, which God, that saw no maim in him, did accept of, even before he had made those other trials. And proportionably it will still hold true of you, that if your heart be sincerely given up to Christ, if there be in you a resolution of uniform obedience unto Christ, which the searcher of hearts sees to be sincere, and such as would hold out in time of temptation, this will be certainly accepted by God, to thy justification; nay, if God try thee only with the promise, as, be it but this, that "God will give rest to all that being weary come to Him," or for temporal things, that "He will never fail thee nor forsake thee," if thou do thus come unto Him, and confidently depend on the truth of this without any doubting or staggering, this will be accepted by God to thy justification, without any farther acts of faith or obedience to His commands, in case, or supposing, there were no such other command as yet given to thee, or no occasion of obeying it. But now thy case being in one respect distinguished from that of Abraham's, the whole gospel being already revealed and proposed to thee as a summary of what thou art bound to believe and what to do, and no need of any such particular revelations of God's will, either by way of promise or particular precept, as was to Abraham, the object of thy faith is already set thee, all the affirmations, all the

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Gen. xv. [6.]

Gen. xii. 1. Heb. xi. 8.

[Matt. xi. 28.]

[c] ὑπήκουσεν ἐξελθεῖν.

LIB. I. promises, and all the commands, yea, and threats of the gospel; and all these are to be received uniformly with a cordial faith proportioned to each of them, assent to all His affirmations, dependence on all His promises, resolution of obedience to all His commands, even those hardest sayings of His, most unacceptable to flesh and blood, and fear and awe of His threats, without any flattering fallacious hope of possibility to escape them. Thy faith, if it be true, must be made up of all these parts, and not of some one or more of them; and whensoever any trial shall be particularly made of thee, in which kind soever it happens to be first, thou must express and evidence thy fidelity, or else this faith will not at that time be accepted by God to thy justification, i. e. will not be approved by Him, or accounted for thy righteousness: and the same must be resolved, when and how often soever occasions shall offer themselves either of assenting or adhering, or obeying or fearing God, i. e. whensoever any difficulty or other temptation interposes in any one of these, for then it is with thee as it was with Abraham when God tempted him, and there is no hope of God's approbation of thee to be had, but upon passing faithfully, (I say not without all sin, all blemish, all imperfection, but without all falseness, faithlessness, hypocrisy,) honestly, sincerely, courageously through such trials. For though God may approve and justify thy faith and thee before or without any trial, any performance, beholding all in the heart which men do in the actions; yet when those trials are made, and the performance not met with, it is then apparent even to men and thy own soul, that thy resolutions were not before sincere, i. e. thy faith true, and consequently God that saw that before those trials, cannot be thought to have justified that insincere resolver, that dead, heartless, lifeless faith. But when upon such trials God meets with His desired expected returns, He then justifies the fidelity or faith of that man, and consequently that man himself, who hath shewed himself so faithful; and so, by the purport of the new covenant, through the sufferings and satisfaction of Christ, He imputeth not to that man the sins of his former, nor frailties and infirmities of his present life.

S. You have given me a large account of my demand, and

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I can find nothing wanting to my present satisfaction, but the more distinct descending to the several parts and branches of faith, that I may more nearly look into the severals of my duty in this matter, wherein I am so mightily concerned.

C. I shall give you that without detaining you long, or adding much to what hath been already said, only by giving you the object of true faith, which is of two sorts; either God Himself, or the word of God; God who is believed in, and the word of God as the rule of that faith, or matter to be believed, and that word entirely considered, signifying whatsoever I am, or may ever be, convinced to come from Him, and in it, as it is now shut up and comprised in the books of canonical Scripture, these special parts, which do divide the whole Scripture between them. 1. The affirmations of Scripture, whether by way of historical narration or by way of doctrine. 2. The promises of God both in the Old and New Testament, but especially the promises of the gospel, both such as belong to this life, and especially those that belong to another. 3. The commands of God, whether the natural law of all mankind written in our hearts by the finger of God, made up in the frame of the human soul, and more clearly revealed both in the decalogue and other parts of sacred writ; or whether the commands of Christ, raising nature to a higher pitch in the sermon on the mount, and superadding some positive institutions, as those of the sacraments and censures of the Church, in other parts of the New Testament. 4. The threats of the gospel, those terrors of the Lord set on purpose to drive and hasten us to amendment of our sinful lives. All these put together are the adequate object of our faith, which is then cordial and such as God will accept of, when it affords to every one of these that reception which is apportioned to it, assent to the truth of the affirmations, fiducial reliance on the promises, obedientiall submission to the commands, and humble fear and awe to the threats.

The objects of true faith.

The severals of God's word reduced to four heads.

S. I cannot but acknowledge the truth of all this, but yet have some objection to propose against the last branch of it, wherein you make fear of the threats a part of faith, whereas faith ought to be made perfect by love, saith St. James; and St. John tells us that "perfect love casts out fear;" and

How fear is reconcilable with faith.

[Jam. ii. 22.]

1 John iv. 18.

L I B. I. besides fear including doubting, seems to be most contrary to faith.

C. That the terrors of the Lord, and threats of eternal punishment to all unreformed sinners, are one part of the gospel, there is no doubt; and being so, they must needs be the object of our faith, and that faith descending to the heart, becomes that fear and awe forementioned, in the same kind as believing the commands becomes obedience. Thus [Heb. xi. 7.] in the case of Noah's faith, which was believing the threats of God against the old world, it is said that "Noah by faith, being warned of God," being possessed[d] with a fear or awe, to wit, of those threats, "prepared an ark," &c. And so there can be no doubt of the truth of that doctrine, nor danger in the 1 Joh. iv. 18. expression. As for that place of St. John, that "perfect love casts out fear," the fear which that excludes is not the fear of God's wrath, but of persecutions and temporal dangers: chap. iii. 16. for so that love of Christ, if it be perfect, such as Christ's was to us, which is referred to again chap. iv. 17, "that as He is, so we should be in this world," or as He is in this world, whilst here on earth, so we should be, will make us venture any thing for the beloved, even death itself, confess Him in time of the greatest hazard; but sure, not the displeasing of God or torments of hell. And so that place is misapplied to this business. And as little pertinent is the other part of the objection; that because faith is contrary to doubting, therefore it is not reconcilable with fear. For the doubting which faith excludes, is the doubting of the truth of that which we are commanded to believe, or the not adhering, and in our practice, keeping fast unto it; but the fear which we speak of supposes us to believe, and not thus to doubt; and indeed is in this case the direct contrary to doubting; for when a judgment is denounced against me, then the less I doubt of the truth of the denunciation, the more I shall be afraid of the judgment; and my want of fear, if it be at all rational, must be founded and built in want of this faith in doubting, or not believing. And indeed this fear is in some cases the only, in all, a most excellent, means to keep me safe, to help me work, and work out my own salvation: and therefore "knowing the terrors of the Lord, we

[d] εὐλαβηθείς.

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persuade men," saith the Apostle; the terrors are as fit to persuade, as the love of God to constrain us to perform our duty. As for the duty of "serving God without fear," you have formerly[e] had an account of that, that it belongs not to this matter. Luke i. [74.]

S. You have satisfied my objection; I shall now more cheerfully proceed. I have heard much of a general and a particular faith, and that the general is little worth without the particular. Tell me whether that be applicable to the faith you now speak of.

C. Being rightly understood it is.

S. What then is the general and particular faith as it refers to the affirmation of Scripture?

The general and particular faith in reference to affirmations.

C. The general is a belief of God's veracity, that whatsoever is affirmed by Him is infallibly true: the particular is the full giving up my assent to every particular which I am convinced to be affirmed by God, as soon as ever I am so convinced, or have means sufficient offered me so to convince me; and yet more particularly, the acknowledging of those truths which have special marks set upon them in Scripture to signify them to be of more weight than others, as "that God is;" that Christ is the Messias of the world, the acknowledging of that which is said to be "life eternal;" the doctrine of the Trinity, into which all are commanded to be baptized, and those other fundamentals of faith, which all men were instructed in anciently before they were permitted to be baptized, contrived briefly into the compass of the Apostles' creed, a summary of Christian faith or doctrine necessary to be believed[f]. Heb. xi. 6. John xvii. 3.

S. What is the general and particular faith as it refers to the commands of the gospel?

Commands.

C. The general is an assent to the truth and goodness of those commands in general, as they concern all men, that is, believing that Christ hath given such a law to all His disciples, to all Christians, and that that law is most fit to be given by Him. The particular is the applying these commands to myself, as the necessary and proper rule of my life, the resolving to perform faithful obedience to them.

S. What is it as it refers to the threats?

Threats.

C. The general is to believe that those threats will be, and

[e] P. 7.

[f] Vide Cyril. Hieros. Catech.

L I B. I. that it is most just they should be, executed upon all against whom they are denounced. The threats under oath, absolutely, non-admission into God's rest to all disobedient provokers, the conditional threats, conditionally, i. e. unless we repent, and use the means to avert them. The particular is to resolve, that except I get out of that number, I shall certainly find my part in them.

Heb. iii. 11.

S. What is it refers to the promises?

Promises.

C. The general is the believing the truth, infallible truth of the promises, particularly of those promises which concern the pardon of sin, and salvation, the looking at and receiving or embracing of Christ, as the only remedy against sin, the only propitiation for it: which promises, the object of that faith, being generally conditional, not absolute promises, great care must be taken that the faith be proportioned to the nature of the promises: as when the promise of rest is made peculiarly to the "weary and heavy laden" thus coming to Christ, the general faith is to believe undoubtedly, that this rest shall be given to all that perform this condition, to all humble faithful penitentiaries; and to believe that it belongs either absolutely to all, or to any but those who are so qualified, is to believe a lie; no piece of faith, but fancy or vain conceit, which sure will never advantage, but betray any that depend upon it.

[Matt. xi. 28.]

S. What then is the particular faith terminated in this conditional promise?

C. Not the believing that the promise belongs absolutely to me, for it doth not any longer than I am so qualified, nor the believing that I am so qualified, for 1. perhaps I am not: and 2. that is no object of faith, no part of the promise, or of any other piece of God's word, but it is made up of these three things. 1. The confident persuasion that if I fail not in my part, Christ will never fail in His; if I do repent, and lay hold on Christ for pardon, no power of heaven or earth, or hell, no malice of Satan, no secret unrevealed decree shall ever be able to deprive me of my part in the promise. 2. A setting myself to perform the condition on which the promise is made; as when rest being promised upon condition of coming, I come upon that invitation, then this coming of mine may be called particular application: as when a picture

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is so designed and set, as to look on every one that comes in at the door, and on none else, the way to be particularly looked on, i. e. to apply the eye of the picture particularly to me, is to come in at the door. And 3. the comparing the conditional promise to my particular present estate by way of self-examination, and thence concluding upon sight of the condition in myself, that I am such a one to whom the promise belongs, and shall have my part in it, if I continue and persevere. The second of these, if it be real and sincere, gives me a certainty[g] of the object, seals the promise to me in heaven, which will remain firm though I never know of it. The third, if it be on right judgment of myself, may give me the other certainty[h], i. e. ascertain me that I am in the number of God's children: but there being so much uncertainty whether I judge aright of myself or no, and there being no particular affirmation in God's word concerning the sincerity of my present, or perseverance of my future condition, that assurance reflexive, of which this is one ingredient, cannot be a divine faith, but at the most a human, yet such as perhaps I may have no doubting mixed with, nor reason that I should so doubt. For at the conclusion of life, having finished his course, and persevered, St. Paul could say without doubting, "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." [2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.] Which if another man be not able to say with that assurance, it will not presently be want of faith in him, as long as this want of assurance proceeds not from any distrust of the truth of God's promises, but only from an humble conceit of his own repentance, that it is not such as God requires of him. And if that place, "Know ye not that Christ Jesus is in you, except ye be reprobates?" 2Cor.xiii.5. be objected, to prove that all are reprobates that know not that Christ is in them; the answer will be satisfactory, that the words rendered 'in you[i]' signify very frequently in the Scripture, and peculiarly in a place parallel to this, 'among you,' or 'in your congregation.' Exod. xvii. 17. And so the sense will be best dissolved into a question and answer, "Know you not," by the miracles and preaching, the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, "that Christ Jesus is among you?" by way of interrogation, for so it is in the Greek, and the meaning appears by the context

[g] Certitudinem objecti. [h] Certitudinem subjecti. [i] ἐν ὑμῖν.

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to be, "Know ye not, discern you not yourselves, that the power of the gospel is come among you by my apostleship?" and then by way of answer, "except ye be reprobates:" you are obdurate insensate creatures, or as our margin renders the word[j], "void of judgment," undoubtedly, unless you do.

Rom. i. 28.

S. You have shewed me the difference betwixt general and particular faith, and I shall not follow that matter any farther, but I pray help me in one difficulty. We are said in Scripture to be "justified by faith;" and we hear much talk of a justifying faith: I pray tell me what faith this is, to which justification is attributed.

Justifying faith.

C. First, let me tell you that faith, in whatever acceptation, is no proper efficient cause of justification, for such is only God through the satisfaction of Christ, accepting our persons and our weak performances, and not imputing our sins: in which act nothing in us can possibly have any, so much as inferior, instrumental efficiency. It is true, the habit of faith may in some sense be called the cause of the acts of faith, and so of this act of receiving or embracing of Christ, in which sense it is called the eye and hand of faith; but then it is clear, that this receiving of Christ is a thing very distinct from justification; the one is clearly the act of man, the other of God: and therefore to conclude that faith is an efficient though but instrumental, of justification, because it is an instrument of receiving Christ, is no solid argument; and so in like manner from its activity in other things, to infer its efficiency in justification. The most that can be said is, that it is a condition without which God, that justifies the penitent believer, will never justify the impenitent infidel; and therefore it is observable that it is nowhere said in Scripture, that faith justifies, but we are "justified by faith," which particle 'by[k]' is a peculiar note of a condition, not a cause.

Faith no efficient of our justification.

Only a condition.

S. But then what faith is this which is the condition of our justification?

C. That faith which we shewed you was Abraham's faith; or in fewer words, the receiving the whole Christ in all His offices, as my king, my priest, my prophet, whereby I believe the commands as well as the promises of the gospel; or take

[j] ἀδόκιμος. [k] διὰ cum genitivo.

SECT. III.

the promises as they are, i. e. not as absolute, but as conditional promises. And this is a cordial practical belief, a firm resolution of uniform obedience and discipleship, "faith made perfect by works." Jam. ii. 22. Intimating, that without the addition of such works, such obedience evangelical, any other act, or part, or notion of faith, would be imperfect, insufficient to this end, that is, to our justification. The same is called in a parallel phrase, "faith consummate[1] by love," which indeed we render "working by love," but the Greek and Syriac signifies "consummate by love," that is, by acts of Christian charity; and therefore in two parallel places it is thus varied, in one we read, instead of it, the "new creature," in another, the "keeping the commandments of God." Gal. v. 6. Gal. vi. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 19.

S. But how then is it so often said, that we are "not justified by works," and that "we are justified by faith without the deeds of the law?" Justification by faith. [Gal. ii. 16.]

C. I have in effect already told you, and shall in a word again tell you. The word 'works' and 'deeds of the law' in those places signifies legal obedience, or circumcision, and the like judaical out-dated ceremonies; and 'faith' the evangelical grace of giving up the whole heart to Christ, without any such obedience or judaical observances; and so it is truly said, we are justified by faith without them, i. e. without such works, such obedience; yet not excluding, but including that evangelical obedience, for without that "faith is dead," saith St. James, and then sure not able to justify any. And therefore you may observe in that Apostle's discourse, he affirms that "Abraham was justified by works," and makes that a parallel phrase to that of the Old Testament, "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness," where, as 'justification' and 'imputed to him for righteousness' are phrases of the same importance, so are 'works' and 'believing' also. Rom. iii. 28. [Jam. ii. 17.] [ver. 21.] ver. 23.

S. The reason of it, I conceive, is because faith always brings forth good works, or if it do not, it is no true faith.

C. I am not altogether of your opinion, for I conceive it very possible for me to believe, and yet not to live accordingly. The truth is, that is not a justifying faith, or such as even now I defined, and so no true faith in that sense, but Works do not infallibly follow faith.

[1] ἐνεργουμένη δι' ἀγάπης.

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yet may be a true faith, for so much as it is; or if you will, it is one part of true faith, which is oft mistaken for the whole. I may truly, without all doubting, believe the promise of mercy and salvation to the true penitent, and none else, which belief is very fit and proper to set me a reforming and amending, and yet it is possible for temptations of carnal objects to persuade me to defer this duty, nay never to think fit to set myself to the performance of it, the present pleasures of sin may outweigh in my debauched choice those future spiritual joys; nay, I may see and like them, and yet for the present embrace the contrary, the will of man being a middle free faculty, not absolutely obliged to do or choose what the understanding judgeth most honest, i. e. what reason, and faith, and the Spirit of God commandeth to be done. The truth is, if this faith get once to be radicated in the heart, to rule and reign there, if the will chooseth what faith recommendeth, then it bringeth forth all manner of good works; and so then it is the consummation of that former act of faith by this latter, or, in the words of St. Paul and St. James, the consummation of faith by charity and good works, that God accepteth in Christ to justification, and not the bare aptness of faith to bring forth works, if those works by the fault of a rebellious infidel will not be brought forth.

S. But is there no one peculiar act of faith to which justification is particularly imputable?

C. That to which justification is promised, is certainly the giving up of the whole soul entirely unto Christ, accepting His promises on His conditions, undertaking discipleship upon Christ's terms. But yet it is possible that some one act of faith may be more excellent and acceptable in the sight of God than others; as that humble act of the faithful servant, that when he hath done all, acknowledges himself unprofitable, and so excludes all glorying, (which the Apostle makes very necessary to justification,) expects all good from God's free mercy in Christ, without any reflection on any of his own performances; or again, that of full trust, affiance, reliance, rolling one's self on God, depending on His all-sufficiency in the midst of all difficulties, on the fidelity of Him that hath promised, when all worldly probabilities are to the contrary: but then this must be accompanied with other acts

Some acts of faith more excellent than others.

[Rom. iv. 2.]

SECT. III.

of faith, when occasion is offered for them, and with use of the means prescribed by Christ, or else reliance may prove presumption after all. And however it is, we must "add to our faith virtue," &c., or else our faith may still be dead, lifeless, being alone, that is, unable to stand us in any stead to the desired end. [2 Pet. i. 5.]

S. I could hear you, and propose scruples to you much longer on this argument, but I desire to carry away only so much of this subject of faith as may tend to the increase of all virtue in me, and I am sensible how long I have detained you on this theme; and therefore I shall importune you no farther about it: but yet only vary, not end, your trouble, and advance to the next theological grace, that of hope, and desire your directions in that particular.

Of hope.

C. This grace is subject to some mistaking, and therefore I shall desire you to mark carefully what I conceive of it.

S. What is hope?

C. It is a patient comfortable expectation of the performance of God's promises, belonging to this life or a better.

S. What is the ground of hope?

C. Some sure word of promise assented unto by faith.

The ground.

S. What is the object of hope?

The object twofold.

C. It is made up of two things; 1. the thing promised, 2. the cause or author of it. 1. The thing promised, or the performance of that promise. Such is the resurrection of the dead, which nature cannot help us to see any thing into, but being believed by faith, becomes the object of hope. And it is observable, that seven times in the Acts of the Apostles the word 'hope' refers to this one object, the resurrection or future state or life in another world; which indeed is the supreme object of the Christian hope, and all other things but in an inferior degree, and as they refer to that, and in order to that great treasure of our rejoicing. Though the truth is, as there be promises of this life as well as of another, as that God will give us all things necessary for us, and the like, so is there a secular hope, or a hope of this life, and an object of that hope. [Acts ii. 26; xxiii. 6; xxiv. 15; xxvi. 6; xxvi. 7; xxviii. 20.]

S. What is that secular hope?

Secular hope.

C. A reliance on God, that He will send me whatsoever is good for me.

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S. What is the object of that hope?

C. Good successes, good things.

S. Am I bound to hope that all things that are good for me, shall befall me?

The conditions of that.

C. I must answer you with some caution. First, those promises are conditional, "All things shall tend to good to them that love God." If we be lovers of God, then that promise belongs to us, not else. And consequently then we are to hope it, not else; "Ye that fear the Lord, hope in the Lord," saith the Psalmist.

[Rom. viii. 28.]

[Ps. cxv. 11.]

S. But is every true servant of God bound to hope that God will give him all secular good things, as wealth, peace, honour, and the like?

C. There is another condition required in him first, before that promise belongs to him, and consequently before he is bound to that hope.

S. What is that?

C. To pray for them, for the having and finding is promised to none but to them which ask and seek; yea, and to use the means ordinary and lawful, which are in order to that end, as labour and the like, among which mercifulness and liberality is one, to which the promise of secular wealth is most frequently made, and the contrary threatened with want.

S. Well then, must the servant of God, having prayed, and used those means, hope and be assured that that which he thus prays for shall be granted him?

C. Yes: either formally, or by way of equivalence; either that, or something that is better; or again, either now or when God sees fitter for him: for this must be allowed God, to be able to choose for us better than we can for ourselves, both for the thing itself, and the time of conferring it. For many times, that which we ask, would, if it should be granted, be worse for us, and perhaps tend to our destruction; and then God by denying the particular matter of our prayers, doth grant the general matter of them, which always is that which is best for us. Sometimes again he defers to grant, that we may re-enforce our impression, pray more ardently; and for us to be so exercised in prayer and hope, is best for us also.

S. Are we bound then thus to expect and hope in every thing that we pray for? SECT. III.

C. Yes, we are, and the want of that is the sin of doubting, noted by Christ and His Apostles.

S. Well, but you told me there was another part of the object of hope, besides the thing promised, which you called the cause or author of it. What is that?

C. The person that is to make good His promise to me, which is God Himself. And therefore we are so often exhorted to "hope in the Lord," &c. For as in the other affections, we are not only angry at the injury or the provoking thing done to us, but at him that did it, and we do not only fear pain and punishment, but him also that can inflict it on us; so we do not only hope for heaven, or for any other good thing, but for God as the fountain of our bliss, and through whose mercy it is that it befalls us. This is called "hope in Him," or, as it should rather be rendered, "hope on Him." And this is a special act of Christian hope, to be thus unbottomed of ourselves, and fastened upon God with a full reliance, and trust, and dependence on His mercy. The Author of our hope. [1 John iii. 3.]

S. I thank you for this direction. Give me leave to proceed. What be the seasons and opportunities of this hope?

C. 1. Time of tribulation. "Tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed." Where the word which we render 'experience[m],' signifies 'approved upon a trial,' and the sense runs thus; Tribulation is a season and a means to work patience, and that patience to produce approbation, as of one that is tried in the fire, and has passed the test; and this is a means to work a hope or expectation of reward, and that hope will not confound or shame, that is, deceive, any that relies on it, and besides will keep from being ashamed of those sufferings, and make us rather 'glory,' that is, rejoice in them, as in the most benign auspicious signs, that in another world there is a reward for the righteous, because in this life it is the contrary rather. So "rejoicing in hope, and patience in tribulation," are joined together. 2. Time of temptation, when some present delight is ready to invite to sin, or present bitterness to deter from the ways of God, Seasons of hope. [Rom. v. 3.] ver. 3. Rom. xi. 12.

[m] δοκιμή.

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then the hope of future joys, to be exchanged for that bitterness, and to outvie and preponderate that pleasure, comes in seasonably. 3. The time of mourning for the dead, which the assured hope of a resurrection will moderate and alleviate.

S. You told me the ground of Christian hope was the promises. I pray is a man to hope for nothing but that for which he hath some promise in Scripture?

C. He may perhaps lawfully hope for some things for which there is no promise, so there be nothing to the contrary; but then this is not the grace of hope, but a good natural assurance or confidence, which Aristotle[n] observes young men to be full of, and old men not so inclined to. But if it be for any spiritual matter, it is, if it be not grounded on some promise, but presumption.

S. There is no promise in Scripture for every particular man's eternal salvation, yet sure every man is bound to hope he shall be saved?

Whether every man be bound to hope he shall be saved.

C. This is the misprision I desired to anticipate and forestal in you, and now I must be fain to cure, seeing I could not prevent it. To which purpose you must again remember, that God's promises being the ground of hope, and those promises being but seldom absolute, mostwhat conditionate, the hope, if it be the Christian grace of hope, must be proportioned and attemperate to the promise; and if it exceed that temper and proportion, it becomes a tumour and tympany of hope. For example, that there shall be another state or life after the end of this, both for just and unjust, there is an absolute promise, and therefore every man may justly hope for that; though to the ungodly it may be matter rather of fear than hope: but for a happy or joyful resurrection to life, a blessed future state, there is no absolute unlimited, but conditional limited promise, to the true penitent believer, and to none else; for to all others God hath sworn, "they shall not enter into His rest." And then he that is such, may no more hope for his part in "the resurrection of the just," than for the most impossible thing: or if he do hope, that hope will stand him in no stead, will never make that true by hoping it, which was otherwise false: "The hope of the hypocrite shall perish," saith Job;

[Ps. xcv. 11.]

[Acts xxiv. 15.]

[Job viii. 13.]

[n] νεότης ἐλπίδος πλήρης, γῆρας δύσελπι, [Vide Aristot. Rhet. ii. c. 12, 13.]

and so the carnal impenitent, his hope shall perish also, sure will never be able to keep him from perishing. SECT. III.

S. What then is the Christian hope in this particular?

C. It is an assurance, 1. That though my sins be never so great, they may be pardoned me, if the condition to obtain that pardon be not neglected. 2. To hope cheerfully and confidently upon the observation of those means. 3. Which is the prime act and evidence of the Christian hope, to set industriously and piously to the performance of that condition, on which the promise is made; as St. John saith, "every man that hath this hope purifies himself." And 4. upon view of the sincerity of that performance of mine, to hope comfortably and cheerfully for God's performance. In brief, the hypocrite or unreformed sinner may have some room for hope suppositively, if he do change and repent; the honest penitent may hope positively. The former may hope as for a future possibility, the latter at the present as for a certainty. But the latter of these is the only Christian hope. For by this you shall know a Christian hope from all other, that he that hath it purifies himself. The hypocrite or carnal man hopes, and is the wickeder for hoping; he fears nothing, and so discerns not the necessity of mending: the best way to reform such a man, is to rob him of his hope, to bring him to a sense of his danger, that he may get out of it, to conduct him by the gates of hell to a possibility of heaven. But the Scripture hope, the "this hope" as St. John calls it, i. e. the hope of seeing God, being grounded on conditional promises, (and that condition being purity, "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord,") sets presently to perform that condition, that is, to purifying, according as you shall see the practice of it in St. Paul, "having therefore these promises," (what promises? conditional promises,) "let us purify ourselves," &c.

The Christian hope in this matter.

[1 John iii. 3.]

1 John iii. 2.

2 Cor. vii. 1. chap. vi. 17.

S. But is not despair a sin? and doth not that consist in not hoping for heaven?

Despair.

C. The want of the Christian hope, is a sinful despair, but not the want of all kind of hope; the thinking it impossible his sins should be forgiven, though he should be never so truly penitent, is a sin, but that rather of infidelity than despair, it being the disbelieving an eternal truth of God's. A consequent of this indeed may be a desperation, (as on the

L I B. I. contrary hope is a consequent superstructed on faith,) to wit, when he that believes himself incapable of pardon, goes on without any care or thought of reforming, such a one we vulgarly call a desperate person, and that sure is a most damning sin: but for him that lives an impenitent sinner, not to hope for mercy as long as he doth so, is sure no sin superadded to his impenitence; his impenitence is a sin, but that being supposed, his not hoping is but duty and justice; the contrary would be a greater sin and a more desperate sign. So that not every not hoping for heaven is the sin of despair, but rather the peremptory contempt of the condition, which is the ground of hope; the going on, not only in terrors and amazement of conscience, but also boldly, hopingly, confidently, in wilful habits of sin, which therefore is called desperateness also, and the more bold thus, the more desperate.

S. But what if a godly penitent man should either doubt of his salvation, or not hope at all for it?

Doubting of salvation.

C. If that doubting or not hoping be only grounded in a false judgment of his own repentance and sincerity, in conceiting too meanly of himself, in thinking himself no true penitent when he is, this will not be the sin of despair; no nor infidelity neither: because if he could believe his penitence sincere, the want of which belief is not the disbelieving of any part of God's word, because that saith nothing of him particularly, he would assuredly hope; and now that only his humility makes him so comfortless, there is certainly no sin in that.

Excessive sorrow.

S. But what if a sinner be so overwhelmed with sorrow, as not to lay hold on the promises at all, is not this the sin of despair?

C. The trial of him will be by examining whether he purify or no, that is, whether his sorrow bring forth fruits of amendment; if so, this is not the sin of desperation yet; he hath the grace of hope, which brings forth fruits of hope, though it be clouded over with a melancholy vapour, that it be not discernible even to himself. But if this trouble of mind set him a sinning farther, like Judas, who had sorrow, but then killed himself, this is despair indeed.

S. I shall solicit you no farther in this point, but for your prayers that God will keep me from all premature persuasion

of my being in Christ, that He will give me that hope that may set me a purifying, and not suffer me to go on presumptuously or desperately in any course. Only upon an occasion of this grace of hope, give me leave to ask you, whether he that now lives in sin, and hopes he shall one day repent, and go to heaven, this repentance and that heaven being a future good, and so the object of hope, may be said to have the grace of hope in any kind?

The sinner's hope of repentance and mercy.

C. By no means: because God hath made no such promise that he shall repent, nor without repentance that any man shall have heaven. This is a groundwork of carnal security, and no degree of the grace of hope.

S. Once more. May he that hath gone on in a continued course of sin, and at last is overtaken with God's judgments, and seeing hell gates open upon him, doth grieve for his wicked life, and upon that hopes for mercy, be conceived to be saved by that hope?

The death-bed sorrow and hope.

C. I list not to pass sentence on any particular, because I cannot thoroughly discern his state; only I can say in general, I know no promise of pardon in Scripture to a bare death-bed sorrow, because indeed none to any sorrow at any time, but that which is "godly sorrow which worketh repentance[o]:" which repentance, as it is available if true, though never so late, so is seldom true when it is late; nor can well be known to be true but by persevering fruits, which require time. And though a serious purpose of amendment and true acts of contrition, before or without the habit, may be accepted by God to my salvation; yet in this case there is no sure judgment whether this purpose be serious, or these acts true acts of contrition. And so in this case there is no sure foundation for his hope: and then a groundless hope, or a bare hope, without the other conditions to which the promises belong, will never be able to save any.

[2 Cor. vii. 10.]

S. Shall we now proceed to the third grace, that of love, or charity?

Of charity.

C. Most willingly: it is a precious grace, and that which St. Paul prefers before hope and faith.

S. But is any grace to be preferred before that of faith? I thought that had been the most necessary gospel grace.

[o] λύπη κατὰ θεόν.

L I B. I.

The pre-eminence of that before faith. 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

C. It is most certain there is, (faith being taken in that notion which I told you belongs to that place,) because St. Paul hath affirmed it, that charity is the greatest of the three. And it is as sure, that no other Scripture hath contradicted this. And although very great things are said of faith, as of the only condition of justification and salvation, yet, 1. this is when it is in conjunction with charity, faith consummate by love. And 2. it is observable, that the most imperfect things are always the most necessary, and consequently the great necessity of faith is no argument of its dignity in comparison of this other grace. For indeed faith is necessary, as that without which charity cannot be had: but then this alone is insufficient to save any, if charity be not added to it. Faith is the foundation, which though it be the most necessary part of the building, yet it is the lowest and most imperfect: charity the superstruction, which is never firmly built but when grounded in faith, and when it is so, it is far more excellent than its foundation. Besides, charity is a grace not out-dated in heaven, as faith and hope are.

S. But what is charity?

C. The sincere love of God, and of our neighbour for His sake.

S. Wherein doth the love of God consist?

Love of God of two sorts.

C. As love in its latitude is of two sorts, of friendship, and of desire; the first, betwixt friends, the second, betwixt lovers; the first, a rational, the second, a sensitive love: so our love of God consists of two parts, first, esteeming, prizing, valuing of God; second, desiring of Him.

Estimation.

S. How shall I know whether I do esteem God as I ought to do?

C. If you would be content to do any thing or suffer any thing rather than lose His favour, rather than displease Him. [John xiv. 15.] "If you love Me," saith He, "keep My commandments." And therefore loving Him and obeying Him, love and works, to wit, evangelical works, are taken for the same thing in Scripture.

S. How must this love be qualified?

C. The special qualification, or rather indeed essential property of charity, is the sincerity of it, as that is opposite to hypocrisy, or a double heart, or divided love, or joining any

rival or competitor in our hearts with Him. The loving God above all, and all other for His sake; this is set down both by Moses and by Christ, and, with a little variation, by St. Matthew, in these words, "thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." The heart, as I conceive, signifying the affections; the soul the will, or elective faculty; the mind the understanding, or rational faculty; and the strength the powers of the body for action; and all four together making up the whole man, and the word 'all,' affixed to each, not to exclude all other things from any inferior part in my love, but only from an equal or superior interest to exclude a partial or a half-love. SECT. III. [Deut. vi. 5. Mark xii. 30. Luke x. 27. Matt. xxii. 37.]

S. What are the motives that may stir up this love in my heart?

C. 1. The consideration of God's infinite essence. And 2. of His most glorious attributes. And 3. of His bounteous actions towards us in creating, redeeming, preserving, and providing such rewards for those that love Him. Motives to it.

S. What is that other part of love which you call the desiring of Him? Desire.

C. The actual appetition of fastening our affections on Him, desiring to enjoy, 1. His grace or sanctifying Spirit here, and 2. the perpetual vision of Him hereafter. The former part of this is called "hungering and thirsting after righteousness," a hatred and impatience of sin, a desiring to be out of that polluted condition, and to be made like unto God in holiness and purity; and you may know the sincerity of that, 1. by assiduity and frequency and fervency in prayer, that way of conversing and communing with God, a most infallible concomitant of this kind of love; 2. by loving and seeking the means, 1. of resisting sin, and 2. of receiving, and 3. of improving of grace; that one principal desire of David's, "that he might dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of his life, to behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and to visit His temple." The latter part of this is called by this same David, the "longing of the soul after God;" by St. Paul, "desiring to be dissolved and to be with Christ. [Matt. v. 6.] Trial of that. [Ps. xxvii. 4.] [Ps. lxxxiv. 2.] [Phil. i. 23.]

S. What are the motives to this kind of love?

C. 1. God's loving us first, and dying for us, an expression Motives to it.

LIB. I. of that love, able to constrain and extort a reciprocation or return of love. 2. The true superlative delight even to flesh and blood that is in sanctity, and the practice of Christian virtues, beyond all that any sensual pleasure affords, so great, that when they are expressed by the Apostle in these words,

1 Cor. ii. 9. "Neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what things God hath prepared for them that love Him," which in that place

ver. 7. clearly belongs to the "hidden wisdom of God," and the

ver. 10. "deep things of God," and the "things that are freely given

ver. 12. to us of God," the spiritual manna or preparation for the lover of God to feed on, they are ordinarily mistaken for the description of heaven. 3. Those joys in the vision of God in another life, thus described by the Psalmist, "In Thy presence are fulness of joys, and at Thy right hand pleasures for evermore."

[Ps. xvi. 11.]

S. Well, you have gone through the two parts of the love of God; and told me that the sincerity required in it requires me to love God with all my heart. May not I then love any thing else but God?

Love of other things beside God. 1 John ii. 15.

C. You may, but with these conditions. 1. That it be not some prohibited object, as the world, and the things of the world; that is, any thing that is vain or sinful in it, for "if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." 2. That it be in the degree inferior to the love of God: thus God being loved above all, other things may lawfully in a lower degree be loved also. 3. That those other things be loved for God's sake, and in that order that He prescribes them.

S. But may not the outward expressions of love in many good Christians be greater to some other object than to God? or is this incompatible with the sincerity of the love of God?

Outward expressions of love more to other things than to God.

C. Our love of God may be sincere, though it be accompanied with some frailties: now the sensitive faculty may have a sensitive love of some sensitive objects; which though it be moderated so as not to fall into sin either in respect of the object or the excess, yet through the nature of man's sense may express itself more sensitively toward that inferior object than towards God Himself; and this is a piece of

human frailty, not to be wholly put off in this life. And yet for all this, the love of God may be more deeply radicated in that soul; and that will be tried by this, that if one were to be parted with, I would part with any thing rather than God. But that not to be judged by what I would answer, if I were asked the question; nay, nor what I would resolve at a distance: but in time of temptation and actual competition betwixt God and that any thing else that could not be held without sinning against God, what then I would really do. This may best be understood by that other passion of sorrow. I may weep more for the loss of a friend than for my sins; yet my sorrow for sin may be the deeper and more durable sorrow, though it be not so profuse of these sensitive expressions. So may and must our love of God be most firmly rooted, though not so passionately expressed, as through the infirmity of our flesh and nearness of other objects to it our love to them is wont to be.

SECT. III.

Passionate sorrow.

S. Shall we proceed to the other branch of charity, that of our neighbour? and first, what do you mean by the word neighbour?

Charity to the neighbour.

C. Every man in the world, for so Christ hath extended the word, not only to signify the Jew in relation to the fellow Jew, who was the Old Testament neighbour, but to the Samaritan in relation to the Jew, i. e. to him that was most hated by him, as appears by the parable in that place.

Luke x. 36.

S. What is the love of my neighbour?

C. 1. The valuing him as the image of God, one for whom Christ died, and one whom God hath made the proxy of His love, to receive those effects of it from us which we cannot so well bestow on God. 2. The desiring, and 3. The endeavouring his good of all kinds.

S. In what degree must this be done?

The degree of it.

C. As I desire it should be done to myself.

S. How is that.

C. Why, in all things to deal with other men as, if I might be my own chooser, I would wish that other men, nay, God Himself, should do to me. This will certainly retain me within the strictest bounds of justice to all men I have to deal with, because it is natural to desire that all men should deal justly with me, and teach me all mercy to others, both

LIB. I. in giving and forgiving and blessing them, because I cannot but desire that God should be thus merciful to me.

S. But will not my love of God be sufficient, without this other love of my neighbour, to denominate me charitable?

C. It will not. 1. Because this loving my neighbour is one, nay many, of the commandments which he that loveth God must keep. 2. Because God hath pleased to appoint that as the test of the sincerity of the love of God, in judging of which we might otherwise deceive ourselves and prove liars, had we not this evidence to testify the truth of our love, according to that of St. John, "For he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Which place argues that all the arguments or motives which we have to love God, we have to love our brother also, God having devolved all His right to our love upon our brethren here, and therefore interpreting whatsoever is done to them as done to Himself, not so as to divest Himself of it, but to accumulate it on this image here below, communicating all His claims to it; to which claims of God our relation to our brethren superadding one more, that of acquaintance, and affinity of our human nature, expressed by those words, "his brother whom he hath seen," it follows in all necessity, that he that loves not his brother, that behaves not himself to all men, superiors, equals, inferiors, strangers, friends, enemies, Turks, Jews, heathens, heretics, sinners, according as the rules of Christian charity, of justice and mercy oblige him, is not a lover of God.

1 John iii. 22, 23.

1 John iv. 20.

S. Is there any more that I need know concerning this grace?

C. No more at this time: the particulars farther considerable will come in our road hereafter.

Of repentance.

S. Your proposed method then leads me to repentance next; what is repentance?

C. A change of mind, or a conversion from sin to God. Not some one bare act of change, but a lasting durable state of new life, which I told you was called also regeneration.

Regeneration.

S. But is not regeneration an act of new birth?

C. Not only that, but it is also the state of new life, called the new creature, living a godly life, or such as will become the sons or children of God; for the Scripture phrase, to be

"regenerate" or "born again," or "from above[p]," is all one with being a "child of God," that is, one who, as he hath his seed of new life from the Spirit of God, so returns Him the obedience of a son-like gracious heart, lives like a son in His family, and never goes from Him with the prodigal into the far country. [John iii. 7.]

S. Of what parts doth repentance consist?

C. Not properly of any, it being nothing else but a change of mind or new life; yet there are many preparatives in the passage to this state, every of which doth also in some measure accompany it, wherever it is.

S. What are those preparatives then?

C. 1. Sense of sin. 2. Sorrow or contrition for sin. 3. Confession of sin. 4. Disclaiming, forsaking, resolving against sin. Preparatives to repentance.

S. Wherein doth the sense of sin consist? Sense of sin.

C. In discerning, 1. the odiousness, 2. the danger of it.

S. What odiousness?

C. 1. How it displeaseth God, and makes us odious in His sight. 2. How it defiles and defames us, turns the "members of Christ into members of an harlot." 3. Makes us odious to all good men. 4. Makes us incapable of heaven, wherein "nothing shall enter that defileth." The odiousness. [1 Cor. vi. 15.] Rev. xxi. 27.

S. Wherein doth the danger consist?

C. In bringing, 1. the curses of this life upon us: 2. temporal death: 3. eternal plagues and torments in another world. The danger.

S. What then is a sense of these?

C. 1. A conviction of the truth of these. 2. A serious consideration and pondering of this important truth as it concerns our endless weal and woe. 3. A being affected with it, so as to humble our souls in that sense, which leads to sorrow and contrition.

S. What is sorrow and contrition for sin?

C. A being grieved with the conscience of sin, not only that we have thereby incurred such danger, but also that we have so unkindly grieved and provoked so good a God, so compassionate a Father, so gracious a Redeemer, so blessed a Sanctifier. Contrition.

[p] ἄνωθεν.

L I B. I. *S.* Is it not sufficient to grieve in respect of the danger and damnation which sin betrays me to? and is not such grief contrition?

Attrition. *C.* No, it is but attrition, as the schools used to speak, a fretting of the heart, not breaking of it, which any man living would have, when he saw such danger near; he would be pricked at heart, and be ill pleased to see hell gaping upon him: and you may observe, that where such present danger is the only cause of sorrow, when that danger is over, there seldom or never follows reformation. And therefore that opinion and doctrine of the papists, who teach that this attrition, or sorrow that we shall be punished, without producing amendment of life in the sinner, yet by the power of the keys, i. e. by the absolution of the priest, is turned into contrition, is a most unkind deceit of souls; for there being no promise of Scripture that such attrition alone, or "flying from the wrath to come," shall be sufficient to obtain pardon without "bringing forth meet fruits of repentance," the priest that absolves any on no better grounds than those, goes beyond his commission, and by telling a lie, can never make that lie become truth; by absolving an uncontrite sinner, cannot make him contrite, either in reality, or in God's acceptation of him; because he hath not promised to accept any but the broken and contrite, and therefore not any thing else instead of contrition.

[Matt. iii. 7, 8.]

Death-bed compunction. *S.* What think you then of that sorrow and compunction that the approach of death and terrors of the gospel bring men to?

C. If it be a bare sorrow and compunction, only respecting those present terrors, and advancing no higher, then certainly it hath no promise of mercy belonging to it. But if that which begins thus, by God's mercy allowing of time, and by His grace using these terrors for the softening of the heart, improve farther into sorrow for displeasing of God, and from thence into a real sincere resolution to amend and forsake sin, then these superstructions have a promise of mercy belonging to them, though that foundation had not. The only thing then in this matter to be considered is, whether it be thus improved or no: and that no man can certainly judge of, neither confessor nor patient himself, but by the

fruits of it afterwards in time of temptation. For, 1. the man himself may, through self-love, take that for godly sorrow and resolution of amendment, which is only sorrow for his own danger, and willingness to avoid that: and again, when foreign temptations are out of the way, and by disease, &c., inner flames quenched in him, he may resolve against those sins which before he had lived in; or, by way of natural revenge, he may vow never to return to those sins which he hath had such experience of, for the emptiness and damningness of them, and so think himself a complete penitent. And, 2. the sensitive expressions being oft as great for the one as the other, nay greater for danger than for sin, and from weakness of body than change of mind, the confessor may easily mistake likewise; but when God pleaseth to restore health and strength, when those present apprehensions are over, and temptations of the world and flesh return again, and perhaps some new that were not before in his road, then if the sorrow continue as great, and the resolution as earnest, and he persevere to hold out in despite of temptations to the contrary, and take not up any new sins in exchange for the old, this is a comfortable evidence that that sorrow was contrition, and that resolution a sincere resolution. But if this time and means of trial being allowed, the matter prove otherwise, if the penitent return to his vomit in spite of the loathsomeness of it, if he overcome his dislikes to sin, and so fall back to his former jollity and luxury, or instead of those nauseated sins, make some other choice of a new path to hell, entertain covetousness instead of prodigality, spiritual pride instead of carnal security, envy, malice, sedition, faction, in commutation for lust, and the like: this is a demonstration that that sorrow was not contrition, that resolution no sincere resolution, and consequently that if that man had then died, there would not have been found any thing in him which God hath promised to accept of. But if the case be set in a third or middle way, that the patient die before any such trial hath been made, either to evidence the sincerity or insincerity, then that which remains for us is not to judge, but to leave him to God's inspection, who can see without those ways of trial, and discern what it was in itself, attrition, or contrition, sincere or not sincere,

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whether it would have continued, or no, a thorough change of mind; and consequently will accept the will for the deed, if it be a firm and ratified will, and not else. And so in brief, God may have mercy on him whose repentance began never so late, if He see it was sincere repentance. But in this case there is small matter of comfort to us, because there is no such way of assurance that we are ordinarily capable of, nor reason to hope that God will afford us any extraordinary; and for any man to put off his present repentance, on contemplation of a possibility that his later repentance may serve the turn, is the most reckless presumption in the world, and that which I am sure hath no promise of mercy annexed to it.

S. I shall satisfy myself with these grounds of resolution for this matter, and conceive that any more particular difficulty will be salved by the application of these grounds to it, and so not object what was obvious to have done, the example of the thief on the cross, which is so common a ground of security and presumption to carnal livers; because I already discern reason to think his state the state of true contrition and conversion, and not only of attrition, because in those minutes he lived on the cross, he gave such evidence of this in confessing and praying to Christ, when His own disciples had forsaken Him: and beside, Christ who knew his sincerity, and will not accept the insincere, revealed to him His acceptance of him. I shall therefore detain you no longer with questions of this nature, but proceed to enquire more particularly of contrition. What sins must be taken in by it? or for what must this godly sorrow be conceived?

What sins contrition belongs to.

C. For all kinds and sorts of sin. 1. For the weaknesses, frailties, and pollutions of our nature, our proneness and inclinations to sin; for though these being unconsented to are no actual sins, yet are they matters of true sorrow and grief and humiliation to a true Christian, as infelicities, if not as sins, that he is such a polluted unclean creature, and so apt to fall into all sin, if he be not restrained and prevented by God's grace. 2. For the sinful acts and habits of our unregenerate life, with all the aggravations belonging to them. 3. The slips and relapses of our most regenerate life, and the infinite frailties and infirmities that still adhere to it.

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S. Are any of those which you named under the first head, infelicities only, and not sins?

C. Yes, the weakness of nature, as that signifies the want of strength, the not being able, since God withdrew His extraordinary gift of grace, to perform the perfect will of God; this cannot itself be called a sin, but rather a punishment of Adam's sin, and so to us an unhappiness and infelicity. So likewise our inclination to sin, as that signifies the inclination of the flesh to the carnal object, the bending of the eye to the beauty, the taste to the sweetness, which is naturally acceptable to it, and was discernible in Eve before the fall, and so cannot be said to be sin in that notion, but rather temptation, which to resist is an act of virtue, and victory; though as it signifies the inclination of the will to one side rather than the other, to the evil more than the good, to the carnal forbidden than to the spiritual Christian object, it is a kind of aversion from God, and a degree of conversion to the creature, and so too a sin in that respect.

S. But how can contrition, which you called a preparative to repentance, and so to regeneration, include sorrow for the sins of the regenerate life?

C. I told you these preparatives to repentance do also accompany it wheresoever it is: and in that respect it will be clear, that contrition is not one initial act of sorrow for sin past, but also a current permanent state of sorrow and humiliation for sin present, and through the whole life never outdated.

S. What now is confession of sin? Confession

C. It is of two sorts: 1. To God, 2. To men; especially the presbyters.

S. What is confession to God? to God;

C. An humble, sorrowful acknowledgment of sin in prayer to God. 1. By confessing that I am a sinner, who have worthily deserved His wrath. 2. By enumeration of the particular sorts of sin of which I know myself guilty. 3. By aggravating these sins upon myself, by the circumstances and heightening accidents of them. 4. By comprising all my unknown, unconfessed sins under some such penitentiary form as that of David's, "Who can tell how oft he offendeth? cleanse Thou me from my secret faults." [Ps. xix. 12.]

LIB. I.

S. How doth the necessity of this appear?

C. Beside the practice of David and other holy men in Scripture, by these express texts: "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins;" and "He that confesseth and forsaketh shall have mercy."

[1 John i. 9.] [Prov. xxviii. 13.]

to man:

S. But why then should we confess to men, and particularly to presbyters?

Jam. v. 16.

C. 1. Because we are commanded by St. James "to confess our faults one to another," that we may be capable of one another's prayers. 2. Because our sins may possibly be such wherein other men are injured, and then confession to them is the first degree toward reconciliation. Or if they be only against God, then confession of them to His ministers also will be no way improper, but in some kind necessary to him who desires their absolution. 3. Because there being two parts in sin, the guilt and the corruption, the one to be pardoned, the other cured; the first being confessed to God, to obtain His pardon, ought also, if it have been offensive and scandalous to the congregation, to be acknowledged to them, that that expression of repentance may make satisfaction to them for the ill example, and avert and deter from sin whom it had invited to it. And for the cure, it will sure be very profitable to advise with others, especially the physicians of the soul, how and by what means this cure may be wrought, how a raging sin may be subdued, the occasions to it avoided; to which end alone the disclosing of the particular state is more than profitable; and this being supposed, it will be acknowledged necessary for a Christian not to despise such proper useful means to a necessary end, unless without that help he can direct himself, which ignorant men and habituate sinners in any kind will hardly be able to do. 4. Because this may much tend to my comfort, when another, whose office it is, upon a strict survey and shrift of my former life, and present testification of my repentance, may upon good grounds give me absolution, and pass judgment on me, better than I can do on myself.

Mat. v. 24.

to the minister.

[Jam. v. 15.]

S. What is the fourth preparative to repentance?

Vow of new life.

C. A firm resolution and vow of new life. 1. An abjuring of all my former evil ways, i. e. both of the sins themselves, and the occasions which were wont to bring me to those sins;

2. A resigning myself up to do the will of Christ: 3. The pitching on some particular duties of piety and charity, which were most criminously omitted before, and are most agreeable to my calling to perform, and to bring forth all other meet fruits of repentance. SECT. III.

S. What now is the penitent state?

C. The actual continued performance of these resolutions both when occasions are offered, and when temptations to the contrary. The penitent state.

S. But what if those resolutions be not then performed?

C. Then is not that to be accounted a penitent or regenerate man.

S. But what? are no sins compatible with a regenerate estate?

C. Yes. 1. Sins of infirmity; 2. of ignorance, and, under that head of infirmity, 3. sins of sudden surreption; and 4. such as by daily incursion of temptations, though constantly resisted, yet through the length of the work, and our frailty, and Satan's vigilance sometimes are gained from us: all these, together with those which 5. through levity of the matter insensibly steal from us, are by general repentance, i. e. humbling ourselves before God for them, begging God's pardon in Christ, and labouring against them more diligently for the future, reconcilable with a regenerate estate; these are spots, but those spots of sons, though they be never totally overcome in this life. 6. Some one wilful act of deliberate sin, which we might have resisted, if it be presently retracted with contrition and confession, and re-enforcing of our resolution and vigilance against it, and so not favoured or indulged unto, may be also reconcilable with a regenerate state so far, as not wholly "to quench the Spirit" of God, to cause spiritual desertion, though it do grieve that spirit, waste the conscience, wound the soul, and provoke God's displeasure, from which nothing but hearty repentance can deliver us, and commonly bring some temporal judgment upon us. What sins compatible therewith. [1 Thess. v. 19.]

S. What then are irreconcilable with a regenerate state?

C. Whatsoever are not compatible with an honest heart, a sincere endeavour: particularly these two, hypocrisy and custom of any sin. "Whatsoever is born of God doth not commit sin," i. e. doth not live in sin as in a trade or course, What incompatible. 1 John iii. 9.

LIB. I. "for His seed remaineth in him." There is in the regenerate a new principle or seed of life[q], a principle of cognation with God, which whilst it continues in him, is still a hastening him out of sin, and he cannot sin in such manner, "because he is born of God:" or if he do, he is no longer a "child of
Gal. v. 16. God," or regenerate person: or, as St. Paul saith, "Walk in the Spirit, and you shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh," i. e. these two are irreconcilable; as when we say, an honest man cannot do this or that, our meaning is not to affirm any natural impossibility, that he is not able, but that he cannot think fit to do it; the principles of honesty within him, as here the seed of God, or new principle in him, will resist it; or if he do it, he is no longer to be accounted an honest man.

S. This place in St. John's epistle hath sure great difficulty, I beseech you make it as intelligible to me as you may.

interpreted. *C.* I shall do it, and that most clearly, by bringing down the sense of the whole chapter from the beginning to this place in this brief paraphrase; do you look upon the words
ver. 1. in your Bible, whilst I do it. "God's love to us is very great, in that He hath accepted us Christians to be His children," which by the way is the reason that the world which rejected
ver. 2. Christ, rejecteth us also. "And being children, though we know not exactly the future benefit which shall accrue to us by this means, yet this we know, that when this shall be revealed to us, 'we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as
ver. 3. He is,' and that vision will assimilate us unto Him." "And the very hope of it now, if it be fastened on God, hath the same power of making us pure, 'as He is pure.'" For 1. hope includes desire and love of the thing hoped for, which being heaven, a place of purity, the hope of heaven must include a desire of purity: and therefore the heaven that the sensual man desires, if he desire it for the present, is a mock heaven; and if it be the true heaven, the state of purity, then he desires it not for the present, but hereafter when sensual pleasures shall have forsaken him. And 2. the condition of God's promises being our purification or sanctification, and the particular condition of this seeing God being holiness, it is madness for us to hope any thing but upon those

[q] ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, non operatur peccatum.

grounds; and therefore he that hath this hope of seeing Him, or being like Him hereafter, labours to become like Him now in purity, a special imitable quality of His. And "he that wants it," i. e. every one that committeth sin, "is guilty of the breach of the law, of this evangelical law of His; and that sin itself is that breach, upon which consequently follows the forfeiture of those promises contained in it." "And to that end, that we, for whom Christ died, should not thus sin, it was without doubt that He came amongst us, and sin, or any such impenitent committer of sin, is not in Him." "For every one that remaineth in Him, as a member of His, sinneth not wilful deliberate sins; if any man do so, pretend or profess he what he will, he hath neither seen nor known Christ." "I pray, suffer not yourselves to be deceived. Christ you know is righteous, and the way to be like Him is to be righteous also; and that cannot be but by doing righteousness, living a constant Christian life." "He that doth not so, but goes on in a course of sin, is of the devil, and by his actions expresses the stock he comes of. For it is the devil that began his age with sin, and so continued it, and so sin is his trade, his work; and this was a special part of the end of Christ's coming, to destroy his trade, to dissolve that fabric he had wrought, i. e. to turn sin out of the world." "And therefore sure no child of God's, none of that superior stock will go on in that accursed trade, because he hath God's seed in him, that original of cognation between God and him, God's grace, that principle of his new birth which gives him continual dislikes to sin, such as (though they do not force or constrain him not to yield to Satan's temptations, yet) are sufficient to get him out of those snares; and if he be a child of God, of Christ's making, like Him that begat Him in purity, &c., he cannot, he will not thus go on in sin[r]." "So that hereby you may clearly distinguish a child of God from a child of the devil: he that doth not live a righteous and charitable life, 'do justice and love mercy,' as Micah

ver. 4.

ver. 5.

ver. 6.

ver. 7.

ver. 8.

ver. 9.

ver. 10.

[Micah vi. 8.]

[r] Hæc non admittet omnino qui natus ex Deo fuerit, non futurus Dei filius si admiserit.—Tertull. de Pudicit. [c. 19. p. 741.] And to the same sense: Virtus autem sine ulla intermissione perpetua est, nec discedere ab ea potest qui eam semel cepit. Nam si habeat intervallum si aliquando ea carere possumus, redibunt protinus vitia quæ virtutem semper impugnant.—Lactant. [Div. Inst., lib. vii. c. 10. p. 543.]

LIB. I. saith, is no child of God's, hath no relation of sanguinity to Him." I shall proceed no farther; by this you will understand the sense of the verse to be this, and no more: "Those that are like Christ, and so God's children, it is supposed that they have such a seed or principle of grace in them, that inclines them to dislike, and enables them to resist all deliberate sins; and if they do not make that use of that grace, sure they are not like Christ, none of His fellow-sons of God:" a regenerate man remaining such, will not, nay morally cannot, do so; so doing is contrary to a regenerate state.

S. I heartily thank you for this trouble. I shall divert you by another scruple, which is this: Will not, I pray you, [Gal.v.17.] the flesh, as long as we continue in these houses of clay, be [Jas. iv. 1.] we never so regenerate, lust against the spirit, the members [1 Pet. ii. 11.] war against the mind, and so keep us from doing the thing that we would, yea, and captivate us to the law of sin; and so will not this captivity and thraldom to sin, so it be joined with a contrary striving and dislike, be reconcileable with a regenerate estate?

C. Your question cannot be answered with a single yea, or nay, because there be several parts in it, some to be affirmed, others to be denied; and therefore to satisfy you, I shall answer by degrees. 1. That there is a double strife in a man, the one called a war betwixt "the law in the members and the law in the mind," the other "the lusting betwixt the spirit and the flesh." The former, betwixt the law in the members and in the mind, is the persuasion of sin or carnal objects on one side, and the law of God inviting us on the other side, commanding us the contrary: and in this case, "the law," as the Apostle saith, being "weak," and not able of itself to help any man to do what it commands him, it must needs follow, that they that have no other strength but the bare light of "the law in the mind," no grace of Christ to sustain them in their combats, will by their carnal appetite be led to do those things which the law tells them they should not; which if they do and continue in them, this condition you will have no colour of reason to mistake for a regenerate state: i. because it is the state of him only that knows the law, which is not able to quicken or renew, con-

The war betwixt the law in the members and in the mind.

[Rom. vii. 23.] [Gal.v.17.] [Rom. viii. 3.]

SECT. III.

sidered without the grace of Christ, which is necessary to a regenerate man: ii. because this "law in the mind," when it is not obeyed, but despised, doth serve only to testify against us, that we "knew our Master's will, and did it not," i.e. that what we did was against the dictates of our own conscience, which sure will never help to excuse a sin, but rather to aggravate it, or consequently to make that act reconcileable with a regenerate estate, which otherwise would not be so. And therefore, 2. Of this kind of composition of a man, when his mind or upper soul being instructed in its duty, dislikes the sins he commits, and yet he continues to commit them, you may resolve, that this striving or this dislike of his mind is no excuse or apology for his sin, much less any argument of his regeneracy or good estate; but on the other side his "serving of, or captivity to, the law of sin in his members," is all one with the "reigning of sin in his body, to fulfil the lusts thereof," and that a sure token of an unregenerate; for of every regenerate it is said, that "he overcometh the world," which is quite contrary to being "sold under sin," (a phrase referring to the Romans' custom of selling slaves under a spear, or to that which is said of Ahab, that he was "sold to do evil,") being a slave of sin, or "serving with the flesh the law of sin;" and therefore you may conclude, that he, whosoever it is, "that with the mind serves the law of God," i. e. approves of God's command, or "consents to it, that it is good," and yet "with the flesh, the members, serves the law of sin," that not only commits some act of sin, but lives indulgently in it, and appears thereby to be enslaved to it, is never to be counted of as a regenerate man, but only as one that by law is taught the knowledge of his duty, but by that bare knowledge is not enabled to perform it.

[Luke xii. 47.]

[Rom. vi. 12.]

1 John v. 4.

[Rom. vii. 14.]

1 Kings xxi. 25.

S. But what then is the other thing you told me of, the lusting of the spirit and the flesh one against the other?

C. Those words you will find in Gal. v., where by the spirit is meant the seed of grace planted in my heart by God, as a principle of new life, or the mind and upper soul elevated yet higher, above the condition it is in by nature, or by the bare light of the law, by that supernatural principle; and by the flesh is meant again the carnal appetite still remaining in the most regenerate in this life: and the lusting of one of

The lusting of the flesh and spirit. [Gal. v. 17.]

I. I B. I. these against the other, is the absolute contrariety that is betwixt these two, that whatsoever one likes, the other dislikes; whatsoever the one commends to the will, the other quarrelleth at.

S. What then is the meaning of that which follows this Gal. v. 17. contrariety, in these words, "so that you cannot do the things that you would?"

C. The words in Greek are not that 'you cannot do,' but that 'you do not[s],' and the sense is, either 1. that this contrariety always interposes some objections to hinder or trash you from doing the things that you would, i. e. sometimes the spirit trashes you from doing the thing that your flesh would have done, sometimes the flesh trashes you from doing the thing that the spirit would have done. And 2. whatsoever you do, you do, first, against one velleity, or wouldingness, or other; and secondly, with some mixture of the contrary: or else that this contrariety gives you trouble, that whatsoever you do on either side, you do it not quietly, stilly, but with a great deal of resistance and opposition of the contrary faculty.

S. Well then, may this wrestling[t], this resistance, be in a regenerate man?

The reluctance of the flesh. *C.* Undoubtedly it may, and in some degrees it will be, as long as we carry flesh about us, for the flesh will always dislike what the spirit likes. But then we must be sure that the flesh does not carry it against the spirit, i. e. does not [Jam. i. 15.] get the consent of the will to it; for if it do, "lust conceives, and brings forth sin," even those works of the flesh mentioned ver. 19; for though this wrestling be reconcileable with a regenerate state, i. e. that a man may be and continue regenerate for all this, yet it is not an argument of a regenerate state, so that every one that hath it, shall by that be concluded regenerate; for if the flesh carry it from the spirit, to Gal. v. 16. "fulfil the lusts thereof," it seems that man "walks not in the spirit," and consequently is not in a regenerate state.

S. But is every man unregenerate that doth any thing that the flesh would have?

C. I told you, frailties and imperfections, and also sins of sudden surreption, and those that by daily incursion, con-

[s] Ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε. [t] lucta.

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tinual importunity, at some one time gained in upon us, so they were as suddenly taken and repented of, were reconcileable with a regenerate state; and therefore if it proceed no farther, it is only mixture of the flesh in our best actions, or else slips and trips or falls suddenly recovered again; but not carnality, or "walking after the flesh." And for these you know the remedy, I prescribed you, daily prayer for daily slips, and daily caution and care and endeavour to prevent them. But as for indulgence in sin, or habits in carnality, it is not the "lusting of the spirit against the flesh" that will excuse them from being works of the flesh, or him that is guilty of them from being carnal. For it being too possible and ordinary for the lustings of the spirit, i. e. spiritual motions, to be resisted, it will be little advantage to any to have had these motions, unless he have obeyed them, i. e. unless he walk in the spirit, and be led by it: for to such only it is that "there is no condemnation."

[Rom. viii. 1.]

[Gal. v. 19.]

Rom. viii. 1.

S. I shall detain you but with one scruple more, and that is, whether a vow or a wish that I were penitent[u], will not be accepted by God for repentance?

The wish to be penitent.

C. If you take that vow and that wish to be all one, you are mistaken; a wish is a far lower degree than a vow: and therefore I must dissolve your demand into two parts; and to the first, answer, that the vow or resolution to amend, if it be sincere, and such as is apt to bring forth fruits, is sure to be accepted by God; and that it is not sincere we shall not be able to discern, but by seeing it prove otherwise in time of temptation: only God that sees the heart can judge of it before such trial, and if He find it sincere, He will accept of it. But for the wish that I were penitent, there is no promise in holy writ that that shall be accepted, nor appearance of reason, why he that wishes he were penitent, but is not, should be accounted the better for that wish. 1. Because when the reward of penitents and punishment of impenitents is once assented to as true, it is impossible but the mind of man should wish for the one, and have dislikes to the other, and there will be no virtue in that necessity. 2. Because that wishing is only a bare airy speculative act of the mind, and not a practical of the will, which alone is

[u] Votum pœnitentiæ.

L I B. I. punishable or rewardable. 3. Because the actions being contrary to such wishings are more accusable of deliberate sin, and sin against conscience, than if those motives which produced those wishes had never been represented to the faculty.

Prayers for grace of repentance.

S. But are not prayers for the grace of repentance, which are but a kind of articulate wishes, put in form of the court, and addressed to God, accepted by God?

C. Not so far as to save them that go no farther. Accepted they shall be (if rightly qualified with humility, and ardency, and perseverance, or not fainting) so far as concerns the end immediate to them; i. e. God hath promised to hear them, in granting the grace prayed for, strength to convert from sin to God, which is the clear gospel promise, "how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask?" and then when this grace, or strength given, is thus made use of to actual reformation, then the promise of that other acceptance belongs to them also; and so prayer is a good means and wishing a good thing too, as previous or preparative to that, and both without doubt proceeding from the good Spirit of God. But yet if the whole work be no more but this, if he be advanced no farther toward repentance, but only to wish and to pray that he were penitent, this person remains still impenitent; and so long the impenitent's portion belongs to him, and none other: for still "he that is born of God overcometh the world:" and he that is advanced no farther toward a victory, than to wish or to pray for it, is for that present far enough from being a conqueror; and if for the future he add not the sincerity of endeavour to the importunity of prayer, the Joshua's hands held up to fight, as well as the Moses' to pray, the sword of Gideon as the sword of the Lord, there is yet little hope that such victories will be achieved.

[Luke xi. 13.]

[1 John v. 4.]

[Exod. xvii. 11. Judges vii. 20.]

S. God grant me this grace, and a heart to make use of it. But we have skipped over one particular forementioned, the grace of self-denial. And I do not remember that you mentioned taking up of the cross, which in Christ's prescriptions is wont to be annexed to it. Give me leave to recall them to your memory. And first, what is meant by self-denial?

Of self-denial.

C. The abnegation or renouncing of all his own holds, and interests, and trusts, of all that man is most apt to depend upon, that he may the more expeditely follow Christ.

S. What are these severals that we are thus to renounce?

C. In general, whatsoever comes at any time in competition with Christ. In particular, the particulars whereof every man is made up, his soul, his body, his estate, his good name.

S. What under the first head, that of his soul?

What it is in respect of the soul.

C. 1. His reason, when the word of Christ is contradicted or checked by it: as in the business of the resurrection, and the like, I must deny my reason, and believe Christ, bow down the head and worship, captivate my understanding to the obedience of faith.

Denial of my reason.

S. But I have heard that God cannot do contradictions, or make two contradictions true at once, and in one respect. How then can I be bound to believe God, when that which He saith contradicts reason?

C. I am not glad that you have met with that subtlety, yet seeing it is proper to the particular we are upon, and that a branch of a practical point, I will endeavour to satisfy you in it, 1. by granting the truth of your rule, that to make both parts of a contradiction true, is absolutely impossible, a thing which God's infinite power and veracity makes as unfit for God to be able to do, as to lie or sin; because it were not an excess but defect of power, to be able to do these. But then, secondly, you must know what is meant by contradictions, nothing but affirmation and negation of the same thing in all the same respects; as, to be and not to be, to be a man and not man, to be two yards long and not two yards long; which therefore are thus absolutely impossible to be done, even by divine power. But then, thirdly, that which you called reason's contradicting of Christ, is a very distant thing from this. For when reason saith one thing, and Christ the contradictory to that, reason doth not oblige me to believe reason; or if it doth, it bids me disbelieve Christ, and so still I believe not contradictories, whethersoever of the contradictories I believe. All that reason hath to do in this case, is to judge which is likeliest to judge of, or affirm, the truth,—itself or God; wherein if it judge on its own side

How far not to believe contradictions:

but to believe God rather than my reason.

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against God, it is very partial and very atheistical, it being very reasonable that God, who cannot lie, should be believed rather than my own reason, which is often deceived in judging of natural things, its only proper object, but is quite blind in supernatural, till God be pleased to reveal those unto it. The short is, reason tells me (and in that it is impossible it should err, especially God having revealed nothing to the contrary, it is doubtless that it doth not err) that these two propositions cannot be both true, "there is another life," and "there is not another life;" and therefore I am not bound by Christ to believe both: but it doth not tell me that to affirm another life implies a contradiction, but only professeth that it cannot perceive, or that it is above reason to discern, how there can be a return from a total privation to a habit again. And the like objections reason hath against some other things supposed in the resurrection, which though nature cannot do, and consequently natural reason cannot tell how they are done, yet reason may acknowledge that the God of nature can do them and will do them, if He saith He will; and illuminated reason having revelation of this will of God, must and doth believe they shall be done, or else makes God a liar.

S. What then is it to deny my reason?

C. Whensoever my reason objects any thing to what God affirms, to resolve that God shall be true in despite of all my appearances and objections to the contrary.

S. Is there any thing then else in the soul which I am to deny?

C. Something there is which men are apt to overvalue, and something there is thought to be which is not, and both those must be equally renounced.

S. What do you mean by that something which is overvalued?

Not overvaluing natural strength.

C. Natural strength, which is now so weakened, that it is not at all able to bring us to our journey's end, without some addition of special grace of God, to prevent and assist in that work; and therefore all strength in myself, i. e. all sufficiency in myself, as of myself, I must renounce, and apply myself humbly in prayer for, and trust in dependence on that special grace of Christ, to help me both to will and to do what-

soever is good, and that is, to deny myself, that is, all opinion of my own abilities toward the attaining any supernatural end. SECT. III.

S. What is that other sort of things which you say is thought to be, but is not?

C. Any righteousness of my own: for as for perfect unsinning righteousness, he that should pretend to that "deceives himself, and the truth is not in him;" and for imperfect righteousness, such as by the help of grace this life is capable of, though that be a condition without which "no man shall see God," be either justified or saved, yet must not that be depended on as the cause of either, but only the free mercy of God in Christ, "not imputing of sin;" and so I am to deny my own righteousness, renounce all trust in that for salvation. My own righteousness. [1 John i. 8.] [Heb. xii. 14.]

S. What now doth self-denial as it refers to the body signify?

C. It signifies renouncing of all the unlawful sinful desires of the flesh, and even lawful liberty and life itself, when they come in competition with Christ, so that either Christ must be parted with or these. And the same is to be conceived both of estate and good name. "He that forsaketh not house and land," that will not part with any worldly hope or possession, rather than do anything contrary to Christ's command, "is not worthy of Christ;" and, "if you receive the praise of men, how can ye believe?" He that is not resolved to part with reputation and honour, when it comes in competition with Christ, can never go for a good Christian: and not only thus, when these things come in competition with Christ's service, but even absolutely taken, some kind of self-denial is required by us of Christ, of which the particulars are not specified by Him, but referred to our free choice, our voluntary performing them. We must not always do what is lawful to do, but wean ourselves from, and deny ourselves the enjoying of, many lawful pleasures of the world, that we may have the better command over ourselves, and that we may be the more vacant for God's service. Thus fasting, &c., become our duty, yea and revenge, or contrary abstinence in case of former excess. In respect of the body, and estate. Matt. xix. 29.

S. This grace, by the hints you have afforded me, I dis-

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cern to be a most eminent Christian virtue; the God of heaven plant it in my heart! But what do you think needful to add to this, about taking up the cross?

Of taking up the cross.

C. That it is a precept peculiar to the gospel, that nothing but Christianity could make so very fit and reasonable to be commanded us.

S. What do you mean by the cross, and by taking it up?

C. By the cross I mean any affliction that God in His providence sees fit to lay upon us, or to lay in our way toward piety; any punishment which befalls us either for righteousness' sake, or not for unrighteousness.

S. What mean you by taking it up?

C. 1. Not receding from any Christian performance upon sight of that lying in the way; which in the parable of the sower is expressed by not being offended, or scandalized or discouraged, or falling away in time of tribulation. 2. Bearing of it patiently, cheerfully and comfortably. 3. Giving God thanks for it.

[Matt. xiii. 21.]

Rejoicing in tribulations.

S. Is a man bound to be glad that he is afflicted?

C. He is. 1. Because he sees it is God's will, when it is actually upon him; and then he ought to be willing and joyful that God's will is done. 2. Because Christ commands him to "rejoice," and "be exceeding glad," "rejoice and leap for joy," "to think it all joy." 3. Because it is a conforming us to the image of the crucified Christ, to which every beloved child of God is predestinate. 4. Because it is such a sign of God's love, that every one that is not chastened is by that character marked out for a bastard, and no son. Which though it be not set down as a duty of ours, for which we are to account; or again, as a certain mark by which men are given to discern whether they are children of God or no: yet is it as an aphorism of observation for God's ordinary acts of providence now under the gospel, that He is wont to chastise those here whom He best loves; which is a sufficient motive of joy to him who finds himself in that good number.

[Matt. v. 12.] Luke vi. 26. James i. 2. Rom. viii. 29. Heb. 12. 8.

S. But sure there are some kinds of afflictions, sharp pains on the body, and the like, which bring with them sorrow necessarily, and so cannot be matter of joy to us.

Spiritual joy reconcileable

C. Spiritual joy may well be reconcileable with that sensitive sorrow; at the same time when the outward smart pro-

duceth the one in the body, the contemplation of the hand which strikes, and of the advantages designed to the patient by those fatherly medicinal chastisements, may well be allowed to beget the other in the inward diviner part. with sensitive sorrow.

S. But the continuance of some afflictions, particularly of sharp pains, doth by certain consequence make a man unfit for performance, not only of the duties of the calling, but even of devotions, of prayer itself, and so make the life utterly unprofitable in respect of men and of God; and can any man rationally think fit to rejoice in, or for that?

C. He that is employed as God would have him, that behaves himself duly in that state wherein he is set by God, must not be thought to live unprofitably. God cannot receive any real profit or advantage by any our most godlike actions; He wanteth not, and therefore we can no way contribute to Him: only when we do what He commands, then are we said to be His good and useful servants. And therefore when by His will and providence, which is an inarticulate command, we are determined to suffering instead of doing, when we are restrained from an active life, and by God's designation placed in a passive condition, when we are confined to the pains of a weary bed, our patience, and meekness, and Christian deportment under that heavy hand of God, is then a most acceptable service to Him; and he that thus magnifies the power of God's grace in the faithful exercise of such Christian virtues, and thereby reacheth forth to all beholders so many glorious copies for them to transcribe, will never be deemed unprofitable either to God or man, but shall be looked on by both as an exemplary, imitable combatant and conqueror, which hath wrestled with the stoutest champion in the world, the sharpest of Satan's buffetings, and being proved, is found faithful. And then this is still fit and proper to be matter of rejoicing to him. How corporal pain can be matter of rejoicing.

S. But is a man bound to give thanks for affliction? Giving thanks for afflictions.

C. Yes he is: 1. Because that is the only spiritual Christian way of expressing to God his rejoicing. 2. Because it comes from God, and is meant by Him for our good, a gift or donative of heaven; "to you it is given," it is granted as Phil. i. 29. a grace and vouchsafement of God's special favour "to suffer for Christ," and that grace designed, 1. to reform what is

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amiss; 2. to punish here, that there may be nothing of evil left for another world; to judge us here, that we may not be condemned hereafter: 3. because we are so commanded "to glorify God in this behalf," and in this respect "to sanctify the Lord God in our hearts," to hallow or praise Him for it.

1 Pet.iv.16.

1 Pet.iii.15.

Afflictions that fall not for righteousness' sake. [Acts v. 41.]

S. This is easily assented to, if it fall upon me for righteousness' sake, as the Apostles went out of the temple rejoicing that they were thought worthy to suffer shame for Christ's name: but what if it be not so, but only that afflictions fall on me I know not how?

Matter of rejoicing also.

C. They are then not only patiently and thankfully to be received, but to be rejoiced in also; 1. Because of all kind of chastening the Apostle pronounceth, that, "though for the present it seemeth not joyous but grievous, yet afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which be exercised thereby." 2. Because there is "somewhat behind of the sufferings of Christ, to be filled up in our flesh," i. e. some relics of that bitter passion-cup of His for us to drink. 3. Because it is such an expression of a curse to have our reward, and, with Dives, "all[x] our good things in this life," and that an ominous sign that there is nothing left to be rewarded in another life.

Heb.xii.11.

Col. i. 24.

[Luke xvi. 25.]

Renouncing of persecuted duties.

S. What judgment then is to be made of those, who, in evil times, when Christian doctrines and practices are persecuted, think fit to renounce those doctrines and practices, or to preserve themselves from worldly danger by not confessing, and so by not seeming to approve them?

C. The judging of other men is no part of that lesson which I meant to teach you. But that which every person thus guilty ought to judge of himself is this, that he is guilty of some degree of that cowardice which is joined with infidelity, and that he is of the number of those many foretold by Christ, whose love to Christ is grown cold, upon the increasing of iniquities abroad in the world, which must needs be a great unkindness to Christ, to whom our love and zeal and constancy ought then most to be shewed, when He or His doctrines are most opposed, and so most stands in need of assistants and advocates to maintain them. And I shall

Rev. xxi. 8.

Matt. xxiv. 12.

[x] [ἀπέλαβες. The force of the preposition has been lost in the authorized version.]

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tell you one thing more on this matter, that the ancient heresy of the Gnostics (which had its spring from the magician Simon, and against several branches of which the several epistles of all the Apostles in the New Testament were sent to arm the Churches, and the epistle of Christ Himself by St. John to the seven Churches in Asia) is taken notice of by ancient writers for this prime fundamental doctrine of theirs, that it was 'an indifferent thing,' or no sin, 'in times of persecution to forswear the faith without any scruple, and to taste of the idol-sacrifices[y].' And therefore it is that the Apostles so call for "confession of the mouth," and require that perfection of love to Christ, which "casts out fear" of persecutions, punishments, &c., and pronounce anathemas against them that thus "love not the Lord Jesus," setting the love of Christ, who loved us and died for us, as the example of our "walking in love," which clearly contradicts that opinion of the world, that the preserving of ourselves is the great principle to which all other precepts are but subordinate, binding us no longer than they will be reconcileable with that. For sure the copy of Christ's love, which, if need be, we are required to follow both there, and 1 John iv. 17, that as He was in this world, so we should be also, (further expressed there by having "courage to confess Christ in the day of judgment[z]," i. e. when we are in danger to be sentenced by any judicature to any punishment, though it be of death itself, as Christ was,) obliges us then especially to express our love to Christ, when our danger is greatest from the world in so doing. And therefore St. Paul to Titus prescribes not only soundness in the faith, but in love and patience[a], or endurance also.

Rom. x. 9, 10. 1 John iv. 18. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. Eph. v. 2. Self-preservation the worldling's principle. Eph. v. 2. Tit. ii. 2.

S. What then is to be thought of them who, to get the cross off from their own shoulders, and to put it on other men's, will venture on things most contrary to peace, and shake the quiet, perhaps the foundations, of a kingdom?

C. I will say no more, and I can scarcely say worse, than that they are of all others the extremest enemies to the cross of Christ, a very ill and sad spectacle among Christians; and that there is nothing more unreasonable than to pretend

Enmity to the cross.

[y] διδάσκειν τε ἀδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπογευομένους, καὶ ἐξομνυμένους ἀπαραφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διωγμῶν καιρούς.—Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. [c. 7. p. 236.]

[z] παῤῥησίαν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως.

[a] ὑπομονῇ.

LIB. I. Christianity for the doing this, which is so perfectly contrary to it.

S. You have now passed through all the Christian graces at the first designed for consideration. I shall put you in mind of the next thing whereof you made yourself my debtor, the difference of, and dependence between, justification and sanctification; wherein first you will please to give me the notion of the single terms. And first, what is justification?

SECT. IV. Of justification.

C. It is God's accepting our persons, and not imputing our sins, His covering or pardoning our iniquities, His being so reconciled unto us sinners, that He determines not to punish us eternally.

The cause of it.

S. What is the cause of that?

C. God's free mercy unto us in Christ, revealed in the new covenant.

S. What in us is the instrumental cause of it?

C. As an instrument is, logically and properly taken, and signifies an inferior, less principal efficient cause, so nothing in us can have anything to do, i. e. any kind of physical efficiency, in this work: neither is it imaginable it should, it being a work of God's upon us, without us, concerning us, but not within us at all. And if you mark, justification being in plain terms but the accepting our persons and pardoning of sins, it would be very improper and harsh to affirm that our works, our anything, even our faith itself, should accept our persons or pardon our sins, though in never so inferior a notion; which yet they must if they were instrumental in our justification. It is true indeed, those necessary qualifications which the gospel requires in us, are conditions or moral instruments without which we shall not be justified; but those are not properly called instruments or causes.

The qualifications.

S. What are those qualifications?

C. Faith, repentance, firm purpose of a new life, and the rest of those graces upon which, in the gospel, pardon is promised the Christian; all comprisable in the new creature, conversion, regeneration, &c.

Justification by free grace.

S. Are these required in us, so as without them we cannot be justified? How then are we justified by the free grace of God?

C. Yes, these two are very reconcileable: for there is no

worth in our faith or repentance, or any poor weak grace of ours, to deserve God's favour to our persons, or pardon of what sins are past, or acceptation of our imperfect obedience for the future; it is His free grace to pardon, and accept us on such poor conditions as these, and this free grace purchased and sealed to us by the death of Christ.

Of sanctification,

S. What now is sanctification?

C. The word may note either a gift of God's, His giving of grace to prevent and sanctify us; or a duty of ours, our having, i. e. making use of that grace: and both these considered together, either as an act, or as a state.

as it is an act,

S. What is it as it signifies an act?

C. The infusion of holiness in our hearts, or of some degrees of holiness, and parallel to that, the receiving and obeying the good motions of God's sanctifying Spirit, and laying them up to fructify in an honest heart; the turning of the soul to God, or the first beginning of new life.

as a state.

S. What is it as it signifies a state?

C. The living a new, a holy, a gracious life, in obedience to the good grace of God, and daily improving and growing, and at last persevering and dying in it.

S. What now is the dependence between justification and sanctification?

The dependence between justification and sanctification.

C. This, that the first part of sanctification, the beginning of a new life, must be first had before God pardons or justifies any: then when God is thus reconciled to the new convert upon his vow of new life, He gives him more grace, enables and assists him for that state of sanctification, wherein if he makes good use of that grace, he then continues to enjoy this favour and justification; but if he perform not his vow, proceed not in Christian holy life, but relapse into wasting acts or habits of sin, then God chargeth again all his former sins upon him, and those present iniquities of his, and in them, if he return not again, he shall die; as appears by Ezek. xviii. 24, "If the righteous," i. e. the sanctified and justified person, "depart from his righteousness and committeth iniquity, in his sin that he hath sinned, he shall die:" and by the parable of the king, where he that had the debt pardoned him freely by his lord, yet for exacting over-severely from his fellow-servant, is again unpardoned and cast into prison, [Matt. xviii. 34, 35.]

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delivered to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him, which parable Christ applies to our present business, "So likewise shall My heavenly Father do also unto you."

S. But is not a man justified before he is sanctified; and if he be, how then can his justification depend on his sanctification?

C. If he were justified before he were sanctified in any kind, then would your reasoning hold; for sure by the same reason that justification might be begun before repentance, or resolution of new life, or conversion to God, it might also be continued to him that repented not, or that returned to his evil way: and therefore without all doubt this kind of sanctification is precedent in order of nature to justification, i. e. I must first believe, repent, and return, (all which together is that faith which is required as the condition of our being justified, a receiving of the whole Christ, a cordial assent to His commands as well as promises, a giving up the heart to Him, a resolution of obedience, a proneness[b] or readiness to obey Him, the thing without which, saith an ancient writer[c], Christ can do none of His miracles upon our souls, any more than He could His mighty works among His unbelieving countrymen,) before God will pardon: though indeed in respect of time there is no sensible priority, but God's pardon and our change go together; at what time soever we repent, or convert sincerely, God will have mercy, i. e. justify. A further proof of this, if it be needful, you
Heb. x. 14. may take from the author to the Hebrews, where having said

[b] *τὸ ἐπιτήδειον τῆς ὑπακοῆς.*

[c] [*ἐν δὲ τῷ λθ' τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λογίοις διαφωνίαν πολυπραγμονεῖ καὶ διευθύνει· ἐπαπορεῖ γὰρ πῶς ὁ μὲν κύριος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι σημεῖα ποιεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας ὅτι οἱ μαθηταὶ οὐκ ἐξέβαλον τὸ δαιμόνιον, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἀναφέρων, ἔφη, διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν· ὁ δέ γε τούτου γνήσιος μαθητὴς Παῦλος τἀνάντια λέγει· τὰ γὰρ σημεῖα φησὶ τοῖς ἀπίστοις, οὐχὶ τοῖς πιστεύουσι, καὶ ἐπιλύεται τὸ ἀπόρημα, λέγων ὡς καθολικῷ μὲν καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ τὰ σημεῖα διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους τερατουργεῖται, ἄγειν αὐτοὺς εἰς σωτήριον πειθὼ τοῦ θαυματουργοῦντος προνοουμένου· ἐκείνοις μέντοι ταῦτα προβάλλεσθαι οἱ τὸ ἐπιτήδειον τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἀντιπαρέχοντα, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν εἰσοικίζονται· ὅσοις δὲ τῶν ἀπίστων ἑκουσίως πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερφυῆ τυφλώττοντας ἐπιστάμεθα, τούτοις ἡ τῶν σημείων προβολὴ ἀπρονόητόν τε καὶ μάταιον· ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀπίστοις τὰ σημεῖα προβάλλεται· καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προβάλλειν συμφωνόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον· τὸ μὲν ὅτι δι' αὐτῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν κερδαίνουσι· τὸ δὲ διότι πρὸς βάθος κατιδόντες ἀπωλείας ἐξ ὧν ἄλλοι μέγα κέρδος συλλέγουσιν, αὐτοὶ κακουργοῦντες πρὸς τὰ χείρω κατασύρονται.*]—Jobius ap. Phot. Bib. [p. 645.]

SECT. IV.

that "Christ by His own suffering perfected for ever them that are sanctified," intimating that they must be sanctified before He perfect them, he addeth a proof by which these two things are cleared, first, that 'to perfect' there signifies 'to forgive sins or to justify,' secondly, that this doctrine of the priority of sanctification is agreeable to the description of the second covenant. That by perfecting he means justifying or pardoning of sins, it is apparent by ver. 17, "Their sins and iniquities will I remember no more;" which must needs be acknowledged to be that part of the testimony that belongs to that part of the proposition to be proved by it, "he hath perfected for ever[d]," the former part of the testimony belonging to the latter part of the proposition; which may further thus appear: 'to perfect,' in this author, signifies 'to consecrate to priesthood;' that being applied to us, is a phrase to note boldness or liberty to enter into the holiest; that again to pray confidently to God, which, ver. 18, is set to denote pardon of sin. Which being premised, the second thing also follows, that in Jer. xxxi. 33. the tenure of the covenant sets sanctification before justification: for, says the Apostle, He first said[e], "I will put My law into their hearts, and put or write them in their thoughts or minds," which is preparatory on God's part to their sanctification; and then, after[f] the saying of that, also[g] "I will no more remember their sins nor their offences." Many other Scripture evidences might be added to this matter, if it were needful. As for those that make justification to be before sanctification, I hope and conceive they mean by sanctification the sanctified state, the actual performance and practice of our vows of new life, and our growth in grace; and by our justification that first act of pardon or reconciliation in God, and then they say true: but if they mean that our sins are pardoned before we convert to God, and resolve new life, and that the first grace enabling to do these is a consequent of God's having pardoned our sins; this is a mistake, which in effect excludes justification by faith, which is that first grace of receiving of Christ, and resigning our hearts up to Him, and must be in order of nature precedent to our justification, or else can neither be

Jer. xxxi. 33.

Heb. ii. 10, v. 9, and vii. 28. ver. 19.

[Heb. x. 16.]

Justification before sanctification, in what sense.

[d] τετελείωκεν εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.
[e] προείρηκε.
[f] μετά.
[g] καί.

L I B. I.

condition nor instrument of it: and besides, this is apt to have an ill influence on practice, and therefore I thought fit to prevent it. The issue of all is, that God will not pardon till we in heart reform and amend. "He that forsaketh," i. e. in hearty sincere resolution abandons the sins of the old man, "shall have mercy," and none but he. And then, God will not continue this gracious favour of His, but to those who make use of His assisting grace to persevere in these resolutions of forsaking: so that the justification is still commensurate to the sanctification, an act of justification upon an act of sanctification, or a resolution of new life; and a continuance of justification upon continuance of the sanctified estate.

[Prov. xxviii. 13.]

S. But is not God first reconciled unto us, before He gives us any grace to sanctify us?

God reconciled before He gives grace.

C. So far reconciled He is as to give us grace, and so far as to make conditional promises of salvation; but not so as to give pardon or justify actually: for you know, "whom God justifies, those He glorifies," i. e. if they pass out of this life in a justified estate, they are certainly glorified; but you cannot imagine that God will glorify any who is not yet sanctified; for "without holiness no man shall see the Lord." And therefore you will easily conclude that God justifies none who are unsanctified; for if He did, then supposing the person to die in that instant, it must follow, either that the unsanctified man is glorified, or the justified man not glorified. Any thing else God may do to the unsanctified man but either save him, or do somewhat on which saving infallibly follows; and therefore give him grace He may, but till that grace be received and treasured up in an honest heart, He will never be throughly reconciled to him, i. e. justify or save him.

[Rom. viii. 30.]

[Heb. xii. 14.]

S. I pray then from these premises set me down the order or method used by God in the saving a sinner.

God's method in saving a sinner.

C. I will. It is this. 1. God gives His Son to die for him, and satisfy for his sins; so that though he be a sinner, yet on condition of a new life he may be saved. Then 2. in that death of Christ He strikes with him a new covenant, a covenant of mercy and grace. Then 3. according to that covenant He sends His Spirit, and by the Word, and that Spirit annexed to it, He calls the sinner powerfully to re-

pentance: if he answer to that call, and awake, and arise, and make his sincere faithful resolutions of new life; God then 4. justifies, accepts his person, and pardons his sins past: then 5. gives him more grace, assists him to do, as before He enabled him to will, i. e. to perform his good resolutions: then 6. upon continuance in that state, in those performances, till the hour of death, He gives to him, as to a faithful servant, a crown of life. SECT. IV.

S. The good Lord be thus merciful to me a sinner! I bless God, and give you many thanks for these directions, and shall be well pleased to continue you my debtor for the other particular you promised me, till some further time of leisure, and so intermit your trouble for some small time.

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S. The benefit I reaped by your last discourse hath not satisfied, but raised my appetite to the more earnest importunate desire of what is yet behind, and in the next place, of the consideration of Christ's sermon in the mount, which I have heard commended for an abstract of Christian philosophy, an elevating of His disciples beyond all other men for the practice of virtue: but, I pray, why did Christ, when He preached it, leave the multitude below, and go up to a mount, accompanied with none but disciples? SECT. I. Of Christ's sermon in the mount.

C. That He went up to the mount, was to intimate the matter of this sermon to be the Christian law, as you know the Jewish law was delivered in a mount, that of Sinai. And that He would have no auditors but disciples, it was, 1. Because the multitude followed Him not for doctrines, but for cures, and therefore were not fit auditors of precepts. 2. Because these precepts were of an elevated nature, above all that ever any lawgiver gave before, and therefore were to be dispensed only to choice auditors. 3. Because the heights and mysteries of Christianity are not wont to be abruptly dispensed, but by degrees, to them that have formerly made some progress[h], at least have delivered themselves up to Why in the mount. Matt. iv. 24, 25.

[h] τοῖς προκόπτουσι.

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Christ's lectures, entered into His school, i. e. to His disciples.

S. What then? are none but disciples the men to whom this sermon belongs? and if so, will it not thence follow that the commands contained in it shall oblige only the successors of those disciples, the ministers of the gospel, and so all others be freed from that severity?

Who the auditors of it.

C. That it was given only to disciples then, it is acknowledged; but that will be of latitude enough to contain all Christians; for to be a disciple of Christ is no more than so; for you know Christ first called disciples, and they followed Him some time before He sent them out, or gave them commission to preach, &c., i. e. before He gave them the dignity of Apostles, of which as only the pastors of the Church are their successors, so in discipleship all Christian professors. And therefore you must resolve now once for all, that what is in this sermon said to disciples, all Christians are concerned in indifferently; it is command and obligatory to all that follow Him, or retain to Him.

S. You have engaged me then to think myself concerned so nearly in it as not to have patience to be longer ignorant of this my duty. Will you please then to enter upon the substance of the sermon, wherein I can direct myself so far as to discern the eight beatitudes to be the first part? I pray how far am I concerned in them?

Of the beatitudes.

All Christians concerned in them at present, and for the future.

C. So far as that you may resolve yourself obliged to the belief, 1. That you are no farther a Christian than you have in you every one of those graces to which the blessedness is there prefixed. 2. That every one of those graces hath matter of present blessedness in it[1]: the word 'blessed' in the front denoting a present condition, abstracted from that which afterwards expects them. 3. That there is assurance of future blessedness to all those that have attained to those several graces.

S. I shall remember these three directions, and call upon you to exemplify them in the particulars as they come to our hands; and therefore, first, I pray, give me the first of these graces, what it is.

[1] ὀθούνεκ' ἀρετὴ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις μόνη
οὐκ ἐκ θυραίων τἀπίχειρα λαμβάνει·
αὐτὴ δ' ἑαυτὴν ἆθλα τῶν πόνων ἔχει.
Trag. Incert. [ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. p. 496 B.]

SECT. I.

C. Poverty of spirit.

S. What is meant by that?

Of poverty of spirit.

C. It may possibly signify a preparation of mind or spirit to part with all worldly wealth, a contentedness to live poor and bare in this world; but I rather conceive it signifies a lowly opinion of one's self, a thinking myself the meanest vilest creature, least of saints, and greatest of sinners, contrary to that spiritual pride of the Church of Laodicea, which said, she was "rich," and "increased with goods, and had need of nothing," not knowing that she was wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. This is that infant child-temper that Christ describes, so absolutely necessary to a Christian, and that in respect of the humility of such; and the littleness, i. e. being in our own conceit (which I conceive is meant here by the phrase 'in spirit') the least, and lowest, and meanest, and, as children, most impotent, insufficient of all creatures.

Rev. iii. 17.

Matt. xviii. 4; xix. 14. Luke ix. 48.

S. What now is the present blessedness of such?

The present blessedness of it.

C. It consists in this. 1. That this is an amiable and lovely quality, a charm of love amongst men, wherever it is met with; whereas on the other side, pride goes hated, and cursed, and abominated by all, drives away servants, friends, and all but flatterers. 2. In that this is a seed-plot of all virtue, especially Christian, which thrives best when it is rooted deep, i. e. in the humble lowly heart. 3. Because it hath the promise of grace, "God giveth grace to the humble," but on the contrary, "resisteth the proud."

[James iv. 6.]

S. What assurance of future blessedness is there to those that have this grace?

The future.

C. It is expressed in these words, "for theirs," or "of[k] them is the kingdom of heaven;" which, I conceive, signify primarily, that Christ's kingdom of grace, the true Christian Church, is made up peculiarly of such: as in the answer of Christ to John, a way of assuring him that He was the Christ, it is in the close, "the poor are evangelized[l]," or wrought on by the preaching of the gospel; and as Matt. xviii. 4, "He that shall humble himself as this child, the same shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven," i. e. a prime Christian, or disciple of Christ; and "for of such[m]," which is a like

Matt. xi. 5.

ch. xix. 14.

[k] αὐτῶν. [l] πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται. [m] τῶν τοιούτων.

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phrase parallel to 'of them' here, "is the kingdom of heaven," i. e. the Church, into which He therefore commands them to be permitted to enter by baptism, and chides His disciples for forbidding them. Thus is the "kingdom of heaven" to be interpreted in Scripture in divers places of the New Testament, which you will be able to observe when you read with care.

S. But how doth this belong to future blessedness?

C. Thus, that this kingdom of grace here is but an inchoation of that of glory hereafter; and he that lives here the life of a humble Christian, shall there be sure to reign the life of a victorious saint.

S. What is mourning?

Of mourning,

C. Contrition, or godly sorrow conceived upon the sense of our wants and sins.

S. What wants do you mean?

for wants,

C. Spiritual wants. 1. Of original immaculate righteousness, and holiness, and purity. 2. Of strength and sufficiency to do the duty which we owe to God our Creator, Christ our Redeemer, and the Spirit our Sanctifier.

S. What sins do you mean?

for sins.

C. 1. Our original depravedness, and proneness of our carnal part to all evil. 2. The actual and habitual sins of our unregenerate; and 3. the many slips and falls of our most regenerate life.

S. What is the present felicity of these mourners?

The present felicity of mourners.

C. That which results from the sense of this blessed temper, there being no condition of soul more wretched than that of the senseless obdurate sinner, that being a kind of numbness, and lethargy, and death of soul; and contrariwise, this feeling, and sensibleness, and sorrow for sin, the most vital quality, (as it is said of feeling, that it is the sense of life,) an argument that we have some life in us, and so true matter of joy to all that find it in themselves. And therefore it is very well said of a father[n], "Let a Christian man grieve, and then rejoice that he doth so." Besides, the mourning soul is like the watered earth, like to prove the more fruitful by that means.

[n] Doleat homo Christianus, et de dolore gaudeat.—Aug. [?]

S. What is the assurance of future felicity that belongs to this mourner? SECT. I.

C. It is set down in these words, "for they shall be comforted." Christ who hereafter gives, now makes promise of comfort to such; the "reaping in joy" belongs peculiarly to them that "sow in tears," and "godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation," when all other "worketh death." And besides, this assurance ariseth from the very nature of comfort and refreshment, by which the joys of heaven are expressed, of which none are capable but the sad disconsolate mourners; nor indeed is heaven, the vision of God, and revelation of His favour, matter of so much bliss, as when it comes to those that wanted comfort, and when it "wipes away all tears from their eyes" who "went mourning all the day," all their life long. The future. [Ps. cxxvi. 5.] [2 Cor. vii. 10.] [Rev. vii. 17, and xxi. 4.]

S. What is meekness?

C. A softness, and mildness, and quietness of spirit, expressing itself in many passages of our life. 1. In relation to God, and then it is a ready willing submission to His will, whether to believe what He affirms, be it never so much above my reason (the captivation of the understanding to the obedience of faith), or to do what He commands, and then it is obedience; or to endure what He sees fit to lay upon us, and then it is patience, cheerfulness in affliction, contentedness with our lot whatsoever it is, contrary to all murmuring and repining, and enmity to the cross, and all restless unsatisfiedness, the being dumb or "silent to the Lord," and resolving with old Eli, "It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good." All which, faith, obedience, patience, though they be virtues of themselves distinct from meekness strictly taken, may yet be very fitly reduced to that head, inasmuch as meekness moderates that wrath which would by consequence destroy them. 2. In relation to men, whether superiors, equals, or inferiors. If they be our superiors, then it is modesty, and humility, and reverence to all such in general, (at least reductively, meekness being an adjunct and help to those virtues, removing that which would hinder them:) but if withal they be our lawful magistrates, then our meekness consists in obedience, active or passive, acting all their legal commands, and submitting, Of meekness, in relation to God, [Ps. xxxvii. 7. [1 Sam. iii. 18.] to men; superiors;

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so far at least, as not to make violent resistance, to the punishments which they shall inflict upon us, when we disobey their illegal, in quietness of spirit, and not being given to changes; the direct contrary to all speaking evil of dignities, but especially to sedition and taking up of arms against them: which of what sort soever it be, though we may flatter ourselves that we are only on the defensive part, will bring upon us condemnation. For although it be naturally lawful to defend my life from him that would unjustly take it away from me, yet if it be the lawful supreme magistrate that attempts it, I must not defend myself by assaulting of him, for that is not to defend only, but to offend; and God forbid that, though it were to save my own life, I should lift up my hand against "the Lord's anointed." It is true, defensive wars may be possibly lawful at some time, when offensive are not; but of subjects against their sovereign neither can, because if it be war, it will come under the phrase, "resisting the power," and so be damnable, and quite contrary to the meekness here, and, further, to all such oaths which in every kingdom are taken by the subjects to the supreme power, as that of allegiance, &c.

Rom. xiii. 2.

[1 Sam. xxvi. 9.]

equals;

S. Wherein doth meekness towards our equals consist?

friends;

C. Those may be our friends, or our enemies, or of a middle nature. If they be our friends, then meekness consists, 1. in the not provoking them, for "the wrath of man worketh not the will of God." 2. In bearing with their infirmities. 3. In kind, mild, discreet reproof of them; and 4. In patience and thankfulness for the like from them again. 5. In submitting one to another in love, every one thinking another better than himself.

Jam. i. 20.

enemies;

S. But what if they be our enemies?

C. Then it is the meek man's part to love, to do good, and bless and pray for them; in no wise to recompense evil with evil, injury with injury, contumely with contumely; in no wise to avenge ourselves, but to overcome evil with good.

neither;

S. What then if they be neither our friends nor foes?

C. Then meekness consists in humble, civil, modest behaviour towards them, neither striving and contending for trifles, or trespasses, or contumelies, nor molesting with vexatious suits, nor breaking out into causeless anger, "proud

wrath," as Solomon calls it, rage or fury, nor doing aught that may provoke them to the like. SECT. I.

S. But there is yet another notion of my equals considerable, those to whom I have done injury; what is meekness towards them? [Prov. xxi. 24.] the injured;

C. It consists in acknowledging the fault, and readiness to make satisfaction, in going and desiring to be reconciled to such a brother, and willingly submitting to all honest means tending to that end.

S. What is the duty of meekness toward inferiors? inferiors.

C. Condescending, kindness, lovingness, neither oppressing nor tyrannizing, nor using imperiousness, nor taking the rod when it may be spared, nor provoking to wrath servants, subjects, or children.

S. Is there any other branch of meekness which my questions have not put you in mind of, to communicate to me?

C. There is one branch of it scarce touched yet, the meekness of our understandings in submitting our opinions to those that are placed over us by God: which though it be, in strict speaking, the virtue of humility and obedience, and not the formal elicit act of meekness, yet meekness being ordinarily, and sometimes necessarily, annexed to these acts of those virtues, I shall place them reductively under meekness. Meekness of the understanding;

S. What must this meekness of our understandings be?

C. The properest rules for the defining it will be these. 1. That where, in any matter of doctrine, the plain word of God interposes itself, there we must most readily yield, without demurs or resistance. But 2. If it be matter neither defined, nor pretended to be defined in Scripture, then with each particular man among us, the definitions of the Church wherein we live must carry it, so far as to require our yielding and submission; and with that Church which is to define it, if it come in lawful assembly to be debated, the tradition of the universal, or opinion of the primitive Church is to prevail, at least to be hearkened to with great reverence in that debate; and that which the greater part of such a lawful assembly shall judge to be most agreeable to such rule, or, in case there is no light to be fetched from thence, then that which they shall of themselves according to the wisdom in several cases.

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given them by God agree upon to be most convenient, shall be of force to oblige all inferiors, i. not to express dissent, ii. to obedience. But 3. if Scripture be pretended for one party in the debate, and the question be concerning the interpretation of that Scripture, and no light from the Scripture itself, either by surveying the context, or comparing of other places, be to be had for the clearing it, then again the judgment of the universal, or my particular Church, is to be of great weight with me; so far as, if it so command, to inhibit my venting my own opinion either publicly or privately, with design to gain proselytes: or if all liberty be absolutely left to all in that particular, then meekness requires me to enjoy my opinion so, as that I judge not any other contrary-minded.

S. But what if the particular Church wherein I was baptized shall fall from its own steadfastness, and by authority, or law, set up that which if it be not contrary to plain words of Scripture, is yet contrary to the doctrine or practice of the universal Church of the first and purest times, what will meekness require me to do in that case?

C. Meekness will require me to be very wary in passing such judgment on that Church: but if the light be so clear, and the defection so palpably discernible to all, that I cannot but see and acknowledge it, and in case it be true that I am actually convinced that the particular Church wherein I live is departed from the Catholic Apostolic Church, then it being certain that the greater authority must be preferred before the lesser, and that next the Scripture the Catholic Church of the first and purest times (especially when the subsequent ages do also accord with that for many hundred years) is the greatest authority, it follows that meekness requires my obedience and submission to the Catholic Apostolic Church, and not to the particular wherein I live, so far, I mean, as that I am to retain that Catholic Apostolic, and not this novel, corrupt, not-Catholic doctrine: and if for my doing so I fall under persecution of the rulers of that particular Church, meekness then requires me patiently to endure it, but in no case to subscribe to, or act any thing which is contrary to this Catholic doctrine.

S. But what if I may not be permitted to live in that par-

ticular Church without this submission, or such acting, what doth the doctrine of meekness then advise?

C. If the meaning of your words "may not be permitted to live" be, that they will put me to death, then meekness saith, I must meekly bear the loss of life itself, and so follow Christ. Or if the meaning be, that they will banish me out of the kingdom, I must venture my cause with God, and meekly submit to that punishment also, and depend on God's providence for my preservation in some other. Or if the meaning be, that they will divest me of my possessions, mulct or otherwise punish me, the answer is still clear, because all these are less than the one loss of life is supposed to be.

S. But what if they shall excommunicate me? hath the doctrine of meekness any salve for me then, or any thing which it requires of me?

C. Yes, meekly to lie under that censure, supposing that I am not excommunicate from the Catholic Apostolic Church of Christ by any such censure, but rather so much the more firmly united to it by this means. Nor am I obliged in this case to seek out some other particular Church, which will receive me into their communion, out of which this hath ejected me; but to submit to that lot contentedly which God permits to befall me in the discharge of a good conscience. And in this case, as long as I continue constant to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and maintain the inward communion, that of charity, with all the true Church of God, wheresoever they are, and with all particular Churches, and even with this which hath excommunicated me, so far as to embrace them with the arms of Christian charity, to join even with erroneous Churches so far as they are not erroneous, i. e. to embrace all Catholic truth wheresoever it is, separating only from the corruptions of it, and that too only because they will not permit me externally to join with them in the Catholic truths and communion unless I will profess to join in their corruptions also; in this case, I say, it is no fault of mine if it should so happen that I live in no external public communion at all. The true Christian thus patiently abiding the good pleasure of God, ceaseth not to be such by being cast upon a desert, or other equal hermitage in the midst of men and Christians. Though after all this, if there

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be any purer Church that will receive me, or if any Church equally corrupt will yet give me liberty to join with them in the public service of God, without complying or joining with them (or seeming and appearing, to the scandal of others, so to do) in their corruptions, I doubt not but it is lawful for me to associate with them, unless my particular calling or condition be such, as that, by some accident, some sin be consequent to my doing thus, as the forsaking those which I am bound to cleave to, and the like.

S. But what if this particular erroneous Church of which I am, do not excommunicate or exclude me from her communion, what doth meekness then prescribe in respect of that communion?

C. To communicate with her in all but her corruptions. My meaning is this; some other obligations there are upon every Christian, wherein meekness interposeth not, which do require me not to depart from any Catholic Apostolic truth or practice, at least not to submit to, or act the contrary, or to do any thing which is apt to confirm others in so doing, or to lead those that doubt, by my example, to do what they doubt to be unlawful. For in all these particulars, the Christian law of scandal obliges me not only not to yield to any schism from the Catholic Apostolic Church, or other the like corruption, but not to do those things by which I shall be thought by prudent men to do so. And therefore thus far I must abstain. But this caution being given and observed, meekness then requires me, as far as I may without breach of these obligations, to communicate with that particular Church as long as I live in her arms; but permits me also to seek out for some purer Church, if that may conveniently be had for me. Nay, if I am by my calling fitted for it, and can prudently hope to plant, or contribute to the planting, such a pure Apostolic Church, where there is none, or to reconcile and restore peace between divided members of the Church Catholic, my endeavour to do so is in this case extremely commendable, and that which God's providence seems to direct me to by what is thus befallen me.

S. But there is one case yet that seems not to have been mentioned; I shall now gather it up as pertinent to my former questions about the meekness of the understanding,

though to those which I have since proposed not altogether so agreeable: and it is this, What if there be on both sides great probabilities, but no demonstration from Christian principles, or interposing of the Church universal or particular, which way will meekness then direct me to propend or incline? SECT. I.

C. That which must then direct me is mine own conscience, to take to that which seems to me most probable; and in that my meekness hath nothing to do, nor can it oblige me to believe that which I am convinced is not true, nor to disbelieve that which I am convinced is true: but yet before I am thus convinced, meekness will give me its directions not to rely too overweeningly on my judgment, but to compare myself with other men my equals, but especially my superiors, and to have great jealousies of any my own singular opinions, which being represented to others as judicious as myself, together with the reasons that have persuaded me to them, do not to them prove persuasive; nay, after I am convinced, meekness may again move me to hearken to other reasons, that other men judge more prevailing, and, if occasion be, to reverse my former judgment thus passed upon that matter; it being very reasonable for me, though not to believe what I am not convinced of, yet to conceive it possible for me not to see those grounds of conviction which another sees, and so to be really mistaken, though I think I am not: and then what is thus reasonable to be concluded possible, my meekness will bid me conclude possible, and, having done that, advise me to choose the safer part, and resolve rather to offend and err by too much flexibility than too much perverseness; by meekness, than by self-love.

S. What is the present felicity of the meek man?

C. 1. The very possession of that grace, being of all others most delightful and comfortable, both as that that adorns us and sets us out beautiful and lovely in the eyes of others, and is therefore called "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," and as that that affords us most matter of inward comfort. As for example, that part of meekness which is opposed to revenge, and consists in bearing, and not retributing of injuries, this to a spiritual-minded man is matter of infinite delight, i. In conquering that mad, wild, devilish

The meek man's present felicity.

1 Pet. iii. 4.

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passion of revenge, getting victory over one's self, which is the greatest act of valour, the thought of which is consequently most delightful. ii. In conquering the enemy, of which there is no such way as "the soft answer[o]," which, saith the wise man, "turneth away wrath;" and feeding the hungry enemy, which, saith St. Paul, is "the heaping live coals upon his head;" and that the way that metallists use to melt those things that will not be wrought on by putting of fire under them, which he further expresses by "overcoming evil with good." iii. In conquering or outstripping all the Jewish and heathen world, which had never attained to this skill of "loving of enemies," at the least of thinking it a duty, which is a peculiar pitch of Christianity[p] to which they are elevated by Christ: and the honour of this must needs be a most pleasant thing. 2. It is matter of present felicity to us, in respect of the tranquillity and quiet it gains us here within our own breasts, a calm from those storms that pride and anger and revenge are wont to raise in us. And 3. in respect of the quiet peaceable living with others, without strife and debate, without punishments and executions, that are the portion of the seditious, turbulent, disobedient spirits. Which is the meaning undoubtedly of the promise in the Psalmist, "the meek shall inherit the earth," i. e. shall generally have the richest portion of the good things of this life; from whence this place in the gospel being taken, though it may be accommodated to a spiritual sense, by interpreting the earth for the 'land of the living[q],' yet undoubtedly it literally notes the land of Canaan, or Judea, which is oft in the Old and New Testament called "the earth:" and so then the promise of "inheriting the earth" will be all one with that annexed to the fifth commandment, "that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;" i. e. a prosperous long life here is ordinarily the meek man's portion, which he that shall compare and observe the ordinary dispensations of God's providence, shall find to be most remarkably true, especially if compared with the contrary fate of turbulent seditious persons. Although sometimes

[Prov. xv. 1.]

[Rom. xii. 20.]

ver. 21.

[Ps. xxxvii. 11.]

[Exod. xx. 12.]

[o] ὀργῆς νοσούσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι. Æsch. Prom. [378.]

[p] Amicos diligere omnium [enim] est, inimicos solorum Christianorum. Tertull. [ad Scap., p. 85.]

[q] ἡ γῆ.

God in His wisdom permit it to be otherwise, for the punishing of a wicked nation, which can have no greater punishment than that of a civil war, wherein the meek man oft suffers most, and is survived by the turbulent, or for some other reason in His economy.

His assurance of future felicity.

S. But if this reward belong to the meek in this life, what assurance of future felicity can he have, there being no other promise to him, but that he shall inherit the earth?

C. The temporal reward can no ways deprive him of the eternal; but as the temporal Canaan was to the Jew a type, and to them that obeyed a pledge, of the eternal, so is the earth here a real inheritance below, and a pawn of another above: and this is the meek man's advantage, above many other duties; a double Canaan is thought little enough for him, the same felicity in a manner attending him which we believe of Adam, if he had not fallen, a life in paradise, and from thence a transplantation to heaven. The like we read of them that part with any thing dear to them for Christ's sake or in obedience to Christ's command, (which I conceive belongs especially to the meek patient endurer of Christ's cross, and to the liberal-minded man,) he shall have "a hundred-fold more in this life, and in the world to come everlasting life;" and unless it be here to the meek, or to godliness in general, we meet not with any other temporal promise in the New Testament. And therefore this place here may be resolved very well to be parallel to that other, not only in the hundred-fold, or inheritance in this life, but in that addition also of everlasting life after this. Besides, other places of Scripture there are that intimate the future reward of the meek, as where it is said to be "in the sight of God of great price;" and that, "if we learn of Christ to be meek, we shall find rest to our souls:" and even here the blessedness in the front, noting present blessedness, cannot rightly do so, if there were no future reward also belonging to it, it being a curse, no blessing, to have our good things, with Dives, or, with the hypocrite, our reward in this life, and none to expect behind in another.

[Mark x. 30.]

1 Tim. iv. 8.

[1 Pet. iii. 4.]

[Matt. xi. 29.]

S. What then is the fourth grace?

C. Hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

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S. What is that? And 1. what is meant by righteousness?

Of hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

C. It is of two sorts. 1. Inherent, and then imputed: the inherent, imperfect, proportioned to our state, consisting in the mortifying of sins and lusts, and in some degrees of holy new life; the imputed is Christ's righteousness accepted as ours, which is, in plain words, the pardon of our sins, and acceptation of our persons in Christ.

S. What is hungering and thirsting?

C. You may join them both together, and make them one common appetite of both those kinds of righteousness. Or, if you please, you may more distinctly set them thus, that hungering is an earnest appetite or desire of food, and here in a spiritual sense is apportioned to the first kind of righteousness, that of God's sanctifying grace, which is, as it were, bread or food to the soul, to sustain it from perishing eternally; and so hungering after righteousness is an eager, impatient, unsatisfiable desire of grace, of sanctity to the soul, and that desire attended with prayer and importunity to God for the obtaining of it.

S. What is thirsting after righteousness?

C. Thirsting is a desire of some moisture to refresh, and is here apportioned to that second kind of righteousness consisting in pardon of sin, which is the refreshing of the panting soul mortally wounded, and so like the hart in the Psalmist, "longing after the water-brooks," to allay the fever consequent to that wound, to quench the flame of a scorching conscience; and so "thirsting after righteousness" is a most earnest desire of pardon, and petitioning for it from God in Christ, and never giving over that importunity, until He be inclined to have mercy.

[Ps. xlii. 1.]

The present felicity of such.

S. What present felicity can there be in this hunger and thirst?

C. As appetite or stomach to meat is a sign of health in the body, so is this hunger in the soul a vital quality, evidence of some life of grace in the heart, and in that respect matter of present felicity: whereas on the other side, the decay of appetite, the no manner of stomach, is a piteous consumptive symptom, and most desperate prognostic; and not caring for grace or pardon, for sanctification or jus-

tification, the most mortal desperate condition in the world. SECT. I.

S. What assurance of future happiness attends this hungering?

C. As much as God's promise of filling can afford. Nay, proportionably to the two parts of the appetite, the state of glory is full matter of satisfaction to each: there is there perfect holiness without mixture or infirmity or carnality, answerable to the hungering after inherent righteousness; and there is there perfect final pardon and acquittance from all the guilt and debt of sin, and so the thirst of imputed righteousness is satisfied also. So that he that hath no other hunger or thirst but these, shall be sure to find satisfaction; which they that set their hearts upon carnal worldly objects, hungering after wealth and secular greatness, lusts, &c., shall never be able to arrive to, either here or hereafter: such acquisitions being here, if attained to, very unsatisfying, the more we have of them, the more we desire to have; and in another world there is no expectation of aught that shall be agreeable to such desires. The future.

S. What is mercifulness?

C. Abundance of charity, or goodness, or benignity: there being in the Scripture style two words[r] near akin to one another, justice and mercifulness ordinarily going together; but the latter a much higher degree than the former: the first signifying that legal charity, that both the law of nature and Moses require to be performed to our brethren; but the second an abundance or supereminent degree of it: expressions of both which we have, under the titles of 'the righteous man,' and 'the good man.' Of mercifulness, Rom. v. 7.

S. Wherein doth this mercifulness express itself?

C. In two sorts of things especially; 1. giving, 2. forgiving.

S. In giving of what?

C. Of all sorts of things that our abilities and others' wants may propose to us: such are, relief to those that are in distress, ease to those in pain, alms to poor house-keepers, vindication of honest men's reputation when they are slandered; but above all to men's souls, good counsel, seasonable in giving,

[r] צדקה and חסד, δικαιοσύνη and ἐλεημοσύνη.

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reproofs, encouragement in performing of duty when they are tempted to the contrary, comfort in time of worldly afflictions, but especially of temptation, strengthening in the ways of God, and whatsoever may tend to the good of any man.

S. What mean you by forgiving?

in forgiving.

C. The not avenging of injuries or contumelies, not suffering their trespasses against men, nay, nor sins against God, to cool or lessen my charity and mercy to them, but loving and compassionating, and shewing all effects of the true Christian mercy, such especially as may do them most good, as well to enemies and sinners, as to friends.

S. What is the present felicity that attends this grace?

The present felicity of the merciful.

C. The present delight of having made another man happy, of rescuing a poor soul wrestling with want &c., from that pressure, of reprieving him that was, as it were, appointed to die; this is certainly the most ingenuous pleasure in the world. 2. The gloriousness of so doing: a kind of God-like act; one of the two things[s] which a heathen could say were common to us with God; especially if it be an act of ghostly mercy, an alms, a dole, a charity to the soul: to rescue a poor sinner drooping into the pit, reeling into hell, by conference, advice, examples of heavenly life, not only to save my life, but others also; this is in a manner to partake of that incommunicable title of Christ, that of Saviour; such a thing to which, saith Aristotle[t], as to an heroic quality belongs not praise, but pronouncing blessed; according to that of St. Paul from our Saviour, "it is more blessed to give than to receive:" which supposes that it is a blessed thing to give.

[Acts xx. 35.]

S. What assurance is there of future blessedness to such?

The future.

C. The greatest in the world, from this promise annexed, "they shall obtain mercy." God's punishments are mostly answerable to our sins; He thinks good to give us a sight of our transgressions by the manner of His inflictions, and so He is also pleased to apportion His rewards to our graces, mercy to the merciful most peculiarly: by mercy meaning, 1. acts of bounty, liberality from God, to wit, temporal abundance (the common portion of the alms-giver), and spiritual abundance of grace, of strength in time of temptation; 2. mercy

[Matt.v.7.]

[s] ἀληθεύειν καὶ εὐεργετεῖν. Pythag.

[t] οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ μακαρίζομεν. [Vide Arist. Eth. Nic. i. 12.]

in forgiving, pardoning, not imputing our sins. Upon which ground it is, that in the form of prayer which He hath Himself prescribed us, He annexeth the forgiving of all trespassers against us to our prayer for forgiveness to ourselves, as the condition without which we may not hope for such forgiveness. SECT. I.

S. What is purity in heart?

C. The heart signifies the inner man, and especially the practical part, or principle of action. And the purity of that is of two sorts: the first, that which is contrary to pollution; the second, that which is contrary to mixture; as you know water is said to be pure when it is clean, and not mudded and defiled, and wine is said to be pure when it is not mixed [u]. In the first respect it excludes carnality, in the second hypocrisy. Of purity of heart. Two sorts of it.

S. When may a man be said to be pure in heart in the first sense? The first.

C. When not only in the members or instruments of action, but even in the heart, all parts of carnality or worldliness are mortified. As when we neither are guilty of actual uncleanness, nor yet consent to unclean desires; nay, feed not so much as the eye with unlawful objects, or the heart with filthy thoughts: and because there be other pieces of carnality besides, as strife, faction, sedition, &c., yea, and pride, and the consequents of that; all these must be wrought out of the heart, or else we have not attained to this purity, but are, in the Apostle's phrase, "still carnal." 1 Cor. iii. 3. And so for worldliness, for earth you know will pollute also, when I not only keep myself from acts of injustice and violence, but from designs of oppression, nay, from coveting that which is another's; and so likewise for Satanical injections, when I give them no manner of entertainment, but reject them, suffer them not to stay upon the soul, and so to defile it.

S. When may I be said pure in heart in the second sense? The second.

C. When I attain to sincerity; when I favour not myself in any known sin, double not with God, divide not between Him and my own lust, own ends, own interests, between God and mammon, God and the praise of men, &c. For this is

[u] ἄκρατον.

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sure a main part of the damning sin of hypocrisy, against which there are so many woes denounced, not the appearing to others less sinful than we are, for that is not more unpardonable, but less damning than open, professed, avowed, scandalous sinning; but the halting between God and Baal, the not loving and serving God with all our heart, the admitting other rivals with Him into our hearts.

[1 Kings xviii. 21.]

S. But is no man to be thought a good Christian that hath either carnality or hypocrisy in him?

C. None that is either carnal or hypocrite. But the truth is, as long as we live here, and carry this flesh about us, somewhat of carnality there will remain to be daily purged out; and so also some doublings, some relics of hypocrisy; somewhat of myself, my own credit, my own interests still secretly interposing in my godliest actions. But these, so they be not suffered to reign, to be the chief masters in me, to carry the main of my actions after them, may be reconcileable with a good estate; as human frailties, not wasting sins.

S. What is the present felicity that belongs to such?

The present felicity of the pure.

C. To the first sort of purity belongs, 1. that contentment that results from having overcome and kept under that unruly beast, the carnal part, and brought it into some terms of obedience to the spirit. 2. The quiet and rest that proceeds from purity of heart, contrary to the disquiets and burnings that arise from unmastered lusts. 3. The ease of not serving and tending the flesh, "to obey it in the lusts thereof." 4. The quiet of conscience, absence from those pangs and gripings that constantly attend the commission of carnal sins. The same may in some measure be affirmed of all the other branches of the first kind of purity. And for the second, as it is opposite to mixture or hypocrisy, the conscience of that is matter of great serenity of mind, of Christian confidence and boldness towards God and man: when I have no intricacies, meanders, windings and doublings within me, when I need no disguises or artifices of deceit, but can venture myself naked and bare to God's eye, with a "Prove me, O Lord, and try me, search out my reins and my heart;" and so to men, when I fear not the most censorious strict survey, have a treasure of confidence, that I dread not the face of any man, have no pains, no

[Ps. xxvi. 2.]

agonies for fear of being deprehended, which the hypocrite is still subject unto. SECT. I.

S. What is the reward apportioned to purity hereafter?

C. The vision of God, which 1. none but the pure are capable of, and 2. which hath no manner of felicity in it but to such. The future.

S. Why are only the pure capable of the sight of God?

C. Because God is a Spirit, and cannot be seen by carnal eyes, till they be cleansed and purged, and in a manner spiritualized; which though it be not done throughly till another life, yet purity here, such as this life is capable of, is a most proper preparative to it: and therefore is said to be that "without which no man shall see the Lord;" which you know is affirmed of holiness, which word in that place signifies the very purity here spoken of. Heb. xii. 14.

S. Why hath the vision of God no felicity in it but to the pure?

C. Because a carnal faculty is not pleased with a spiritual object; there must be some agreeableness, before pleasure is to be had, and that pleasure is necessary to felicity.

S. What is meant by peace-making?

C. The word peace-makers signifies no more than peaceable-minded men. The notion of 'making' in Scripture phrase belonging to the bent of the soul; as 'to make a lie,' is to be given to lying, to practise that sin, to be set upon it. So, "to do" (which is in the Greek, 'to make') "righteousness and sin," notes the full bent and inclination of the soul to either of them. So 'to make peace,' both here, and James iii. 18, is to have strong hearty affections to peace. Of peace-making. 1 John ii. 29; iii. 4.

S. Wherein doth this peaceable affection express itself?

C. In many degrees: some in order to private, some to public peace; some to preserve it where it is, some to reduce it where it is lost. Many degrees of it;

S. What degrees of it in order to private peace?

C. 1. A command and victory over one's passions, especially anger and covetousness; the former being most apt to disquiet families, the latter neighbourhoods. The angry man will have no peace with his servants, children, nay wife and parents, any that are within the reach of his ordinary conversation: and the covetous man will contend with any in order to private peace;

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near him, that have any thing that he covets. 2. A charitable or favourable opinion of all men, and actions that are capable of candid interpretation; jealousies in the least societies being the most fatal enemies to peace, and such as foment the least discontents into the mortallest feuds and hatreds. 3. An apertness and clearness of mind, in a friendly debate, with friends or neighbours, of any actions which have passed, subject to misconstruction, without all concealing of grounds of quarrel, not suffering them to boil within, but discreetly requiring an account of all such dubious accidents of those who are concerned in them. 4. The resolving against contentions and litigations in law as much as is possible, being rather content to suffer any ordinary loss, than to be engaged in such ways of vindication, or righting ourselves, and in greater matters referring it to arbitrement of honest neighbours, rather than to bring it to suit. 5. Expressing a dislike to flatterers, whisperers, and backbiters, and never suffering our affections to be altered by any such. By these you will guess of other degrees also.

to public;

S. What in order to public peace?

C. 1. Contentment in our present station, and never fastening our ambition and covetise on any thing which will not easily be attained without some public change or innovation. 2. Willing obedience to the present government of Church or state. 3. Patience of the cross, or preparation for that patience, and resolving never to move a state to get myself from under any pressure. 4. Resolving on the truth of that sacred dictate, that the faults and infirmities of governors are by God permitted for the punishment of the people; and that consequently they are to be looked on not in a direct line, only, or chiefly, to censure them, but in order to reflection on ourselves, to observe what in ourselves hath so provoked God to punish us. 5. The not thinking our own opinions in religion, such as are not of faith, of such importance, as either to deny salvation or communion to any that differ from us. 6. Modesty and calmness in disputing. 7. Not affixing holiness to opinions, or thinking them the best men that are most of our persuasions. 8. The not defining too many things in religion. And many others you will judge of by these.

S. What to preserve it where it is? SECT. I.

C. 1. Valuing of it according to its true estimation, as that which is in the eyes of men very amiable, and in the sight of God of great price, and that which is to every particular man the same thing in many respects, of his estate, his reputation, his bodily conveniences, and oft life itself, which bodily health is in one of those respects only. 2. Considering how insensibly it may be lost, and with how great difficulty recovered again, and how near to a hell this life is without it. 3. Prudent watching over it, and over those that are enemies to peace. 4. Not being easily provoked, but overcoming strife with mildness, or kindness, the "soft answer," &c., and overcoming evil with good. 5. Praying constantly to God the Author of peace for the continuance of this beloved creature of His among us. to preserving it where it is; [Prov. xv. 1.]

S. What to recover it when it is lost? to recovering it when it is lost.

C. 1. Humbling our souls, amending our lives, searching out those peculiar reigning sins that have made this blessing too good for us to enjoy, and so making our peace with God first. 2. Examining, every man single, what I have contributed toward the removing of it, whom I have slandered, &c., and repairing what I have thus done by confession and satisfaction. 3. By incessant prayer to God fetching it back again.

S. What is the present felicity that belongs to such?

C. 1. The present rest and peace, the greatest of all worldly pleasures, and which is, as I said, as health in the body, the foundation of all other superstructions of temporal joy. 2. The conscience of the charitable offices done to all others by this means. 3. The honour of being like God in it, who is the God of peace, and like Christ, who came on this errand to this earth of ours, to make peace between the greatest enemies, His Father and the poor sinner's soul. The present felicity of the peacemaker.

S. What is the reward appointed to peaceableness hereafter?

C. 1. God's acknowledgment of us, as of those that are like Him. 2. Pardon of sins, and eternal rest and peace hereafter. The future.

S. To whom doth the last beatitude belong?

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C. To those 1. that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, 2. that are reviled falsely for Christ's sake.

Of persecution for righteousness' sake;

S. How do these differ one from the other?

C. Only as a more general word and a more special. Persecution[x] signifies properly and strictly, being pursued, and driven, and hunted, as noxious beasts are wont; but in common use noteth whatever calamity or affliction the malice

reviling,

or tyranny of others can lay on us: and reviling is one special kind of it, which is most frequently the true Christian's lot, because, 1. those that have no strength or power to inflict other injuries, have yet these weapons of their malice always in readiness. 2. Because they who are not good Christians themselves, do in their own defence think themselves obliged to defame those that are; their good actions, when they are silent, seeming so reproachful to them, made

Wisd.ii.14.

to reprove their thoughts: and so they endeavour by their tongues to revenge themselves upon them; to redeem their reputation by that means.

S. But what is meant by the phrases, "for righteousness' sake," and "falsely for My sake?"

falsely, for Christ's sake.

C. Those words contain a restraint or limitation of the subject to this purpose; that the beatitude belongs not to those indefinitely that are persecuted and reviled, (for many

1 Pet.iv.15.

may thus justly "suffer as thieves, as murderers, evil-doers, busy-bodies," and receive little joy or blessedness in that,) but to those peculiarly that are true Christians. And that either 1. for some good action wherein their Christianity and the testimony of a good conscience is concerned; as when men are reviled or persecuted because they will not either totally forsake and apostatize from Christ, or in any particular occurrent offend against Him, or whom some such Christian performance brings this consequent persecution or reproach upon them. Or 2. for some indifferent sinless action, which though it be not done in necessary obedience to Christ, yet bringing unjust persecution or reviling falsely upon them, may, though in an inferior degree, belong to this matter: and in that case the persecution that so falls on them will be thought to be permitted by our wise and good God, and disposed or ordered by Him for our beatitude, i. e. for the

[x] διωγμός.

benefit of us as Christians; either as a chastisement of our other sins, that we may not be condemned with the world, or as a means of trial whether we will bear it patiently and christianly. SECT. I.

S. Wherein doth the present felicity of such consist?

C. 1. In having their evil things in this life, that so all their good things, their reward, may remain on arrear, unpaid till another life. 2. In the honour and dignity of suffering for Christ's sake. 3. In conformity with the ancient prophets and champions of God in all ages. 4. In the comfort that proceeds from this evidence and demonstration of our being true Christians; for that is the meaning of "yours is the kingdom of heaven," i. e. the state of Christians, or the true Christian state. It being a Christian aphorism, that God "chastens every son," and that the good things that are made good to Christians here, shall be "with persecution." 5. In this pledge of God's favour to us, in that we are "thought worthy to suffer shame for His name." 6. In the assurance of a greater reward hereafter, proportioned to our sufferings here. The present felicity of the persecuted. Heb. xii. 7. Mark x. 30. [Acts v. 41.]

S. What is the reward hereafter, apportioned to this?

C. A greater degree of glory in heaven. The future.

S. You told me, at your entering on the beatitudes, that I was no further to believe myself a Christian, than I should find all and every of these graces in me to which these beatitudes are prefixed: this I can without difficulty acknowledge for all the former, and resolve I am no further a Christian, than I am poor in spirit, mourning, meek, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, merciful, pure in heart, and peaceable; but the last sticks with me, and I cannot so easily assent to that, that I cannot be a Christian unless I be persecuted and reviled: I pray clear that difficulty to me.

C. I shall, by saying these four things to you. 1. That though to be persecuted is no duty of ours; yet, i. to bear it patiently, and ii. to rejoice in it when it befalls us, and iii. that it be for righteousness' sake, when it lights upon us, is our duty, required of all Christians. 2. The very being persecuted, though it be not a duty again, is yet a mark and character of a Christian; and the Scripture doth seem to affirm, that no good Christian shall ever be without his part in it. And it will be hard for any to find out one holy man that hath How this a token of a true Christian. Heb. xii. 6, &c.

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passed through his whole life without this portion. 3. If it shall not be so general a rule but it be resolved capable of some exception, i. e. if some good Christians be found which are not persecuted, yet still the preparation of mind for this endurance is necessary to every Christian. 4. The being persecuted shall contribute much to the increase of our glory, and so may still be said necessary respectively, though it should not be affirmed absolutely, to the attaining of that degree of glory: and therefore this is placed after all the rest, as a means of perfecting and consummating the Christian, that as the former seven are necessary to the attaining a crown at all, so this to the having so rich a crown, or so many gems in it.

Of the order of these beatitudes.

S. Is there any thing now which from the order of these beatitudes you would think fit to teach me?

C. Yes, especially two things. First, That the grace first named is a general principal grace, which is the foundation of all the rest. Where that is once seated and planted, all the rest will more easily and more happily follow. Humility is the seed-plot of all, and from thence it is most proper to proceed, 1. to mourning, or sorrow for sin; the humble heart is a melting heart: 2. to meekness and quietness of spirit; the humble heart is the next degree to that already: 3. to hungering and thirsting after righteousness; the humble heart will most impatiently desire both pardon of sin, that first kind of righteousness, and grace to sanctify, that second kind of righteousness: 4. to mercifulness; the humble heart will be most ready to give and forgive: 5. to purity of heart; the humble heart is most irreconcileable with all filthiness both of the flesh and spirit, but especially the latter, of which, pride, a chief particular, is the direct contrary to humility: 6. to peaceableness; contention being generally the effect of pride: 7. to persecution and reviling, i. humility being apt to tempt the proud worldling to revile and persecute: ii. being sure to work patience of them in the Christian.

S. What is the second thing that from the order you observe?

C. The interchangeable mixture of these graces; one toward God, and another toward man, thus interwoven, that the first respects God, the next man, the next God again,

and so forward till it comes to the last, which respects God again. For having told you that the first is a general fundamental grace, as the head to all the rest; it follows that the second, that of mourning, must be the first particular, which being fastened particularly on sin, respecteth God, against whom we have sinned; then next to that, meekness respecteth our neighbour especially; and thirdly, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, which is all to be had from God, respecteth God; mercifulness again respecteth man; purity in heart, God; peaceableness, man; and lastly, persecution for righteousness' sake, and patience of it, as coming from a consideration and belief of God's provident disposal of all things, respecteth God again. So that you see the first and the last respecteth our duty toward God, who is Alpha and Omega, the first and the last; and those between, divided between our neighbour and God. That so we may resolve, that to God belongs the chief, and first, and last of our love and obedience; yet so as not to exclude, but require also in its subordination our care of duty and love toward man also; one intermixing lovingly and friendly with the other, and neither performed as it ought, if the other be neglected. SECT. II. [Rev. xxii. 13.]

S. I conceive you have now concluded the explication of the first part of this sermon; God give me grace to lay all the severals to heart. What is the sum of the second branch or section in it?

C. It consists of the four next verses, to wit, ver. 13, 14, 15, 16, and the sum of them is, the necessity that the graces and virtues of disciples, or Christians, should be evident and exemplary to others also, i. e. to all heathens and sinners, and all indefinitely which may be attracted by such example. This is enforced by resemblances: 1. of salt, which as long as it is salt, hath a quality of seasoning other things to which it is applied; 2. of the sun, that is apt to illuminate the dark world; 3. of a city on a hill, which is conspicuous; 4. of a candle set in a candlestick, which giveth light to all that are in the house. By all which He expresses, that those graces are not to be accounted Christian, which either, 1. do not bring forth fruits, and so remain but dull habits, useless possessions, or 2. which are not made exemplary to others. SECT. II. Christians must be exemplary.

S. But sure all this belongs to ministers and men in

LIB. II. eminent place only; they are the salt of the earth, and light of the world; not to every private Christian.

C. Yes, to every private Christian; for such are the disciples to which Christ here speaks, the same auditors continuing to every part of the sermon, and so the duty of exemplary lives is in some measure required of every of them, who before were bound to be meek or peaceable, &c., i. e. as it is apparent ver. 1, of all those that are entered into the school of Christ: not only Apostles, (whose successors the governors of the Church now are, for as yet there were none such, the Apostleship or solemn mission, the instating that authority on His disciples, which was to continue in their successors, being not yet begun at the time of Christ's speaking these words, nor till after His resurrection, or rather His ascension,) but, I say, all disciples, that is, all Christians that undertake to follow Christ, and expect any good by Him.

John xx. 21. Acts ii. 4.

S. What then is the meaning of this necessity that the Christian's graces must be evident and exemplary?

C. It is this: 1. That a Christian must not content himself in doing what Christ commands, but must also dispose his actions so as may most tend to God's honour, which consists in bringing in many disciples unto Him, and which ought to be as precious to a Christian as the salvation of his soul. Most contrary to which are the practices of those which, professing religion, commit those things which even nature itself and sober heathen reason abhors, such are circumventing of other men, rebellion, sedition, and many times unclean sins, not to be named also, and so bring up an evil report upon Christian religion, defame it in the opinions of men. 2. That he ought to labour the conversion of others, in charity to them, the extending not enclosing of God's kingdom.

SECT. III. *S.* This doctrine is clear, and therefore I will detain you no longer on this section. What is the sum of the next section, which consists of four verses more, 17, 18, 19, 20?

Christ did not abolish,

C. It is in brief the attestation of two great Christian truths.

S. What is the first of them?

C. That Christianity is not contrary to the laws by which mankind had formerly been obliged, is not destructive of them. Christ now commands nothing that the natural or moral law had forbidden, and likewise forbids nothing that

that had commanded: this is affirmed in three forms in this section. First, "He came not to destroy the law and the prophets," i. e. the doctrine designed and taught by them; and it would be a very dangerous error, very noxious to practice, to think He did: "Think not," &c. Secondly, He affirms with an asseveration, that the least letter or "tittle of the law" shall not be destroyed, i. e. lose its obligingness ("till all be fulfilled," we read; it is) 'till all things be done[y],' i. e. till the world be at an end, or, which is the same at the beginning of the verse, though in other words, "till heaven and earth," i. e. this present world, "pass away," or is dissolved. Thirdly, He pronounces clearly that he that affirms any the least commandment of the law to be now out-dated, that not only breaks them himself, but teaches others that they are not obliged to keep them, "he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven," i. e. shall not be accounted a Christian; for so "the kingdom of heaven" frequently signifies in the Scripture, and "to be the least in it," is a phrase that signifies being utterly excluded from it.

SECT. III. ver. 17. ver. 18. ver. 19.

S. What is the second thing?

C. That Christ hath perfected the law, and set it higher than any the most studied doctor did think himself obliged by it formerly. And this is affirmed here also by two phrases. First, "I came not to destroy the law, but to perfect it." The Greek word which we render 'perfect[z]' is answerable to a Hebrew which signifies not only 'to perform[a],' but 'to perfect[b],' 'to fill up,' as well as 'to fulfil;' and so is rendered sometimes by one, sometimes by the other. And the Greek itself is so used in like manner. When it refers to a word or a prophecy, then it is 'to perform,' 'to fulfil.' In other cases it is 'to fill up,' 'to complete,' 'to perfect.' And that it is so in this place, may appear by the ancient Greek fathers, which express it by two similitudes: 1. of a vessel that had some water in it before, but now is filled up to the brim: 2. of a picture that is first drawn rudely[c], the limbs only and lineaments, with a coal or the like; but when the hand of the painter comes to draw it in colours[d] to the life, then it is said to be filled up. Secondly, "That except your righteousness," i. e. Christian actions and

but perfect the law, and set it higher. ver. 17. Proofs of that. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. 1 Mac. ii. 55. Ecclus. xxxiii. 16; xxxix. 12. 2 Chron. xxiv. 10. [ver. 20.]

[y] ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται.
[z] πληρῶσαι. כלה
[a] τελέσαι.
[b] τελειῶσαι.
[c] σκιαγραφία.
[d] ζωγράφησις.

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performances, "exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees," i. e. go higher than that strictest sect of the Jews and the doctors among them thought themselves obliged to, or taught others that they were obliged, 'they shall not pass for Christians here, or prove saints hereafter.' In which words sure He doth not pitch on the name of scribes and Pharisees, peculiarly as those that were the greatest evacuators of the law by their own hypocritical practices or false glosses in some particulars; but the Pharisees as the most exact sect among the Jews, and the scribes as the doctors of the law, and those that knew better what belonged to it than other men; and both together as those that "sat in Moses' chair," i. e. taught there truly, though they practised not, ("they say, but do not,") the doctrine of the Mosaical law in that manner as others were obliged to perform it. This same truth is also farther proved in the remainder of this chapter, by induction of several particulars of the law, first barely set down by Christ, and then with Christ's improvement added to them, in this form of speech, "But I say unto you." And though this be no new doctrine, but affirmed distinctly by most of the ancient, especially the Greek, writers[e], before St. Augustine's time,

Acts xxvi. 5.

Matt. xxiii. 2.

[e] Thus Origen against Celsus saith of Christ's laws, that they are better and diviner than all former laws, [ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅσιον μὲν τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τόπους νενομισμένα λύειν ἐστὶ νόμοις κρείττοσι καὶ θειοτέροις, οἷς ὡς δυνατώτατος ἔθετο Ἰησοῦς. Lib. v. c. 32. tom. i. p. 601.] Justin Martyr. [Epist. supposit. ad Zenam et Serenum, c. 2. p. 409.] τὸ [γὰρ ἔτι] κατὰ φύσιν βιοῦν οὐδέπω πεπιστευκότος ἐστί· "to live according to nature is the part of one that hath not yet believed." Irenæus, "Christ did not dissolve those parts of the law which were from the law of nature, but extended them and also filled them up." Where 'to fill up' is more than 'to extend,' and in that notion is set opposite to Christ's words of 'destroying the law,' Matth. v. [17.] So again, "His law is the plenitude and extension of the former." Again, "the laws under Christ are extended above what they were, and our subjection increased." And again, "that Christ doth fill up, extend, and dilate the law:" and that whole chapter is wholly spent on that purpose, shewing abundantly what Christ meant by πληρῶσαι, not 'fulfilling,' as that signifies in our ordinary phrase, 'performing the former laws,' though Christ did that also, but 'filling it up, increasing it, adding to it.'

[Et quia] Dominus naturalia legis [per quæ homo justificatur, quæ etiam ante legisdationem custodiebant qui fide justificabantur et placebant Deo,] non dissolvit sed extendit, sed et implevit, [ex sermonibus ejus ostenditur. *Dictum est enim*, inquit, *antiquis, Non mœchaberis: Ego autem dico vobis quoniam omnis qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, jam mœchatus est eam in corde suo.* Et iterum *dictum est, Non occides. Ego autem dico vobis, omnis qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa, reus erit judicio.* Et *dictum est non perjurabis. Ego autem dico vobis, Non jurare in totum. Sit autem vobis sermo, Etiam, etiam, et non, non.* Et quæcunque sunt talia. Omnia enim hæc non contrarietatem et dissolutionem præteritorum continent, sicut qui a Marcione sunt, vociferantur;] sed plenitudinem et extensionem [sicut ipse ait; *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plus quam scribarum et Pharisæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum.*

and thus far acknowledged by all parties, that Christ required more of His disciples, i. e. of Christians now, than

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Quid autem erat plus? Primo quidem non tantum in Patrem sed et in Filium ejus jam manifestatum credere: hic est enim qui in communionem et unitatem Dei hominem ducit. Post deinde non solum dicere sed et facere. Illi enim dicebant sed non faciebant: et non tantum abstinere a malis operibus sed etiam a concupiscentiis eorum. Hæc autem non quasi contraria legi docebat, sed adimplens legem et infigens justificationes legis in nobis. Illud autem fuisset legi contrarium, si quodcunque lex vetasset fieri, id ipsum discipulis suis jussisset facere. Et hoc autem quod præcepit, non solum vetitis a lege sed etiam a concupiscentiis eorum abstinere, non contrarium est quemadmodum prædiximus, neque solventis legem, sed] adimplentis et extendentis et dilatantis. [Etenim lex, quippe servis posita, per ea quæ foris erant corporalia, animam erudiebat velut per vinculum attrahens eam ad obedientiam præceptorum, uti disceret homo adservire Deo. Verbum autem liberans animam, et per ipsam corpus voluntarie emundari docuit. Quo facto necesse fuit auferri quidem vincula servitutis quibus jam homo assueverat, et sine vinculis sequi Deum;] superextendi vero decreta libertatis et augeri subjectionem [quæ est ad Regem ut non retrorsus quis revertens indignus appareat ei qui se liberavit: eam vero pietatem et obedientiam, quæ est erga patremfamilias, esse quidem eandem et servis et liberis, majorem autem fiduciam habere liberos, quoniam sit major et gloriosior operatio libertatis quam ea quæ in servitute obsequentia. Et propter hoc Dominus pro eo quod est *Non mœchaberis*, nec concupiscere præcepit et pro eo quod est, *Non occides*, neque irasci quidem, et pro eo quod est decimare, omnia quæ sunt pauperibus dividere; et non tantum proximos sed etiam inimicos diligere, et non tantum bonos datores et communicatores esse, sed etiam adversus eos qui tollunt nostra, gratuito donatores. *Tollenti* enim *tibi tunicam* ait *remitte ei et pallium: et ab eo qui tollit tua non reposcas: et quemadmodum vultis ut faciant vobis homines facite eis*, ut non quasi nolentes fraudari contristemur, sed quasi volentes donaverimus, gaudeamus, gratiam magis præstantes in proximos quam necessitati servientes. *Et si quis te*, inquit, *angariaverit mille passus vade cum eo alia duo*, uti non quasi servus sequaris, sed quasi liber præcedas, aptum te in omnibus et utilem proximo præstans: non illorum malitiam intuens sed tuam bonitatem perficiens, configurans temetipsum Patri qui solem suum oriri facit super malos et bonos, et pluit super justos et injustos. Hæc autem omnia, quemadmodum prædiximus, non dissolventis erant legem, sed adimplentis et extendentis et dilatantis in nobis; tanquam si aliquis dicat majorem libertatis operationem et pleniorem erga liberatorem nostrum infixam nobis subjectionem et affectionem. Non enim propter hoc liberavit nos, ut ab eo abscedamus; nec enim potest quisquam extra dominica constitutus bona, sibimet ipsi acquirere salutis elementa: sed ut plus gratiam ejus adepti, plus eum diligamus. Quanto autem plus eum dilexerimus, hoc majorem ab eo gloriam accipiemus, cum simus semper in conspectu Patris. Quia igitur naturalia omnia præcepta communia sunt nobis et illis, in illis quidem initium et ortum habuerunt, in nobis autem augmentum et adimpletionem perceperunt.—S. Iren., iv. c. 27. p. 313.]

So Clemens Alexandrinus [Strom. iii. p. 461 sqq.] hath a great deal of Christ's "renewing the law being grown old," *καὶ οὐκ ἔτι συγχωροῦντος*, "not permitting those things any longer which had been before permitted," but leading His disciples *ἀπὸ τῆς προβιότητος ἐκείνης*, [Strom. ii. p. 386 A.] "from that prelusory life of nature to those higher mysteries." So Athenagoras, in his embassy or message to Antoninus and Commodus, opposes against all the precepts of the lawyers and philosophers of all former ages, this one dogma or precept of Christ, *ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς*, "love your enemies," challenging them all to compare with Christ in that one piece of Christianity. So St. Basil, [Hom. Supposit. in Ps. xiv. tom. i. p. 356 A.] "As," saith he, "the old law saith, 'Thou shalt not kill,' so the Lord Christ, *τελειότερα νομοθετῶν*, 'giving more perfect laws,' saith, 'Thou shalt not be angry,'" &c. So the author of those Constitutions which go under Clemens Romanus' name, and are acknowledged to be very ancient, [*Τόν τε γὰρ φυσικὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν ἀλλ' ἐβεβαίωσεν . . . οὐ νόμον οὖν περιεῖλεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ δεσμὰ . . .* Const. Apost., lib. vi. c. 23. p. 353.] So Constantine the emperor in Zosimus,

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the Jews by any clear revelation had been convinced to be necessary before, which is in effect as much as I shall desire

lib. ii. [?] calls Christ's law, *νέαν παιδείαν*, "the new discipline." Macarius, Hom. xxxvii. p. 196, *νόμον πνευματικὸν*, "a spiritual law," opposed to the natural. But most clearly St. Chrysostom [in Ep. ad Rom. Hom. xii.,] who calls the sermon on the mount, *ἄκρον τῆς φιλοσοφίας*, "the top of philosophy:" *καὶ γὰρ ἐν* [*τῇ*] *καινῇ νόμοι μυρίοι καὶ περὶ πολλῶν μειζόνων* [*πραγμάτων*], "in the New Testament," saith he, "there are a many laws, and of many higher or greater matters," to which he applies that of Christ, John xv. 22, "If I had not come, and spoken to them, they had had no sin;" whence it is clear that it was his opinion that some things were prohibited by Christ's coming and speaking, which he that practised before, either had no sin, or was not in so great measure guilty of it. So again, that Christ's giving of laws was *πλήρωσις καὶ ἐπίτασις*, "a filling up and extending of the old," and that this was the reason why Christ meddled not with all the precepts of the decalogue, because, saith he, He resolved not *πάντας αὐξῆσαι*, "to increase all." [Hom. xvi. in Matt. tom. 7. p. 206.] Again, he saith, that it was now *μειζόνων ἐντολῶν καιρὸς*, "a season of greater precepts." So [Hom. xii. in Ep. ad. Rom., tom. ix. p. 547 B.] *οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ κεῖται* [*τοῖς*] *παλαιοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν σκάμματα*, "the ancients and we have not the same goals proposed to us:" and so on, in a most clear place, fit to be entirely transcribed, or, instead of that, consulted in the father. So Theophylact compares Christ with the law, as "the painting to life," *ζωγράφησις τελεία*: to the *σκιαγραφία*, or "drawing in black and white on first lineaments," and "that Christ did not destroy the first draught, but rather fill it up." [*καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἐπλήρωσε τὸν νόμον, τούτεστιν ἀνεπλήρωσεν· ὅσα γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐσκιαγράφησε, ταῦτα οὗτος τελείως ἐζωγράφησεν· ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὴ φονεύσῃς, οὗτος τὸ μηδὲ θυμωθῇς εἰκῇ· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος οὐ καταλύει τὴν σκιαγραφίαν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀναπληροῖ·* Theophyl. in Matth. c. 5. tom. i. p. 25.] So again, "to love friends," saith he, "is an imperfect thing, but to love all is perfect, or a high degree of perfection:" [*τὸ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς δῆθεν φίλους, τοὺς δὲ μισεῖν, ἀτελές ἐστι· τέλειον δὲ τὸ πάντας ἀγαπᾶν.* ib. p. 30.] Again, "that the precepts of the law are such as are agreeable to sucklings and children, which it will be a reproach to men not to have exceeded." [*ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θηλάζειν τοῖς μὲν παιδίοις ἁρμόζει τοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσιν αἰσχύνη.* ib. p. 29 D.] So Œcumenius, [tom. i. p. 286.] "We have not now the same precepts in the New which we had in the Old Testament, but new commands and more philosophical," i. e. of deeper and higher importance for the regulating of men's lives. "For," saith he, "killing was forbidden of old, anger also is forbidden us:" and so of swearing, distinctly: "it was not then universally unlawful, but now after Christ it is, for Christ hath said, 'But I say unto you, swear not at all.'" [*οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ ἐπιταττόμεθα, ἅπερ οἱ πάλαι ἐν τῷ γράμματι, ἤτοι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καινὰ καὶ νέα παραγγέλματα καὶ φιλοσοφώτερα ὡσεὶ εἶπεν ἵνα δουλεύωμεν τοῖς νέοις τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιταγεῖσι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἀρχαίοις τὸ μὴ φονεύειν, ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι· ἐκείνοις μὴ μοιχεύειν, ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ μηδὲ περιέργως ὁρᾶν ἐπιτέτακται.* Vide Œcum. in Epist. Jac. tom. ii. p. 476 D.] *οὐκ ἦν πονηρὸν τότε, μετὰ δὲ Χριστόν ἐστι πονηρὸν . . μὴ γὰρ ὅλως ὀμνύειν. . .*The same is affirmed by St. Basil in the forecited place, [p. 355 E. *ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἡ*] *εὐορκία συγχωρεῖται* [*ἐν τοῖς τῷ τελείῳ πρέπουσιν ἀνδραγαθήμασιν,*] *ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ παντελῶς ἀπηγόρευται,* "swearing truly is permitted under the law, but under the gospel it is universally forbidden," i. e. some kind of oaths which are there permitted, are here universally prohibited, as for example, swearing by others beside God. And so both St. Chrysostom and Theophylact also. [Vide Chrysost. in loc., and Theophyl. in Matth. tom. i. p. 29.]

So among the Latins, Tertullian, "that Christ's law is an addition of necessary supplements to the law of the Creator." [Novam plane patientiam docet Christus etiam vicem injuriæ cohibens, permissam a creatore oculum exigente pro oculo et dentem pro dente: contra, ipse alteram amplius maxillam offerri jubens et super tunicam pallio quoque cedi. Plane hæc Christus adjecerit ut supplementa consentanea disciplinæ Creatoris.—Adv. Marc., lib. iv. c. 16. p. 525.] Again, "Christ added His rules of patience for a help to enlarge and fill up the law," "because that had formerly been wanting to the doctrine of righteousness," "for patience was not as yet on the earth because faith was not," i. e. Christianity

to have granted: yet I have thought good to confirm it yet further to you, because it is the foundation of a great weighty

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brought that high pitch into the world with it. And after a great deal more he comforts the law of Moses for the loss of its ceremonies &c., and tells it that it had found more in Christ than it lost. [Ita fides patientia illuminata quum in nationes seminaretur per semen Abrahæ quod est Christus et gratiam legi superduceret,] ampliandæ adimplendæque legi adjutricem suam patientiam præfecit, quod [ea sola] ad justitiæ doctrinam retro defuisset. [Nam olim et oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente repetebant, et malum malo fœnerabant,] nondum enim patientia in terris quia nec fides, [scilicet interim impatientia occasionibus legis fruebatur. Facile erat absente Domino patientiæ et magistro, qui postquam supervenit et gratiam fidei patientia composuit, jam nec verbo quidem lacessere nec fatue quidem dicere, sine judicii periculo licet. Prohibita ira, restricti animi, compressa petulantia manus, exemptum linguæ venenum: plus lex quam amisit invenit, dicente Christo *Diligite inimicos vestros et male-dicentibus benedicite, et orate pro persecutoribus vestris, ut filii sitis Patris vestri cœlestis.*—De Patient., c. 6 p. 163. So again, ad Scap., p. 85: Hæc est perfecta et propria bonitas nostra: "this is a goodness perfect and proper to us Christians." Amicos enim diligere omnium est, inimicos solorum Christianorum: "it is every man's part to love friends, only the Christian's to love enemies." Again, "Christ preserved and increased the laws of God the Creator, by filling them up." [Simul et cetera dubitatione liberavit, manifestando unius esse et Dei nomen et optimi, et vitam æternam et thesaurum in cœlo et semetipsum, cujus] præcepta supplendo et conservavit et auxit. —[Adv. Marc., iv. c. 36. p. 563.] So again, "some things in the New Testament are prohibited by a higher precept; instead of 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' 'He that looketh,'" &c. [Sic et Apostolus: *Itaque lex quidem sancta est et præceptum sanctum et optimum:* utique non mœchaberis. Sed et supra, *legem ergo evacuamus per fidem? Absit, sed*] *legem sistimus* scilicet in his quæ et nunc Novo Testamento interdicta etiam cumulatiore præcepto prohibentur. Pro Non mœchaberis, *Qui viderit* [*ad concupiscentiam jam mœchatus est in corde suo;* et pro Non occides, *Qui dixerit fratri suo, Raca, reus erit Gehennæ.*—De Pudicit., c. 6. p. 720.] So St. Jerome on Matth. concerning oaths. "This was allowed before or permitted to the Jews as to little ones; the gospel-truth doth not permit it." [Et] hoc quasi parvulis [fuerat lege] concessum ut [quomodo victimas immolabant Deo, ne eas idolis immolarent, sic et jurare permitterentur in Deum: non quod recte hoc facerent sed quod melius esset Deo id exhibere quam dæmonibus:] evangelica autem veritas non recipit [juramentum, quum omnis sermo fidelis pro jurejurando sit.— S. Hieron., in Matth., lib. i. c. 5. tom. vii. p. 30 D.]

So St. Austin, de Serm. in monte, lib. i., where having proposed a double sense of fulfilling the law, he insists only on the latter, viz. that Christ fulfilled the law by adding "what was deficient," "and so by perfecting confirmed it:" "for while those things are done which are added, those things are much more done which were permitted for their initial state." Then upon that verse, "Unless your righteousness exceed" &c., he explains it thus, "Unless you fulfil not only those things which men perform in that initial state, but also those which are added by Me, who came not to loose but to fulfil, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." And again on that passage, "He that shall do and teach these least commandments, shall be called great," it is not, saith he, to be understood "according to those least things under the law, but to the least of those precepts which Christ meant to deliver them." "And what are they?" saith he, and answers, "that your righteousness exceed," &c.

[In hac sententia sensus duplex est; secundum utrumque tractandum est. Nam qui dicit, *Non veni solvere legem sed implere*, aut addendo dicit] quod minus habet, [aut faciendo quod habet: illud ergo prius consideremus, quod primo posui. Nam qui addit quod minus habet, non utique solvit quod invenit, sed magis] perficiendo confirmat [et ideo sequitur et dicit, *Amen dico vobis, donec transeat cœlum et terra, iota unum aut unus apex non transiet a lege donec omnia fiant.*] Dum enim fiunt etiam illa quæ adduntur ad perfectionem, multo magis fiunt illa quæ præmissa sunt ad inchoationem. [Quod

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superstructure, by two things; 1. by one other remarkable place of Scripture, 2. by some reasons which the fathers have given for the doing of it.

S. What is that remarkable place of Scripture?

[1 John i. 1—5.]

C. In the first epistle of St. John, prefaced and brought in with more magnificent ceremony than any one passage of Scripture. "That which was in the beginning," &c.: "That which we have seen and heard," &c.: and, "These things write we:" "This then is the message." All which are remarkable characters set upon that which follows, shewing it to be the sum of the whole gospel, or doctrine of Christ;

autem ait, *Iota unum aut unus apex non transiet a lege*—nihil potest aliud intelligi nisi vehemens expressio perfectionis, quando per litteras singulas demonstrata est: inter quas litteras iota minor est ceteris quia uno ductu fit; apex autem est etiam ipsius aliqua in summo particula. Quibus verbis ostendit in lege ad effectum etiam minima quæque perduci. Deinde subjicit, *Qui enim solverit unum de mandatis istis minimis et docuerit sic homines, minimus vocabitur in regno cœlorum.* Mandata ergo minima significantur per unum iota et unum apicem. Qui ergo solverit et docuerit sic, id est secundum id quod solvit, non secundum id quod invenit et legit, minimus vocabitur in regno cœlorum: et fortasse ideo non erit in regno cœlorum, ubi nisi magni esse non possunt. *Qui autem fecerit et docuerit sic,* hoc est qui non solverit et docuerit sic, secundum id quod non solvit, *magnus vocabitur in regno cœlorum.* Qui vero magnus vocabitur in regno cœlorum, sequitur ut etiam sit in regno cœlorum, quo magni admittuntur: ad hoc enim pertinet quod sequitur; *Dico enim vobis, quia nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam scribarum et Pharisæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum:* id est,] nisi non solum [illa minima legis præcepta] impleveritis quæ inchoant hominem, sed etiam ista quæ a me adduntur qui non veni solvere legem sed implere, [non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum. Sed dicis mihi, si de illis mandatis minimis cum superius loqueretur, dixit minimum vocari in regno cœlorum quisquis unum eorum solverit et secundum suam solutionem docuerit; magnum autem vocari quisquis ea fecerit et sic docuerit, et ex eo jam in regno cœlorum futurum esse quia magnus est: quid opus est addi præceptis legis minimis, si jam in regno cœlorum potest esse quia magnus est quisquis ea fecerit et sic docuerit? Quapropter sic est accipienda illa sententia, *Qui autem fecerit et docuerit sic, magnus vocabitur in regno cœlorum:* id est non] secundum illa minima, sed secundum ea quæ ego dicturus sum. Quæ sunt autem ista? Ut abundet justitia, [inquit, vestra super scribarum et Pharisæorum: *quia nisi abundaverit, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum.* Ergo qui solverit illa minima et sic docuerit, minimus vocabitur: qui autem fecerit illa minima, et sic docuerit non jam magnus habendus est et idoneus regno cœlorum: sed tamen non tam minimus quam ille qui solvit: ut autem sit magnus atque illi regno aptus, facere debet et docere, sicut Christus nunc docet, id est ut abundet justitia ejus super scribarum et Pharisæorum. Justitia Pharisæorum est ut non occidant; justitia eorum qui intraturi sunt in regnum Dei, ut non irascantur sine causa; minimum est ergo non occidere, et qui illud solverit minimus vocabitur in regno cœlorum: qui autem illud impleverit ut non occidat, non continuo magnus erit et idoneus regno cœlorum, sed tamen ascendit aliquem gradum; perficietur autem si nec irascatur sine causa: quod si perfecerit multo remotior erit ab homicidio. Quapropter qui docet ut non irascamur, non solvit legem ne occidamus, sed implet potius ut et foris dum non occidimus, et in corde dum non irascimur, innocentiam custodiamus.—S. Aug., De serm. Dom. in monte, lib. i. cap. 8, 9. § 20, 21. tom. iii. p. 2. pp. 173, 174.]

These few may suffice to give some sight of the sense of antiquity on this point

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and it is this, "that God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all." Which words so ushered in, you will easily believe have somewhat more in them than at the first sound, taken alone, they would seem to have, and this sure it is; that now under the gospel, Christ, this light, appears without any mixture of darkness. Light is the state and doctrine of Christianity; darkness, of sin and imperfection, and such as was before among Jews and heathens, which is referred to by the phrase, "If we walk in darkness," i. e. live like Jews or heathens: and therefore to be light without all mixture of darkness, is to be perfect without all mixture either of sin or of imperfection; which you will not think fit to affirm of God, or Christ under the gospel, in respect to Himself, (for that were to conceive that He had not been so before,) but in respect of His law and commandments, the rules of men's lives, that they had before some indulgence for some sins, and where they had not so, yet that they had some mixture of imperfection, but now they have none; they had before some vacuities in them, which now are filled up by Christ.

ver. 6.

S. What reasons do the fathers give for this?

Grounds of it.

C. These especially: because 1. Christ under the gospel gives either higher or plainer promises than He did before; the promises of eternal life are now as clear as those of a temporal Canaan had been before to the Jews. 2. Because He gives more grace now to perform them than before He had done. The law given by Moses was a carnal law, i. e. weak, not accompanied with strength to perform what it required; but the Gospel of Christ is "the administration of the spirit," i. e. a means to administer the spirit to our hearts, to enable us to do what He commands us to do: and then, as the father said, "Lord, give me strength to do what Thou commandest, and command what Thou listest;" if so Christ strengthens me, I am surely able to do all things, having that sufficiency from God.

S. If this be true, that Christ now requires more than under nature or Moses had been formerly required, at least fully revealed to be required; how then is our Christian burden lighter than the Jewish formerly was? In these things it is heavier rather.

Wherein the lightness of the Christian's burden consists.

C. It is made lighter by Christ in taking off that unpro-

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fitable burden of ceremonies, that had nothing good in them, and yet were formerly laid on the Jews: lighter again in respect of the greater revelations, and effusion of grace, now under Christ, than was allowed before, the increasing of which above the proportion of the burden, is consequently, in effect, the lessening of the burden. Which two things being supposed, the adding of these perfections to the law, which are all of things gainful and profitable, and before, even by those that either were not, or thought not themselves obliged by them, acknowledged to be more excellent and more honourable than the other, will not in any reason be counted the increase of a burden, for no man will be thought oppressed by that he gains by, but the gainful yoke will be a light one, though it be a yoke. And 2. as long as He gives strength, His commandments, whatever they are, cannot be grievous.

Matt. xi. 30.

1 John v. 3.

S. But sure it were not difficult to find in the Old Testament the same or equivalent commands to every of those that follow here; how then can Christ be said to have improved them?

The glimmerings of this light in the Old Testament.

C. Some glimmerings perhaps of this light there were before, as gospel under the law: but these either 1. not universally commanded to all under threat of eternal punishment, but only recommended to them that will do that which is best, and so see good days, &c., or 2. not so expressly revealed to them as that they might know themselves thus obliged. And yet if any will contend, and shew as universal plain obliging precepts there as here, I shall be glad to see them, and not contend with him, so he will bring the Jews up to us, and not us down to the Jews: for that is the only danger, which I have all this while used all this diligence to prevent.

S. One question more I shall trouble you with in this matter, whether these superadditions of Christ in the rest of the chapter may not be resolved to be only counsels of perfection, which to do, is to do better, and not commands, which not to do, is a sin.

Christ's superadditions are commands all.

C. The following superadditions are all commands, and not counsels only; Christ delivering these now in the same manner as Moses did that other before; Christ in a mount, as he in a mount; His saying, "I say unto you," a form of

command, as that phrase, "God spake these words and said," a form of it; and the breach of these new sayings threatened with judgment and hell fire, and imprisonment irreversible, and casting into hell, &c. in the ensuing words. All which signify them, sins which must be accounted for sadly by a Christian, and not only failings, or falling short of perfection. SECT. III. Exod. xx. 1.

S. How many sorts of these new commandments are there in this ensuing chapter?

C. Six; 1. concerning killing, 2. adultery, 3. divorce, 4. perjury, 5. retaliation, 6. loving of neighbours. In each of which, Christ, to shew that He "came not to destroy, but to fill up," or 'perfect,' "the law," first rehearses the old law, and thereby confirms it, and then annexeth His new law to it. Six sorts of them.

S. That we may with understanding proceed to this matter, I must first desire you to tell me what is meant by this phrase in the front of the first of these, "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time." SECT. IV. ver. 21.

C. "Ye have heard" signifies 'you have been taught,' and that out of the Word of God, or books of Moses: "said by them of old time" seems to be ill translated, and therefore is mended in the margins of our Bibles "to them," i. e. 'to the Jews your ancestors.' And that this is a denotation of the law of the decalogue given to them Exod. xx. you will have little reason to doubt, if you observe that the three severals to which these words are prefixed, being omitted in the rest, in some part, are three distinct commandments of the decalogue, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt not forswear thyself, or take God's name in vain," as anon you shall see. As for the other three, of divorce, of retaliation, of loving neighbours, and hating enemies, which have not that entire form or phrase prefixed, but some other different from it, they are not commands of the Mosaical law, but permissions or indulgences allowed the Jews, but now recalled, and denied Christians. The style of the old commandments.

S. The first of these being the sixth of the law, I must first desire you to explain unto me, and tell me what was forbidden by it under the law. SECT. V. Of killing.

C. The first and principal thing is the shedding of man's blood, by way of killing, or taking away his life, God only, who gave us life, having power to take it away again.

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S. What then is to be thought of the magistrate's taking away the life of a capital offender? Is not that forbidden by that law?

C. God having sole power over the life of man, may without doubt take it away by what way He pleaseth, either immediately by Himself, or by any man whom He appoints to execute His will. Thus you know might Abraham kill his son, when God bade him; because though Abraham had not power over his son's life, yet God had: and this bidding Abraham kill him, is not any thing contrary to this law, which only forbids man to do it, but doth not forbid God. Gen. ix. 6. In the like manner, God having commanded the murderer's blood to be shed by man, and thereby instated the power of the sword on the magistrate, (who, by whomsoever he should be supposed to be chosen to be magistrate, by God, or the people, hath that power of the sword given him immediately from God, the people having not singly this power over their own lives, and therefore not able to give it any other,) not only permits him and makes it lawful for him thus to punish malefactors, but also commands and requires him so to do, as His "minister to execute wrath." And so the word 'Thou' in the commandment must here be resolved to signify the man of himself, without power or commission from God; which yet he that hath it must exercise justly, according to the laws of God and man, or else he breaks the commandment also: this commission being not given to him absolutely and arbitrarily to use as he list, but according to defined rules in the Scripture "He that sheds man's blood," &c., which was given not to the Jews, but to all the sons of Noah, and according to the laws of every nation, which being made by the supreme power, who by the ordinance of God "bears the sword," may afterwards be justly executed by such subordinate magistrates as are "sent by Him for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well."

Of the power of the sword.

Rom. xiii. 14.

Rom. xiii. 4.

1 Pet. ii. 14.

Of self-murder.

S. May not a man in any case kill himself?

C. He may not, having no more power over his own life than any other man's; and how gainful soever death may seem to any, yet is he to submit to God's providence, and to wait, though it be in the most miserable, painful, wearisome

life, till God please to give him manumission and deliverance out of it. SECT. V.

S. What is to be said of Samson, who killed so many by pulling away the pillars, and involved himself in the same destruction? [Judges xvi. 30.]

C. He was a judge in Israel; and such in those days, and particularly him, did God ordinarily move by His Spirit to do some extraordinary things: and it is to be imagined, that God incited him to do this; or if He did not, he were not to be excused in it. in Samson:

S. What is to be said of those that rather than they would offer to idols in the primitive Church, did kill themselves, and remain still upon record for martyrs?

C. If the same could be affirmed of them which was conceived of Samson, that God incited them to do this, they should by this be justified also: but having under the gospel no authority to justify such pretence of divine incitation, it will be safest to affirm that this was a fault in them, which their love of God, and fear that they should be polluted by idols, was the cause of; and so though it might as a frailty be pardoned by God's mercy in Christ, yet sure this killing themselves was not it that made them martyrs, but that great love of God, and resolving against idolatrous worship, which testified itself in that killing themselves for that cause. This it was that made them pass for martyrs, and that other incident fault of theirs was not in that case thought so great as to divest or rob them of that honour. in some primitive Christians.

S. What is meant by that which follows the mention of the old commandment in this place, "Whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of judgment?"

C. The word rendered "the judgment" signifies a court of judicature, or assize of judges, who sat in the gates of every city, and had cognizance of all greater causes, and particularly of that of homicides. The number of these judges was ordinarily twenty-three: and so though it be not annexed to that commandment, yet from the body of the Mosaic law, Christ concludes, that against killing the sentence of death by the sword (for that was the punishment peculiar to that court) was to be expected. The punishment of murder. Deut. xvi. 18. Exod. xxi. 12. Levit. xxiv. 17. Deut. xix. 11, 12. Exod. xx.

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S. But was nothing else forbidden in the law by that commandment but killing?

C. That was the prime especial matter of it, but by way of reduction other things which are preparatory to this, or offences of this nature, but of a lower degree. As 1. mutilating or maiming any man's body; 2. wounding him, which may possibly endanger his life; 3. entering into, or accepting, or offering of duels, wherein I may kill, or be killed, in which case, whichsoever it prove, I am guilty of murder. Nay, if by the equality of fortune both come safely off, yet the voluntary putting myself on that hazard is guilt enough for a whole age's repentance and humiliation; to consider what had become of me, if without repentance I had thus fallen a murderer of myself and my fellow-Christian also.

Of duels.

S. May no injury or affront be accounted sufficient to provoke me to offer or challenge to a duel?

C. None imaginable: for that injury, whatever it is, if it be a real one, of a considerable nature, will be capable of legal satisfaction, and that must content me; private revenge being wholly prohibited by Christ. Or if it be such that the law allows no satisfaction for, that is an argument that it is light and inconsiderable; and then sure the life of another man, and the danger of my own, will be an unproportionable satisfaction for it.

The utter unlawfulness thereof.

S. Well, but if another send me a challenge, may not I accept of it? especially when I shall be defamed for a coward if I do not?

C. Certainly I may not; the law against killing restrains me. And for that excuse of honour, 1. It is most unreasonable that the obedience to God's commands should be an infamous thing. And then 2. if so impious a custom hath prevailed, I must yet resolve to part with reputation, or any thing, rather than with my obedience to God. Nay 3. you may observe that there are two sorts of cowardice, much differing the one from another; the one proceeding from fear of being beaten or killed, the second from fear of hurting or killing another. The most valiant despiser of dangers may be allowed to have a great deal of the second of these, and will certainly have as much of it as he hath either of good nature or religion; and that will restrain duels as much as

the other. And might this but pass, as sure it deserves, for an honourable and creditable thing, the fear of the other kind of discredit would work little upon us. For the world is now generally grown so wise, that a man may without any dishonour fear being killed or hurt; and even to run away from such dangers, being very imminent, is creditable enough. The unluckiness of it is, that the other honest kind of fear, that of hurting or killing another, is become the only infamous thing, the only cowardice that is counted of. For the removing of which, you may observe, 4. that in a reasonable estimation of things, he that for the preserving of his reputation shall venture to disobey God, is sure the greatest coward in the world: he is more fearful of disgrace and ignominy in this world, than any pious man is of violating the laws of natural reason, of offending God, or of incurring the flames of eternal hell. SECT. V.

S. But what am I to do in case a challenge be sent or offered to me?

C. I am, first, in conscience toward God, to deny it, whatever the consequents may be: secondly, to offer a full satisfaction for any either real or supposed injury done by me, which hath first provoked the challenger: thirdly, as prudently as I can, to signify, and by my actions testify the truth of that, that it is not the fear of dying, but of killing, not cowardice, but duty, which restrains me from this forbidden way of satisfying his desire.

S. But what if all this will not satisfy him, but he will still thirst my blood, and accept of no other satisfaction, but assault me, and force me either to deliver up my own life, or try the uncertainty of a duel?

C. The utmost that in this extreme case can be lawful I shall define to you by setting before you an example which I have met with. Two persons of quality meeting in a public place, the one passed an affront upon the other; the other bare it patiently in that presence, but after sent him a challenge: he sent him a meek return of acknowledgment of his fault, and readiness to give him any other satisfaction that should be thought on to wipe off the injury: the other will not accept any other: he keeps his chamber, and for a long time useth all care not to meet him in any place which would

The utmost that can be lawful in this matter.

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be seasonable for fighting, and still offers tender of satisfaction. At length it falls out that they meet in a place where this could not be avoided. The challenger sets upon him: the other draws in his own defence, wounds him lightly; having done so, desires again that this may end the quarrel, or offers any other satisfaction: the challenger will not consent, assaults again, is killed; and so the tragedy concluded with the loss of the chief actor's life. That the survivor did any thing, except the first affront, unlawful in all this, all circumstances considered, I cannot affirm; no man being bound to spare that other man's life which he cannot spare without parting with his own. I conceive this may satisfy the utmost of your scruples in this matter, if I tell you that this case, taken with all the circumstances, is the only one I can give you wherein one of the two duellers may be innocent. And you will be apt to deceive yourself, if you seek to find out other cases, and think to justify them by this.

S. But is there nothing else reducible to the prohibition of murder?

Oppression.

C. Yes, fourthly, oppression of the poor, and not giving relief to those that are in extreme distress, according to that of the son of Sirach, "The poor man's bread," either that which he hath, or that which in extreme want he craves of thee, "is his life, and he that deprives him of it is a murderer." Fifthly, the beginnings of this sin in the heart, not yet breaking forth into action, as malice, hatred, meditating of revenge, wishing mischief, cursing, &c. All these are reducible to this commandment, as it was given in the law.

[Ecclus. xxxiv. 21.]

S. Is there yet any thing else thus reducible?

Of war.

C. One thing more there is, and that is war, the consideration of which is full of great difficulties. For though all unjust war be simply forbidden under the sixth command of the law, and it be evident enough that some wars are unjust, as that of subjects seditiously raised against the supreme power in any state, that of one prince or nation invading another for the enlarging of their dominion or territories, &c., and though indeed there be but few wars but sin against this commandment, and in those few that do not, yet there be many actors in them, auxiliaries, stipendiaries, &c., which have no lawful call to take part in that trade of

killing men, for so only have they that do it in obedience to their lawful magistrate: yet still it is apparent that some war is lawful; as that which hath had God's express command, and that which is for the repressing of seditions and rebellions, and betwixt nation and nation, for the just defence of themselves, and the repelling of violence. But this last head of wars being that wherein the greatest difficulties lie, will not be so proper for this place as for another which we shall meet with, that of "not resisting of evil." And therefore to that place we shall refer it; as also that of private war, or fighting in case of assault. SECT. V. Some lawful. ver. 39.

S. I shall then count off that debt, and not require payment till that time cometh, but proceed to demand what Christ hath added to this letter of the Mosaic law thus explained?

C. It is clearly answered in these words, "But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause," &c., to the end of that verse. Wherein there be three things forbidden by Christ. First, causeless or immoderate anger, going no farther than the breast. Secondly, the breaking out of this anger into the tongue, but somewhat moderately: "Whosoever shall say, Raca." Thirdly, a more violent raising or assaulting him with that sword of the tongue that anger hath unsheathed: "Whosoever shall say, Thou fool." Of causeless or immoderate anger, in the breast.

S. What do you mean by the first of these?

C. That anger which is either without any, or upon light cause, or, being upon any the justest and weightiest cause, exceeds the degree and proportion due to it: and this again in either kind aggravated by the duration and continuance of it. And the Greek word here used is a denotation of every of these.

S. For the understanding of this, I desire first to know, whether any anger be just or no in respect of the cause; and if so, what?

C. St. Paul's advice of being "angry and not sinning," though it refer there peculiarly to the not continuing or lasting of wrath, "Let not the sun go down on thy wrath," doth yet imply that some wrath may be lawful in respect of the cause; for otherwise the non-continuance of it would [Eph. iv. 26.]

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not justify it from sin. The most justifiable causes of anger are, 1. when it proceeds from sorrow that God is provoked; anger conceived for God's sake, without reflection on ourselves: 2. when it is conceived for virtue's sake, to see that neglected, despised, and the rules of it violated: 3. when for other men's sake; still without reflection on ourselves or any interest of ours. And each of these not in light trivial matters neither, but in matters of weight: and so the causeless anger is that which arises upon slight, or no causes, or those wherein our own interests are concerned: which though they may be causes, are not justifiable causes of anger in us.

Causes of anger.

Mark iii. 5.

S. Having this direction from you to understand causeless anger, I shall easily answer myself for the other two circumstances which make it fit for Christ to prohibit it: as first, when it is immoderate and exceeds the degree and proportion due to it, which I confess may be done even when the cause is just; and secondly, when it continues beyond the length of a transient passion; when, as the Apostle saith, the sun is permitted to go down upon our wrath. But, I pray, what is meant by that phrase which is by Christ here repeated, and again applied to this causeless anger, as before to killing, "shall be in danger of the judgment?" Sure it is not that He thinks it fit that every Christian that thus offends should by the magistrate be put to death, as even now you interpreted those words.

Immoderate.

Lasting anger.

In danger of judgment.

C. The meaning is, that the wrathful man in another world shall be subject to punishment as the murderer is here: i. e. that wrathfulness being so contrary to that meekness, patience, humility, required now by Christ, and being, as Solomon intimates, an effect of pride and haughtiness, is to be accounted of as an unchristian sin; which unless it be mortified here by the grace of Christ, will cost us dear in another world; though not so dear as the second and third mentioned in this verse. The punishment of that court of judicature being the sword, or beheading; which, though it be heavy enough, is not yet so great as the two other which are after named.

Prov. xxi. 24.

S. This of causeless anger being thus clearly forbidden by Christ, and yet that that even good Christians are so subject

to fall into; what means will you direct me to, to mortify or subdue it? SECT. V.

C. First, a conviction of the danger and sin of it: not flattering ourselves that either it is no sin, or such as with our ordinary frailties shall have its pardon of course; but 1. such as lieth here under a heavy penalty particularly denounced against it by Christ; and 2. that which is most directly opposite to those graces of humility, meekness, patience, peaceableness, bearing with one another, and forgiving one another, &c., which is required most strictly by Christ of His disciples, i. e. of all Christian followers of Him. Secondly, a consideration of the unreasonableness of that sin, which is, 1. very unjust, being causeless or immoderate; 2. very much against what I would have done to me either by my brother, (it being a very painful, uneasy thing to be under another's wrath, especially when ill words or blows are joined with it, and that which nobody would be under, if he could help it,) or by God Himself, whom I so oft displease, and would be sorry if He should be wroth with me, even when justly He might. Thirdly, the labouring against that bitter root of pride in my heart, of which this is so necessary and infallible an attendant. Fourthly, the reflection upon myself, if it were possible in time of that passion, or else immediately after, when I come to myself again out of that drunkenness of soul, and considering how ill-favoured a hateful thing it is; how like a tiger, a bear, or any the furiousest beast, rather than man, it makes him; what a deforming of me it is, putting me out of all that posture of civility that in time of sobriety I choose to appear in: yea, and what a painful agony it was when I was under it. Fifthly, the considering how at such time we are out of our own power, and so apt to fall into those oaths, acts of fury, indiscretions, revealing of secrets, disadvantageous expressions, &c., in a few such minutes, which a whole age of repentance will not repair again. Sixthly, a sober vow or resolution never to permit myself to fall into so inconvenient and dangerous a sin; that when I find it coming upon me, I may restrain it by remembering that this was it that I thought fit to vow against. Seventhly, a watching over myself continually, that I be not taken unawares. Eighthly, abstaining carefully from the

Means to subdue anger.

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least indulgence to any beginnings of it; it being easier to keep from any first degree of it, than yielding to that, to restrain the farther and higher degrees. Ninthly, avoiding temptations and provocations as much as I can, and so the company of those who are subject to that sin, or the employments and conversations which incline me to it. Tenthly, labouring with God in prayer for grace to mortify this in me. Eleventhly, diverting, in time of temptation, with some particular repeated ejaculations to God to suppress at that time any such exorbitant affection in me. Many other conducible means you will be able to suggest to yourself.

In the tongue, saying, Raca.

S. What is the second thing here forbidden?

C. Saying to his brother, Raca, i. e. when anger breaks into contumelious speeches[f]; such are the calling him 'empty, despicable, witless fellow;' for the word Raca is a Hebrew word, and signifies 'vain' or 'empty.' This, though not the highest kind of contumely, is yet greater than the former, and therefore is here expressed by the punishment apportioned to it, greater than the former, as much as stoning is a sorer death than beheading; for that is the meaning of "he shall be in danger of the council:" the council signifying the Sanhedrim, or the supreme and great senate, where the ordinary punishment was stoning. And so the meaning is, this is a greater sin, and so to expect a greater punishment than the former.

S. What is the third thing forbidden here?

Thou fool.

C. Saying, "Thou fool," i. e. when wrath breaks out into most virulent railings, all sorts of which are here intimated by this one word; and this being a greater sin or aggravation of causeless anger than the former, is here described by the third kind of punishment: which though it were not in any legal court of judicature, was yet well enough known among the Jews: not under the name of 'hell fire,' as we render it by a mistake, because those torments in hell are in other places described by these, but of 'the valley of Hinnom[g].'

Hell fire.

[f] Thus Minerva in Homer, when she forbids Achilles striking Agamemnon, gives him leave to reproach him, and give him contumelious words:

ἀλλ' ἄγε λῆγ' ἔριδος μηδὲ ξίφος ἕλκεο χειρί.
ἀλλ' ἤτοι ἔπεσιν μὲν ὀνείδισον, [ὡς ἔσεταί περ.]—Hom. Il. α. [210.]

which shews the pitch of Christ's divine precepts here, above that of the heathen goddess.

[g] גי הנום

SECT. V.

The meaning of which is this—without the city of Jerusalem, in the valley of Hinnom, there was a place where the Jews sometime, in imitation of the Phœnicians, used a most cruel, barbarous kind of rites, burnt children alive, putting them in hollow brazen vessels, and so by little and little scalding them to death; where because the children could not choose but howl hideously, they had timbrels perpetually sounding to drown that cry, and therefore it was called Tophet, from a word signifying 'timbrels[h],' and is described by the prophets of the Old Testament. This punishment taking denomination from the place, that valley of Hinnom is called here in Greek[i] by a word little differing in sound from the Hebrew, and that word in the New Testament, and ordinarily in sacred writers, Greek and Latin, yea, in the ancient Hebrew writings[k], is set to signify 'hell fire;' because this was the best image or expression of those torments conceived there, that their knowledge or experience could represent to them. And so is here fitly made use of to express the greatest sin in this kind, by the greatest punishment that they could understand. For indeed, above the sword and stoning, there was no punishment in use in the Jewish courts of judicature, (the burning among them being not that which is in use among us sometimes, of burning alive, but the thrusting of an iron red hot into their bowels, which made a quick despatch of them,) and therefore to ascend to the description of a third superlative degree of sin, our Saviour thinks fit to use that mention of the punishments in the valley of Hinnom.

Isa. xxx. 33.

S. You have by this plenteous discourse on this word prevented my doubt, which would have been whether the last only, of these sins, and not the two former, make a Christian liable to hell fire: for now I perceive the thing meant by that word is that torture in the valley of Hinnom. And that used to express a third greater degree of punishment in another world answerable to that third degree of sin, and that nothing else is to be collected from it. I shall only trouble you with one scruple in this matter, and that is, whether all kind of calling Raca, or 'fool,' i. e. all contumelious speaking, of a greater or lesser degree, be such a sin, punishable in a Christian in another world.

Of contumelious speaking.

[h] תפית [i] γέεννα. [k] גי הנום

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C. I shall answer you, first, by interposing one caution observable in these words: it is not all using of those or the like words which here is set down under that sad character, but that which is the effect and improvement of causeless immoderate anger; for you see they are here set as higher degrees of that. And therefore, secondly, those speeches that proceed from any thing else, particularly when they are spoken by those to whom the office and duty of chastising others belongs, as masters, teachers, superiors, in any kind, nay, perhaps equals too, who in charity are obliged to reprove their neighbour, and not to suffer sin on him, and by them are first done to that purpose that they may by these goads wake them out of a lethargy of sin; and again, secondly, are done seasonably, so as they are in prudence most likely to work a good effect; and thirdly, upon great and weighty causes; and fourthly, without seeking any thing to themselves, either the venting of inordinate passion, or the ambition and vanity of seeming severer than others, or so much better than those whom they thus reproach; these all this while are not subject to this censure or danger. And of this nature you may see in the New Testament these severals. "O vain man," i. e. literally, 'Raca:' "Ye fools and blind," spoken by Christ; and again, "Ye fools," "O foolish Galatians;" and "Are ye so foolish?" Which is directly the other expression, "Thou fool," which now you will see and discern easily (if you consider the affection of the speakers) to be out of love, not causeless inordinate passion, and so not liable to the censure in this text. But then thirdly, there is little doubt but that all detraction, censoriousness, backbiting, whispering, (that so ordinary entertainment of the world to busy ourselves when we meet together, in speaking all the evil we know, or perhaps know not, of other men,) is a very great sin here condemned by our Saviour, and upon His advertisement timely to be turned out of our communication, as being most constantly against the rule of doing as I would be done to; no man living being pleased to be so used as the detractor useth others.

James ii. 20. Matt. xxiii. 17, 19; Luke xxiv. 25. Gal. iii. 1. ver. 3.

S. I beseech God to lay this to my heart, that by His assistance I may be enabled to suppress and mortify this inordinate passion, that my nature hath such inclinations

unto; to that end, to plant that meekness, and patience, and humility, and charity in my heart, that may turn out this unruly creature; to arm me with that continual vigilance over myself, that it may not steal upon me unawares; but especially to give me that power over my tongue, that I may not fall into that greater condemnation. But I see you have not yet done with this theme; for before our Saviour proceeds to any other commandment, I perceive He buildeth somewhat else on this foundation in the four next verses, "Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar," &c. Be pleased then to tell me, 1. how that belongs to this matter; and 2. what is the duty there prescribed? SECT. V.

C. For the dependence of that on the former, or how it belongs to it, you will easily discern, if you remember that old saying, "that repentance is the only plank to rescue him that is cast away in the shipwreck[1]." Our Saviour had mentioned the danger of rash anger and contumelies, &c.; and because through human infirmity He supposes it possible that disciples or Christians may thus miscarry, He therefore adds the necessity of immediate repentance and satisfaction after it.

S. What is the duty there prescribed?

C. It is this. 1. Being "reconciled" with the brother, and "agreeing with the adversary," i.e. using all means to make my peace with him whom I have thus injured. For the word 'be reconciled[m]' signifies not here 'to be pacified towards him,' for he is not here supposed to have injured thee, for if he had the anger would not be causeless: but 'to pacify him,' 'to regain his favour,' and thus the word is used in the Scripture dialect in other places, confessing my rash anger and intemperate language, and offering any way of satisfaction, that he may be moved to forgive me, and be reconciled to me; which till he do, I am his debtor,—in his danger to attach me, as it were, to bring me before the judge,—and he to deliver me to the bailiff or sergeant, and he to cast me into prison, &c., i. e. this sin of mine unretracted by repentance will lie Of reconciliation. ver. 24, 25.

[1] Pœnitentia unica est post naufragium tabula. [The application usually made of this passage is not according to the sense of the original, where the author is speaking of sins prior to baptism. The words are: Eam tu peccator mei similis, immo me minor, ego enim præstantiam in delictis meam agnosco, ita invade, ita amplexare ut naufragus alicujus tabulæ fidem.—Tertull. de Pœnit., c. 4. p. 142. See the note on the passsage in the Oxford Translation.]

[m] διαλλάγηθι.

very heavy upon my score; and without satisfaction to the injured person, will not be capable of mercy or pardon from Christ: which danger is set to enforce the duty. The second part of the duty is, that the making this our peace is to be preferred before many other things, which pass for more specious works among us; as particularly before voluntary oblations, which are here meant by "the gift brought to the altar," such as those of which the law is given, Lev. i. 2. Not that the performance of this duty is to be preferred (being a duty to my neighbour) before piety, or the duties of true religion toward God; but before the observation of outward worship, sacrifices, oblations, &c.; "Mercy before sacrifice." And that those offerings that are brought to God with a heart full of wrath and hatred, will never be acceptable to Him. Our prayer, expressed by "lifting up of holy and clean hands," must be "without wrath;" or else (like the fast, "Ye fast for strife and debate," and "the long prayers," when "the hands were full of blood") it will be but a vain oblation in God's account, like Cain's, when he resolved to kill his brother.

Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7.

1 Tim. ii. 8.

Isa. lviii. 5.

Isa. i. [15.]

S. Is there any thing else you will commend to me out of these words before we part with them?

Of the time of calling ourselves to account for trespasses.

C. Yes, 1. That the time immediate before the performing of any holy duty, of prayer, of oblation, of fasting, of receiving the sacrament, &c., is the fittest and properest time to call ourselves to account for all the trespasses and injuries we are guilty of toward God and men; "If thou bring thy gift, and there rememberest." That, it seems, is a season of remembering. 2. That though the not having made my peace with those whom I have offended make me unfit for any such Christian performance, and so require me to defer that till this be done, yet can it not give me any excuse to leave that Christian performance undone, but rather hasten my performance of the other, that I may perform this also. He that is not yet reconciled, must not carry away his gift, but "leave it at the altar," and "go and be reconciled," and then "come back and offer his gift." He that is not in charity, or the like, and so unfit to receive the sacrament, must not think it fit or lawful for him to omit or neglect that receiving, on that pretence, or if he do, it will be a double guilt, but

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must hasten to recover himself to such a capacity, that he may with clean hands and heart thus come to God's table, whensoever he is thus called to it. 3. That a penitent reconciled sinner may have as good confidence in his approaches to God, as any; "then come." 4. That the putting off or deferring of such businesses as these, of reconciliation, satisfaction, &c., first, is very dangerous; and secondly, the danger of it past reversing when it cometh upon us. And 5. that there is no way to prevent this, but in time of life and health, quickly, instantly to do it; the next hour may possibly be too late. "Agree quickly, whilst thou art in the way." That the punishment that expects such sinners is endless, indeterminable: the "till thou hast paid" is not a limitation of time, after which thou shalt come out, any more than "she had no children till she died" is a mark or intimation of her having children after death, but a proposal of a sad payment which would never be finished and discharged; the paying of it would be a doing for ever.

SECT. V.

ver. 24. ver. 25, 26. ver. 26. [2 Sam. vi. 23.]

S. I thank you for these supernumerary meditations. I hope they shall not be cast away upon me. I shall detain you no longer here, but call upon you to proceed to the next period, which I see to begin in like manner with a commandment of the old law, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" and the same introduction to it which was to the former, "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time," which, by what I before learnt of you, I conclude should be 'to them of old time,' or to the ancient Jews. I shall propose no more scruples in this matter, but only crave your directions for the main, what you conceive forbidden here in that old commandment?

SECT. VI. Of adultery.

Exod. xx. 14.

C. As in the former, God by Moses restrained all the accursed issues of one kind of sensuality, that of anger[n]; so in this place of the other, this of lust[o]. And naming the chief breach of this kind, that of adultery, i. e. lying carnally with a married woman, he forbids also all other acts of uncleanness which are not conjugal. Thus have some of the Jews themselves interpreted the word which is used in the decalogue, and so in the Scripture and good authors, and in common use, adultery and fornication[p] are

The several forbidden under that head.

[n] θυμός. [o] ἐπιθυμία. [p] μοιχεία, πορνεία.

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taken promiscuously to signify all manner of uncleanness, of what kind, or in what manner soever committed: of which though some kinds seem to have been permitted the Jews, yet this permission is not to be conceived to extend any farther than the benefit of legal impunity, not that they were lawful or without turpitude. And that some other kinds of them which tended not to the multiplying of that people, as polygamy did, were by their law severely punished, you shall see Deut. xxii. 22—30; but more severely by God Himself, Num. xxv. 8. So that under the letter of that old commandment are contained not only the known sins of adultery and fornication, but all other kinds of filthiness, mentioned Rom. i. 24, 26, 27, 29, where there are four words that seem to contain all sorts of it under them; 'fornication[q], villainy[r], immoderate desire[s], naughtiness[t]:' and so again, 'uncleanness, fornication, lasciviousness;' and 'adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, and idolatry.' Which last word in that and other places seems a word meant on purpose to contain all such kind of unclean sins under it, because they were so ordinary in the idolatrous mysteries of the heathens; most of the rites and secrets of their religion being the practice of these filthy sins. So Eph. iv. 19, and v. 3; in both which places, as also before, the word there rendered 'covetousness[u]' in the three latter, and 'greediness' in the first, signifies that irregular desire, and so those heathenish sins which (here also, Col. iii. 5.) are called idolatry[x]. I would not give you any more particular account of these sins, which are not to be named, but desire God to fortify you with all care and vigilance against them, grounded in a sense and hatred and detestation of them, as of the greatest reproach to your nature, grievance to the Spirit of God, defamation of Christianity, wherever they are to be found, and as sins of such a nature, that as they have had the fiercest of God's judgments revealed against them, many cities and nations remarkably destroyed for them, so when they are once in any kind indulged to, they are apt to break out into all baseness and vileness, and are therefore called by St. Peter, "abominable idolatry."

2 Cor. xii. 21. Gal. v. 19. Rom. i. 29. Col. iii. 5. 1 Pet. iv. 3.

S. The good Lord of all purity, by the power of His sancti-

[q] πορνεία. [r] πονηρία. [s] πλεονεξία. [t] κακία. [u] πλεονεξία.
[x] See [the author's] tract of idolatry, [sect. 23 sqq. p. 254.]

fying grace, preserve me from all such taints, to be a temple of the Holy Ghost. But what else is reducible to this commandment of the law? SECT. VI.

C. 1. All desires of these sins consented to, although they break not out into act. 2. All morose thoughts, i. e. delaying, dwelling or insisting on such thoughts, fancying of such unclean matters with delectation. 3. The feeding my lust with luxurious diet, inflaming wines, &c., or other such fuel and accentives of it, &c. Reducible to it.

S. What now hath Christ added to this old prohibition?

C. You have it in these words: that "whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." Of looking on a woman to lust.

S. What is the meaning of that?

C. That he that so 'looks' &c., first, signifies his heart[y] to be adulterous, though himself be not, through want of opportunity, &c.; secondly, that he shall by Christ be censurable as the adulterer under the law.

S. But what is the full importance of looking on a woman to lust?

C. It is not only 'to look' to that end that I may 'lust,' as some are willing to interpret here, by this means making 'looking' to be sinful only in order to that end, that 'lusting,' without designing of which they conceive the 'looking' itself will be no fault, but either to look so long till I lust, or else to satisfy my lust (though not with the yielding to the corporal pollution, yet) so far as to feed my eye, to gaze, to dwell on the beauty of other women. As in the law the fastening the eyes on an idol, considering the beauty of it, is, saith Maimonides, forbidden, and not only the worship of it. I shall give it you in the language of the fathers who have thus interpreted it: "He that stands and looks earnestly[z];" Theoph. "He that makes it a business to look earnestly upon gallant bodies and beautiful faces, that hunts after them, and feeds his mind with the spectacle, that nails Lev. xix. 4.

[y] [Ut jam servaris bene corpus,] adultera mens est;
[Nec custodiri si velit illa potest.
Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia claudas;
Omnibus occlusis,] intus adulter erit.—Ovid. [III. Am. iv. 5.]

[z] [*τούτεστιν ὁ ἱστάμενος καὶ περιεργαζόμενος, καὶ ἀνάπτων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέπειν, καὶ πάλιν βλέπων πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸ κακὸν ἀπήρτισεν ἤδη ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.* Theophylact. ad loc., tom. i. p. 28 A.]

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his eyes to handsome faces[a];" St. Chrys. And again, "Not he that desires that he may commit folly, but looks that he may desire[b]." And again, "God hath given thee eyes, that seeing the creature, thou mayest glorify Him and admire Him[c]." And the use or employing them any other ways than this, is an abuse. An example of this we have in the two wicked elders, who being denied the farther enjoying of their [Sus. 32.] lusts, command "to uncover her face, that they may be filled with her beauty." And there is mention of the like in 1 Esd. iv. 19. another apocryphal author, "gape, and even with open mouth fix their eyes fast on her;" and "Gaze not on a maid," (the Ecclus. ix. 5, 8. Greek reads it, 'look not on her[d],') as if thou wert a learning her, "lest thou be ensnared by her complexion," or colour, or beauty in her cheeks; for so I suppose the right Ecclus. xli. 21, 22. reading imports[e]. So again, "gazing upon" (the Greek signifies 'contemplating[f]') "another man's wife," and "a curious earnest beholding his maid;" for so the word there rendered, 'being over busy with her[g],' seems rather to signify, and is used by the fathers to express the very thing we now speak of: and so it is 1 Tim. v. 13, and Ecclus. xlii. 12, "Look not earnestly on any man for beauty[h]." As therefore there was an 'immoderation[i]' and fault in anger, so in looking. "If," saith Chrysostom, "thou wilt look and be delighted, look upon thine own wife, and love her continually; but if thou lookest after other beauties[k], thou dost both wrong her (letting thy eyes rove otherwhere) and thou wrongest her whom thou lookest on, meddling with her ille-

[a] ὁ βλέπων, or as St. Chrysostom reads it, ὁ ἐμβλέψας γυναικὶ [πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτεστιν ὁ ποιούμενος ἔργον τὰ λαμπρὰ σώματα περιεργάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰς εὐμόρφους ὄψεις θηρᾶν, καὶ ἑστιᾶν τῇ θέᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ προσηλοῦν τὰ ὄμματα τοῖς καλοῖς προσώποις. S. Chrysost. Hom. xvii. in Matt., tom. vii. p. 223.]

[b] [οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς εἶπεν ὃς ἂν ἐπιθυμήσῃ· ἐπεί ἐστι καὶ ἐν ὄρεσι καθήμενον ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι· τοῦτεστιν ὁ ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν συλλέγων, ὁ μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος τὸ θήριον ἐπεισάγων ἠρεμοῦντι τῷ λογισμῷ. Ib. p. 223.]

[c] [οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτό σοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἵνα διὰ τούτων μοιχείαν εἰσαγάγῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοῦ τὰ κτίσματα βλέπων θαυμάζῃς τὸν δημιουργόν.—Ib. p. 224.]

[d] μὴ καταμάνθανε.

[e] ψιμυθίοις, not ἐπιτιμίοις.

[f] κατανόησις.

[g] περιεργία.

[h] ἐρωτικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε, καὶ τὸ κάλλος περιειργάσατο. Niceph. Basil. διηγ. β' of one that was in love with her father, and durst not let it be known, of whom he saith, ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἐθαλαμηπόλει τὸν ἔρωτα, "she bedded her love in her heart, it being very dangerous to let it out;" the very thing which is called the committing adultery in the heart.

[i] εἰκῆ.

[k] ἀλλότριον κάλλος. Ecclus. ix. 8; so ver. 9. μετὰ ὑπάνδρου γυναικὸς μὴ κάθου τοσύνολον, "Sit not at all with a woman that hath a husband."

gally: for thou touchest her not with thy hand, yet with thy eyes thou dost[1]." To this St. Peter refers, "eyes full of adultery;" there being an adulterous look as well as an adulterous embrace; the former forbidden by Christ, as well as the latter by Moses. SECT. VI. 2 Pet. ii. 14.

S. I had not thought this prohibition of Christ had been so severe, but seeing it is the opinion of the ancient fathers, that the words are thus to be interpreted, and that the feeding of the eye, yielding to satisfy that with unlawful objects, the beauty of any but our own wives, and the stirring up of fire within, which is apt to be kindled by that means, is here forbidden, I shall no longer doubt of it, but resolve, and with Job "make a covenant with my eyes, that I will not behold a maid," i. e. please myself with the contemplation of her beauty; much less indulge myself the liberty of any farther degrees of this kind, any of those dalliances that are so ordinary among men or women, and are either effects of lust already inflamed, or else provokers and inflamers of it: and the Lord give me grace to make good this resolution. But then if it be a fault thus to behold, will it not be so also in the woman that is thus beheld, as the patient in adultery sins as well as the agent, especially if she take as great pleasure in that, and deck and set herself out to that end that she may be thus looked on? [Job xxxi. 1.]

C. St. Chrysostom[m] answers that question also, That it is a great fault, and a kind of adultery in that woman, that thus not only exposes and prostitutes herself to the eyes of men, but so dresses and sets herself out, and calls to her the eyes of all men; if she strike not, wound not others, she shall yet be punished, for she hath mixed the potion, prepared the poison, though she hath not given the cup to drink; yes, and hath done that too, though none be found that will drink of it. It seems a piece of Christian chastity there is required of women in this kind, that is not generally thought of.

[1] [*εἰ γὰρ βούλει ὁρᾷν καὶ τέρπεσθαι, ὅρα τὴν σαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, καὶ ταύτης ἔρα διηνεκῶς, οὐδεὶς κωλύει νόμος, εἰ δὲ τὰ ἀλλότρια μέλλεις περιεργάζεσθαι κάλλη, κἀκείνην ἀδικεῖς ἀλλαχοῦ μετεωρίζων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ ταύτην ἣν εἶδες, ἀπτόμενος αὐτῆς παρανόμως· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ ἥψω τῇ χειρὶ, ἀλλ' ἐψηλάφησας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς.*—S. Chrys., Hom. xvii. in Matt. tom. vii. p. 224.]

[m] [*ὡς εἴ γε τις καλλωπίζοιτο, καὶ καλοῖ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοὺς τῶν ἁπάντων ὀφθαλμοὺς, κἂν μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, δίκην δίδωσι τὴν ἐσχάτην· τὸ γὰρ φάρμακον ἐκέρασε, καὶ τὸ κώνειον κατεσκεύασεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν κύλικα προσήγαγε· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὴν κύλικα προσήγαγεν εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ὁ πίνων εὑρέθη.*—Ib., p. 225.]

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Of the eye and hand offending.

S. I shall trouble you no longer with this matter, only I desire to know, what the two other verses in this period, of 'the eye and hand offending thee,' have to do in this place.

C. They are the preventing of an objection, after this manner: upon the giving of that severe prohibition, men will be apt to object, O, but it is hard not to love that which is beautiful, and not to behold what is loved. To this foreseen objection He answers beforehand; It is hard and unpleasant indeed, but more unpleasant sure to be a frying in hell. It were better to pluck the very eye out of the head, to cut off the hand, even that which were most useful and honourable, than to be cast into hell. Much more when that is not required, to cut off, or pull out those members, but only to turn away the eye from the alluring object, to keep the hand from immodest touches and dalliances: "Nay," saith Chrysostom, "this is a most mild and soft precept; it would have been much more hard, if he had given command to converse with, and look curiously on women, and then to abstain from farther commissions of uncleanness with them[n]."

S. But what hath the hand to do with that business of looking?

C. The mention of it is by way of analogy or reduction to that former precept, and doth imply that that former prohibition of looking is to be extended to all other things of the like nature; all libidinous touches, &c. And whosoever abstains from the grosser act, and yet indulgeth himself such pleasures as these with any but his own wife, sins also against this law of Christ.

SECT. VII.

Of divorce.

S. Shall we now hasten to the third law here mentioned? It is about divorce. What was the state of this business under the law?

C. The ten commandments mention nothing of it, and therefore you see the proemial form is changed; not as before, "Ye have heard that it hath been said to them of old," the character of the commandments, but only, "It hath been said," which notes that there is somewhat in Moses' writings about it, though not in the ten commandments. And what that is you will see Deut. xxiv. 1—5, to this purpose, that he that hath married a wife, and likes her not for some uncleanness

The permission under Moses.

[n] [Ἴδε ὅσης ἡμερότητος ὁ νόμος γέμει καὶ κηδεμονίας· καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποτομία εἶναι, πόσην ἐνδείκνυται φιλανθρωπίαν.—S. Chrys. Hom. xvii. in Matt. p. 226.]

ness which he hath found in her, he is permitted to give her a bill of divorce, and send her out of his house; and in that case she may marry again: and though her second husband do so too, or die, yet the former husband is not permitted to take her again for his wife. To which that Christ referred, and not to any interpretation of the Pharisees, appeareth, Matt. xix. [8,] and Mark x. [5,] where the Pharisees cite Moses for a testimony to authorize their opinion; and Christ denies not that, but tells them, that "for the hardness of their heart it was given them," and reduces them to the institution of marriage, as that which though it brought not with it then the obligation of a command, yet shewed what was always best, and most acceptable to God; which now Christ by His new law commands distinctly, though it were not so required of the Jews before in that more imperfect state of obedience, "because of the hardness of their hearts," i. e. because they were such an unruly stubborn people, that if they should have been inhibited or restrained from putting away a wife which they liked not, they would have been likely to have killed those hated wives, that so they might have married again: which is intimated in that speech by way of reply to Christ's law, where the very disciples of Christ express their opinion, that it were better never to marry at all, than thus to be bound to a wife; and Christ answers them, not by denying such inconvenience possibly to follow, but by asserting the necessity of marriage to some men, which must make them content to bear with some inconveniences. So again, though that which is said by Moses in point of divorce be called a precept, yet it is but a sufferance, i. e. a precept of permission, or not holding them up to that high pitch of the first institution of marriage: not a commanding, or so much as advising them to put away their wives, in such other cases besides that of fornication, nor indeed wholly freeing the practice from some turpitude; but yet a tolerating, or permitting, or not forbidding them to do so for some time, till the season of more perfect commands should come; and withal a commanding, that when a Jew, contrary to the first institution of marriage, and to that which was always best, shall put away his wife, or refuse to live with her, he shall then give

SECT. VII.

Retrenched by Christ.

Matt. xix. 10.

ver. 11.

Mark x. 4, 5.

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her a bill of divorcement in her hand, which was done in favour to the hated wife, who was free to marry another in this case. This is the brief state of this matter under the Old Testament, nothing in the whole business precept, but only permission, or toleration of such divorces for that time of their more imperfect state, somewhat agreeable also to the peculiarity of God's economy among that people; for the multiplying of whom it is certain that polygamy, or the having more wives than one, was allowed them by God, and practised by the holy men of that nation, and that allowance so continued till the coming of Christ, who, it seems here, reduced all to the first institution of marriage, that the man and the wife "shall be one flesh." Under which, it seems by St. Paul, is contained and intimated the woman's having power of the husband's body, as before the man had over the woman's. This design of multiplying this people exceedingly, might perhaps have some influence on the matter of divorces also, because supposing the husband to have such a vehement dislike to the wife, that he would not be brought to live conjugally with her, it would from thence follow, through the prohibition of the woman's marrying more husbands, which was never permitted any, though the husband might marry more wives, and so would be the more likely to abstain from the loathed wife, when he might have others freely; it would, I say, follow from hence, that unless it were lawful for the husband to give a bill of divorce in this case, the hated wife would be kept from ever having of children by any as long as that husband lived: whereupon it is commanded that in this case, when the husband thus doth vehemently dislike the wife, and cannot or will not bring himself to love or live conjugally with her, "he shall give her a bill of divorce;" which law is indeed particularly in favour of the unfortunate wife, and gives her power to be married to any other except to that former husband, and to the priest, and so is thus far in order to that great end of multiplying that people, which would much be hindered, if every hated wife should be denied this liberty to marry again, and propagate by some other man; which had it not been for that law, she might not have done, but must in this case have remained childless as long as that unkind husband lived.

Matt. xix. 5. 1 Cor. vii. 2—4.

Deut. xxiv. 4. Lev. xxi. 7.

This, I say, makes this law of permitting divorces, and marriages after such divorces, seem to be given by Moses in order to multiplying or propagation. And accordingly is that of Mal. ii. 16. to be rendered, "if thou hatest her, put her away;" in case of vehement dislike, dismiss her by bill of divorce, that so she may marry some other that will be more kind to her.

S. What doth Christ now in His new law in this matter of divorce?

C. He repealeth that whole commandment, and imposeth a stricter yoke on His disciples. For coming now to give more grace than the law brought with it to the Jews, He thinks not fit to yield so much to any considerations, particularly to the hardness of men's hearts, as to allow Christians that liberty, so contrary to the first institution of wedlock, but raiseth them higher to that pitch, which, when it was not commanded, was yet most excellent, and principally approved by God and all good men, and now becomes necessary by being commanded by Him. And therefore now He clearly affirms of all such divorces, that whosoever thus puts away his wife, as the Jews frequently did, causeth her to commit adultery, and he that marrieth her committeth adultery; and if after such divorcement he himself marry again, he committeth adultery, and is in that respect sadly liable. That is, in brief, that the bond of wedlock now under Christ is so indissoluble, that it is not the husband's dislikes which can excuse him for putting away his wife, nor his giving her a bill of divorce which can make it lawful for her to marry any other, nor for any other to marry her, who is for all this bill still indissolubly another man's wife.

Deut. xxiv. 1.

Christ's law concerning divorces.

Matt. xix. 3.

S. But what, is no kind of divorce now lawful under Christ?

C. Yes clearly, that which is here named, in case of fornication, i. e. if the wife prove false to the husband's bed, and take in any other man, it will then be lawful by Christ's law for the husband to give her a bill of divorce, i. e. legally to sue it out, and so put her away. The reason being because of the great inconveniences and mischiefs that such falseness brings into the family; children of another's body to inherit with, or perhaps before, his own, &c. Which sort of reasons it is, together with the dominion of the husband over the wife, that this matter of divorce, now, under Christ, is chiefly

Interdicting them in all cases, but that one of fornication.

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built on, (and not only, as might be imagined, that of the conjugal contract; for that being mutual, would as well make it lawful for the wife to put away the husband, which is nowhere permitted in the Old or New Testament,) this liberty being peculiar to the husband against the wife, and not common to the wife against her husband; because, I say, those family inconveniences do not follow the falseness of the husband as they do that of the wife; and because the wife hath by promise of obedience made herself a subject, and owned him as lord, and so hath none of that authority over him (an act of which, putting away seemeth to be) which he by being lord hath over her.

S. Is there no other cause of divorce now pleadable or justifiable among Christians, but that in case of fornication?

C. I cannot define any, because Christ hath named no other.

1 Cor. vii. 12.

S. But methinks there is a place in St. Paul, from whence I might conclude that Christ hath named some other. For when St. Paul saith that the brother, i. e. believer, having an unbelieving, i. e. heathen, wife, if she be willing to live with him, he must not put her away, he prefaceth it in this manner, "To the rest speak I, not the Lord." Whence I infer that in St. Paul's opinion, Christ had not then said that unbelief was not a lawful cause of divorce: and consequently I conclude that Christ had left place for some other cause beside fornication: and therefore I should guess that the naming of fornication here was not exclusive to all other causes, but only to those that were inferior to it, (and that would make it contrary enough to what was by Moses permitted, to wit, "for every cause,") and that if there should be found any other cause as great as that, it might be conceived, comprehended under that example, named, of fornication: and then I shall be bold to interpose my opinion, that sure, if the wife should attempt to poison or otherwise take away the life of the husband, this would be as insupportable an injury as adultery, and so as fit a cause of a divorce as that.

Matt. xix. 3.

C. You have proposed an objection of some difficulty. I must apply answer to it, by dividing it into parts, and making my returns severally. 1. That in that place, if the words "speak I, not the Lord," did belong to the words immediately

1 Cor. vii. 12.

following, to wit, those which you name, and if those were to be understood of divorce, your collection from thence would be reasonable. But I conceive that they belong not to the case of divorce, but of malicious desertion, either more generally, when one will not live with the other; and then it may be truly affirmed that Christ spake not of that particular, and that the Apostle doth strictly forbid such desertion: or else that they belong to the 15th verse precisely, and so to that particular case of desertion, when the unbeliever will not live with the believer, the heathen particularly with the Christian; and then St. Paul's determination is, that upon her or his departure, the believer, man or woman, shall not be in bondage, i. e. so far enslaved, or subjected, that he or she should do acts prejudicial to their religion, for that end that she may continue with her husband, or he with his wife, and of this it may also truly be said, that Christ had said nothing; and so, "This speak I, not the Lord." If either of these interpretations be acknowledged, then the ground of the whole objection is taken away. And if it be objected again, that by that liberty of St. Paul's, the woman believer, being put away by the infidel husband, is permitted to live continually from him, which seems contrary to Christ's saying, that "he that putteth her away, except in case of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery," for if by that absence from him she be caused to commit adultery, how can it be lawful for her to live from him? To this I answer also, i. that if all this were granted, it would yet be nothing to the present purpose: for it would conclude only against St. Paul's judgment, that he did contrary to Christ's, in giving this liberty; not that Christ had said this, which St. Paul saith He had not said, which is the only thing that this objection was designed to prove. But then ii. that the case here spoken of by St. Paul, being, as was said, the case of malicious desertion, differs from that other of divorce for other causes besides fornication. iii. Though that which St. Paul here saith, be somewhat which Christ hath not said before, and so an example of "I, not the Lord," yet it is not opposite or contrary to what Christ had said: for though Christ say, that he that divorces (not for fornication) "causeth his wife to commit adultery;" yet sure His meaning is only, that as much as in him lies, he causeth

SECT. VII.

Interpreted of malicious desertion.

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Having answered now the first part of your objection, I proceed to the second, and answer, that there were again some reason in the inference, if first, St. Paul had thus affirmed the former, which we have shewed he did not, and secondly, if there could be produced any cause so justifiable for divorce as fornication, in the latitude of the signification, or adultery is. But of this I am persuaded that there can none be produced, because in all considerations none is so great and so irreparable an injury as this, none that repentance can so little set right again, the possibility of which is one great reason why other injuries are not thought fit by Christ to be matter of divorce. For though it be possible some other sins may be as great or greater than adultery, as idolatry, heathenism, for example, yet because this is

° λοιποῖς.

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not so contrary to and destructive of the conjugal state, therefore it is not thought by St. Paul to cause divorce, nor, as appears, by Christ neither, though to cause damnation, which is far greater punishment than divorce, it be abundantly sufficient. As for the having attempted the life of the husband, which leads me to answer the last part of the objection, I shall make no doubt to say, this is not equal to the having committed adultery. For first, it appears that though it was attempted, yet it was not acted, for if it had, that would have made a real divorce indeed, and the attempt, 1. is not so punishable as the act; and 2. it may by repentance be repaired again, and the rest of the life be the more happy and comfortable with such a penitent wife; and this very possibility is considerable. And that which was the reason why the believing husband is advised not to put away the unbelieving wife, "for he knows not whether he may not convert and save the heathen wife by living with her," hath place here also. To this purpose I will tell you a story of a master and servant, which you may accommodate to a husband and wife. Les Digueirs[p], after constable of France, had learned that his man that served him in his chamber was corrupted to kill him: being in his chamber with him, and none else, he gives him a sword and dagger in his hand, and takes another himself, then speaks thus to him; "You have been my servant long, and a gallant fellow, why would you be so base as to undertake to kill me cowardly? here be weapons, let it be done like a man;" and so offered to fight with him. The servant fell at his feet, confessed his vile intention, begged pardon, promised unfeigned reformation. His master pardons him, continues him in place of daily trust in his chamber; he never hath treacherous thought against him after. So you see this crime may be repaired again, and no danger in not divorcing. But then, secondly, if there were danger of being killed still, yet may the inconvenience of living with one who hath been false to the bed be beyond that. "Love is strong as death, jealousy cruel as the grave; the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame," saith Solomon. And if that continual jealousy be thus caused,

The case of the wife's attempting the husband's life.

Not equal to that of adultery. [Cant. viii. 6.]

[p] Vide in the Life of Les Digueirs.

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what a hell is that man's life? and that is far worse than death, especially than the mere danger of it: and beside, if she also have repented of her fornication, and the husband be satisfied that she hath so, yet the disgrace of having been so used, and perhaps the continual presence of a base brat in the family, will be yet more unsupportable than that possible danger of losing a life. For you see how ordinary it is for men to contemn their lives, to endanger, nay, oft actually to lose them, rather than part with reputation, or any such trifling comfort of life, on this maxim of the natural man's, that it is better to die than live miserably or infamously. And though Christianity curb that gallantry of the world, yet still it commands us to contemn life when it comes in competition with obedience to Christ; which here it doth, or may do, if Christ command, as His word affirms He doth, this not divorcing for any kind of cause but fornication. The same might be said in divers other things, where we are apt to interpose the excuse of extreme necessity, i. e. danger of losing our lives, when through any passion or interest we are not inclined to do what God bids us do: where, 1. if we did thus die, it were martyrdom, and that the greatest preferment of a Christian; 2. seeing it is but danger, and not certain death, we may well intrust our lives in God's hands, much more our estates, which are not so near to us, by doing what He bids us; and think them there safest, when so ventured. And so I have satisfied your scruples.

SECT. VIII.

Of swearing.

S. Other scruples in this matter of divorce I think I could make to you; but I hope neither you nor I, by the blessing of God, shall ever have occasion to make use of the knowledge of such niceties. I shall hasten you to that next period, which contains a prohibition so necessary to be instilled into young men, lest the sin get in fashion, and that root so deep in them, that it will not suddenly be weeded out, and that is of swearing. Be pleased therefore after Christ's method in delivering, and yours formerly in expounding, to tell me the meaning of the old commandment, which by the style of the preface, "Ye have heard that it hath been said to them of old time," I collect to be the third of the ten commandments.

SECT. VIII.

The third commandment against perjury.

C. The first part of it, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself," is clearly the third commandment; but the latter part, "But shalt perform to the Lord thine oaths," is taken out of other places of the law, to explain the meaning of the former, and to express it to be, as literally it sounds, against perjury, and, under that head, particularly the non-performance of promissory oaths.

S. But the third commandment is in Exodus, "Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain:" is that no more than "Thou shalt not forswear thyself?" [Exod. xx. 7.]

C. No more undoubtedly in the primary intention of the phrase, if either Christ may judge, who here saith so, or if the importance of the words in the original be observed. For 'to take' or 'lift up the Name of God,' is an Hebrew form or phrase signifying 'to swear;' and the word "vain" and "false" is all one: as 1. the Hebrew writers generally acknowledge, 2. that of "idle word[k]" enforceth, being applied to that not only vain but false speech, "He casts out devils by the prince of devils:" 3. because the very word that is rendered "vain[l]" in the third commandment, is used in the ninth commandment, for, and is so rendered by us, "false witness;" and so "lifting up the soul unto vanity" (that phrase of 'lifting up the soul' referring to that form of 'swearing' by the 'life') is expressed in the next words, "sworn deceitfully." By all which it is clear, that 'to take God's name in vain' is 'to forswear one's self.' And consequently that to that sin of perjury is assigned not only a terrible portion in God's future, slow, but sure retributions, (so great, that among the heathens the torments of hell were thought peculiarly to belong to 'perjured' persons, and the very word which signifies "an oath[m]," is by them turned into the name[n] of that place which avenges the sins of this life,) but even the remarkable strokes of God's hand even in this world, strange open riots and invasions, and ruins on men's estates oft-times, but more often secret strokes of His hand, and blasts of His mouth, cursing, and poisoning, and wasting the estates of those that are

Matt. xii. 36. ver. 24.

Deut. v. 20.

Ps. xxiv. 4.

Punishment of perjury.

[k] ἀργὸν ῥῆμα.
[l] שוא.
[m] ὅρκος.
[n] Orcus. Vide Hesiod. Theog. [231.] ὅρκον θ', ὅς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

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guilty of that sin. This is the importance of that peculiar character set upon that sin in the close of that commandment, "the Lord will not hold him guiltless;" all God's plagues attend, and will infallibly overtake him. You will see it in the emblem of "the flying roll, that entereth into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by God's name; and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof." This 'remaining,' and 'consuming' the whole house with 'the timber' and 'stones,' is no single curse, but that which extends to the blasting and extirpation of whole families; and 'the flying roll' is an intimation of the indiscernibleness, swiftness, fierceness, and unavoidableness of this judgment. And perhaps it would be worth your while to observe this sin abroad in the world, how it is haunted by divine vengeance, and particularly one special part of it, sacrilege, (which is punctually the sin in Zachary, stealing and perjury together, and that heightened by being an invasion of God Himself,) a sin clearly against the first table, (as may appear by St. Paul's joining it with idolatry, as stealing with stealing, adultery with adultery,) and reductively, if not principally, against this of perjury, of which it is a branch, first, by not paying or performing of vows, which is here said to be commanded by that law by which perjury was forbidden, and is broken not only by Ananias' detaining what he himself had vowed to God, but by purloining, or invading, or alienating whatever is by others consecrated to God: secondly, because the Jewish custom being to adjure men, as it is ours to impose an oath, and that adjuration forcing men to speak, and so to swear to any thing so proposed, as appears by Christ and the high-priest, and so the answering falsely upon such an adjuration being as direct perjury as if one had voluntarily taken an oath and violated it; and moreover the consecration of lands, revenues, goods moveable and immoveable to God for the use of those that wait on His service, being ordinarily done with a curse° (such as that in Zechariah's roll, or the Psalmist's prophetic imprecations of Judas) on the sacrilegious invader, and that curse

Zech. v. 4.

Of sacrilege.

Rom. ii. 22.

That sin a branch of perjury.

[Acts v. 2.]

Matt. xxvi. 63, 64.

° Cum anathemate.

SECT. VIII.

a mixture of an imprecation and an adjuration; the consequence is clear, that this sin is very properly reduced to this commandment: and though in respect of many other aggravations of it, it be a breach also of many other commandments, and particularly a contemning of God, a thinking Him so tame as not to revenge such violations that immediately touch His own property; yet in the main part of it, it is a taking of God's name in vain. And then I should be too troublesome to you to shew you the fearful judgments that in this world have attended it, in many hundred illustrious examples, such as would be sufficient to mortify the most ravenous appetite, which alone sets the covetous vulture upon it, by assuring him that every coal thus fetched from the altar will not fail to burn the whole nest; that every prey thus ventured on, will curse and consume the whole heap or treasure, and undo him that meant so to have enriched and raised himself by it. I shall leave you to make up this observation to yourself.

S. But is nothing else reducible to this old commandment?

C. Though swearing simply taken be not reducible, for, besides that the express words of Moses plainly permit it, "Thou shalt swear by His Name," the fathers[p] say plainly, that to swear under Moses was lawful; yet idle, foolish, wanton (sure profane, blasphemous) using of God's name may be resolved to be there forbidden by reduction. Deut. vi. 13, and x. 20.

S. What then hath Christ superadded to the old commandment?

C. A total universal prohibition of swearing itself, making that as unlawful now as perjury was before. Christ's interdict of all swearing

S. Are no kind of oaths lawful now to a Christian?

C. That you may discern this matter clearly and distinctly, you must mark two circumstances in our Saviour's speech. 1. That phrase, "but let your communication," &c., from whence one universal rule you may take, that to swear in ordinary communication, or discourse, or conversation, is utterly unlawful. 2. You must apply our Saviour's prohibition to the particular matter of Moses' law forementioned, and that was peculiarly of promissory, not assertory, oaths; ver. 37. in communication.

[p] Œcumenius [in Epist. Jac., tom. ii. p. 476 D.] &c. [See also note, p. 111.]

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and then adding to that the importance of the word 'swear' as it differs from adjuration, or being sworn, taking an oath administered by those who are in authority, you have then a second rule, that all voluntary, but especially promissory, oaths, are utterly unlawful now for a Christian.

All voluntary oaths.

S. What do you mean by voluntary oaths?

C. Those that no other impellent but myself, or my own worldly gain or interest, extort from me; for of these you must resolve, that if my oath be not either for the glory of God, as St. Paul's oaths, which were to stand upon record to posterity, and to confirm the truth of God being in his epistles, whereas in all the story of his conversation in the Acts, we never find that he did swear, or for the good of my neighbour, (wherein generally I as a private man am not to be judge, but to submit to the judgment of the magistrate legally calling me to testify my conscience, or to enter into some oath for the good and peace of the public,) or some such public consideration, but only for my own interest, &c., it is utterly unlawful.

Rom. i. 9. Gal. i. 20.

S. Why did you add, but especially promissory oaths?

C. Because those are most clearly here forbidden, both by the aspect these words have on the precedent, "Thou shalt perform thy oaths;" and by the precept of St. James in that matter, "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay," i. e. let your promises and performances be all one, the first yea referring to the promise, the second to performance, which he there mentions as a means to make all promissory oaths unnecessary: for he that is so just in performing his word, there will be no need of his oath; and he that doth use oaths in that matter may be in danger to fall into lying or false speaking, which is the meaning of those words which we there render "lest you fall into condemnation[q]."

James v. 12.

S. What is the meaning of those severals that follow, "neither by heaven[r]," &c. May it not be, that I must not swear by them, but only by God? or not swear falsely so much as by them?

C. No, but clearly this, that those lesser oaths taken by

[q] μὴ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν πέσητε, i. e. ψευδολογίαν.

[r] ὄμνυμι δ' ἱρὸν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός. Eurip. Menalip. [ap. Schol. in Aristoph. Ran. 100. See also Aristoph. Thesm. 272.]

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some in civility to God, whom they would not invoke in small matters, but yet would use this liberty of swearing by other inferior things, are now utterly unlawful; a Christian must not use any of those. Because every of these are creatures of God, whose whole being consists in reference to Him, and not to be subjected to his lust to be tossed and defamed by his unnecessary oaths.

Swearing by all inferior things now utterly unlawful.

S. What is meant by the positive precept in the close, "But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay?" Is it, as you expounded St. James, "Let your yea be yea," &c., i. e. let your promises and performances be answerable to one another?

C. No, there is difference betwixt the phrases. "Let your yea be yea," signifies that; as on the other side, yea and nay signifies levity. But "Let your communication be, Yea, yea," is this. In ordinary discourse you may use an affirmation, that is, one yea, and if occasion require an asseveration, that is another yea, and so again a negotiation, and a phrase of some vehemence, as a redoubling, to confirm it, that is, nay, nay: and this will serve as a good useful means to prevent the use of swearing, by assigning to that purpose some such asseveration which will serve as well; and therefore Christ doth not only forbid any more than this, but in a manner direct to the use of this, as that which will help us to perform His precept.

Nothing allowed but affirmations and asseverations. 2 Cor. i. 19.

S. There is yet one thing behind, the reason that this is backed with, "for whatsoever is more than this, cometh of evil:" what is meant by that?

C. Either that it cometh from the evil one, Satan, who makes men unapt to believe without oaths, that so he may make the free use of them the more necessary; or 'from evil,' i. e. that great kind of evil among men, the breaking of promises[s], from whence this custom of adding oaths proceeds, because they cannot be believed without them. By which is also intimated, that oaths are here by Christ forbidden, not as things in themselves evil, but as things which are not to be used but in affairs of special moment, a reverence

[s] So Josephus, lib. ii. de Bel. Jud., c. 12. of a special sort of Jews, "who," saith he, "avoided all swearing, and counted it worse than perjury," ἤδη γὰρ ἤδη κατεγνῶσθαί φασι τὸν ἀπιστούμενον δίχα Θεοῦ· "he is already condemned that is not believed without swearing."

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being due to them, which are therefore not to be made too cheap by us.

SECT. IX.

Of revenge, or retaliating evil.

S. Be pleased then to advance to the next period, and the foundation of that laid as formerly in the words of the law, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:" which I see again by the variation of the preface from that which was prefixed to the commands of the decalogue, not to be of that number; and yet is the phrase also varied from that which was prefixed to that of divorce: there only "it hath been said," but here "ye have heard that it hath been said." What is the reason of that?

C. It signifies, that as it is less than a commandment of the law, i.e. is no precept, that every one should thus require an eye of him who had put out his, so it is more than a bare immunity from earthly punishment to him that should so require, which I told you was all that was allowed in that of divorce. The truth is, this was by the law of nature and Moses freely permitted, and no sin then chargeable on him that did so, that he that had lost any member of his body, might, by way of revenge or retaliation, legally or judicially require the like member of him, who had thus injured him, to be taken from him; though among the Jews, and so, I suppose, the Gentiles also, private men were not to do this on their own heads, but might by legal process go to the judges, and require this due from them.

Deut. xix. 21.

Christ's prohibition of it.

S. What hath Christ appointed in this matter?

C. It is set down in these words, "But I say unto you, that you resist not evil[t]." Where the word which we render 'evil' signifies not a thing, but a person, the injurious man, or him that hath done the injury; and the word rendered 'resist[u],' notes not that which our English commonly signifies, but peculiarly 'to retaliate,' 'to return evil for evil;' by which interpretation it is directly answerable to what went before, "eye for eye," &c., and so is a denying to Christians that liberty that before was allowed the Jews, that of revenge, retaliation,

[t] τῷ πονηρῷ μὴ ἀντιστῆναι.

[u] Ut præpositio ἀντὶ non oppositionem, sed retributionem notet ut in voce ἀνταπόδοσις et ἀντιπεπονθὸς, et ἀντιποιεῖν, and as in Soph. Œd. Tyr. [409.] ἀντιλέξαι is to speak back again, to be allowed vices loquendi, which, says Teiresias there, is his privilege to a king; and so ἀντακούειν [544.] to hear the respondent speak,

ἀντὶ τῶν εἰρημένων
ἴσ' ἀντάκουσον.

returning those mischiefs to others which we have received from them. SECT. IX.

S. What plain places of Scripture be there which prohibit this, so that I may be induced, by the analogy of them, to believe this forbidden here?

C. One plain place there is, which seems to me to be a direct interpretation of this, "rendering to no man evil for evil;" so again, "avenging not yourselves," i. e. not thus rendering evil to evil: which is further explained by the following words, "but give place unto wrath," i. e. leave it to God's revenge, as it follows, "Vengeance is Mine, I will repay it, saith the Lord." Rom. xii. 17. ver. 19.

S. But how far doth this precept of not revenging extend? To public magistrates, or only to private persons one towards another?

C. To this I shall answer by these several degrees. 1. That it doth not interpose in the magistrate's office, so as to forbid him to punish by way of retaliation, if the laws of the land so direct him; for his office being to preserve the kingdom in peace, Christ forbids not the use of any lawful means to that end, nor particularly of this, but rather by the Apostle confirms it in his hand, by saying, "he beareth not the sword in vain," and adding, "he is God's minister, an avenger for wrath, to him that doth ill." By which is intimated that that sword for vengeance, or punishment of offenders, which naturally belongs to God only, is, as far as respects this life, put into the hands of the lawful magistrate, with commission to use it as the constitution of the kingdom shall best direct, either by way of retaliation or otherwise: and what is done thus by him, is to be counted God's vengeance executed by him; and so no more contrary to the prohibition of private revenge, than God's own retributions would be; which yet are mentioned by the Apostle as an argument to prove the unlawfulness of ours. "Avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath," leave all punishment to God, "for it is written, Vengeance is Mine." By which connection you may note by the way, that the motive why we should not avenge ourselves is, not that which some revengeful minds would be best pleased with, because by our patience our enemies shall be damned the deeper, as some would collect

1. In private persons, not in magistrates.

[Rom. xiii. 4.]

Rom. xii. 19.

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from Rom. xii. 20, but, because the privilege of punishing offenders, i. e. of vengeance, belongs peculiarly to God, and to none but those to whom, for things of this life, He is pleased to communicate it. Which I conceive to be the reason why upon this ground of vengeance belonging to God only, set down in the end of Rom. xii., the thirteenth to the Romans begins with obedience to the higher powers, and their being ordained by God, &c. This being thus set, it will follow, secondly, that Christ's prohibition belongs only to those who have received the injuries considered, whatsoever they are, under the notion of private sufferers; and those are forbidden two things: 1. taking into their own hands the avenging of themselves; 2. which is the special thing in this place, the former being not by the law permitted to the Jews themselves, though among the heathen it was generally thought lawful to hurt them who had injured us, desiring and thirsting, seeking and requiring revenge, (even that which the law of man affords,) with this reflection on themselves, for the satisfying their revengeful humour. This might Christ very reasonably prohibit, it being before not commanded, but only permitted by Moses' law; though forbid the magistrates thus to punish offenders He could not without destroying the law, and giving the worst of men advantage over the best, which indeed to have done would not yet be thought reasonable for Christ, the greatest part of the world being so far from being Christians even now in times of Christianity. It is not therefore made utterly unlawful by Christ to prosecute any who hath wronged me, and bring him to legal punishment, for that the law of man, authorized and not contradicted by Christ, may and oft doth require of me, and there is great difference between revenge and punishment; nor is it unlawful to require reparations for an injury done me, when the matter is capable of it; nor again to do the same for the good that may accrue to my brethren by the inflicting such exemplary punishment on offenders. But that which our Saviour interposeth is, that to require this for the satisfying of my own revengeful humour, besides or without reparation of the damage received by me, (as generally it is when I require an eye for an eye; for in that case the pulling out of his eye will contribute nothing toward the

Nor against legal prosecutions.

helping me to mine again,) or again to require it in contemplation of the further inconvenience that may possibly befall me another time, if this pass unpunished, is thought fit to be interdicted us Christians, who are bound, first, by gratitude for what Christ hath done to us in pardoning of injuries, to go and do likewise, i. e. to pardon and not revenge injuries; secondly, by the law of faith, to vanquish such fears, and depend on God's providence to defend us for the future, and not to be so hasty and solicitous in using all possible means, however unlawful, for the future securing of ourselves. And all this seems to be the literal importance of that phrase, 'not avenging ourselves;' Whatever avenging is lawful, that is not, which reflecteth upon ourselves and our own immoderate passions, whether that of anger, or that other of desire, a branch of which is this worldly carking or solicitous fear, that any patience of ours will bring more suffering upon us. From these two thus set, it will appear, thirdly, what is to be said of wars between one kingdom and another, which are of a middle nature between the revenge of the magistrate upon the offender within his jurisdiction, and the revenge of one private man upon another, this being between equals, and so not of the first kind, and yet between public persons or bodies, and so not of the second, which consequently will be only so far lawful as they agree with the first, and unlawful, as with the second.

Rom. xii. 19.

Of wars.

S. In what respect may war be lawful? or is it at all so?

C. That it is not absolutely unlawful, appears, 1. by the Baptist's answer to the soldiers, when they came to his baptism, where he forbids them not that calling as unlawful; 2. by Christ's commending the centurion's faith, who was then a soldier; 3. by St. Paul's using a band of soldiers against the treachery of the Jews; 4. by St. Peter's baptizing of Cornelius without his giving over the military employment. Now in what respect war may be lawful, will appear, if we observe the causes of it. 1. If it be for the suppressing of a sedition or rebellion at home, it is clearly lawful for the lawful magistrate, as having the power of the sword, first, to preserve the peace of the land, and secondly, to punish and suppress the disturbers of it. In which case it is impossible

They are not absolutely unlawful.

Luke iii. 14. [Matt. viii. 10; Acts xxiii. 31, and x. 48.]

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any such war should be lawful on both sides; there being but one supreme power in any kingdom, whether that consist of one or of more persons, and to that belonging the power of the sword, which whosoever else taketh into his hand in any case, usurpeth it, and therefore ought to perish by the sword. 2. If it be betwixt one kingdom and another, then the war may be lawful again, in case one kingdom doth attempt the doing an eminent injury to another, which by a war may possibly be averted from those whom the magistrate's office binds him to protect. An eminent injury, I say, and that which is more hurtful than war, or taking up of arms; and that again, when there is no arbitration, or other means of debating such controversies, or averting such injuries, to be had. And with these cautions, to hurt no peaceable man, as near as may be; to shed as little blood as is possible; not to protract it, out of desire of revenge or gain; not to use cruelty on captives, or those that yield themselves and desire quarter, on women, children, husbandmen, &c.; to give over war when any reasonable terms of peace may be had; to take away nothing from the conquered but the power of hurting. In these cases and with these cautions, as it is lawful to the higher powers to use arms, so it is also to others their subjects that have commission from them, if they be satisfied of the justice of the cause, it being not imaginable that any magistrate should by his own personal strength protect his subjects, without the assistance of others with him.

S. But is it lawful for a private man, for the repelling of any the greatest injury from himself, to kill another? Or if it be not, how can this war against, not our subjects and rebels, but those who are out of our power, and over whom we have no jurisdiction, (and so we are but private men in respect of them,) be accounted lawful, seeing it is sure more sinful to kill many than one?

C. To the first part of your question, I answer, that a private man may not, by the law of Christ, take away another's life, for the saving his own goods, or the repelling any such kind of injury from himself, because life is more than goods: but if his life be attempted also, and no probable means to save it but by taking away the other's life, it may then be

lawful to take away his life, Christ having interposed nothing to the contrary; where yet he that to save another's life, or rather than take it away, should venture and lose his own, may be thought to do better and more honourably, in imitating Christ, who laid down His life for His enemies. This then being granted, I say yet to the second part of your question, that the same rule cannot be extended to the making of war unlawful; 1. because the supreme power, who is supposed to manage the war, hath the sword put into his hand by God, which the private man hath not, and that not only to punish subjects, but also to protect them; 2. because it is his duty so to do, which he may not, without sin against them, and failing in discharge of trust, neglect: whereas the private man having power of his own goods, may recede from that natural right of his, may deny himself, to follow Christ; and for his life itself, may better thus part with it, by leaving it to God's tuition, than the magistrate can another man's, being intrusted by God to defend it, and by oath bound to perform that part of his duty. And for the number of those whom a war endangers to kill, if it be objected, that will be countervailed with the number of those whom it is intended to preserve, whose peace and quiet living, if it may be gotten, is more valuable to them than life itself deprived of that.

S. Well then, supposing war to be lawful, and these two kinds of wars to be such, what other kind of lawful wars are there? Or be there any more?

C. It will be hard to name any other; and yet I shall not peremptorily say there is no other, because some other perhaps may be found which will bear proportion to one of these. It will be easier to inform you in this matter by telling you what be the special sorts of wars that are unlawful.

What wars are unlawful.

S. What be they?

C. 1. When one nation fighteth with another for no other reason but because that other is not of the true religion, this is certainly unlawful: for i. God hath not given any nation this jurisdiction over another; and ii. it is against the nature of religion to be planted by violence, or consequently by the sword: and therefore much more is this unlawful for subjects to do against the laws and governors under which they are placed.

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S. But is not religion the most precious thing of all? What then may we fight for if not for that?

For religion,

C. It is the most precious thing indeed, and that to be preserved by all lawful, proper, proportionable means: but then war, or unlawful resistance, being of all things most improper to defend, or secure, or plant this, and it being acknowledged unlawful for Peter to use the sword for the defence of Christ Himself; to do it merely for religion, must needs be very unlawful. Religion hath still been spread and propagated by suffering, and not by resisting: and indeed it being not in the power of force to constrain my soul, or change my religion, or keep me from the profession of it, arms or resistance must needs be very improper for that purpose.

[John xviii. 11.]

S. What other war is unlawful?

for enlarging territories.

C. All manner of invasive war for the enlarging of our territories, for the revenging of an affront, for the weakening of those that we see prosperous, and consequently suspect it possible for them to invade us for the future; or in any case, unless perhaps to get some reparation for some eminent injury done to our nation, which the nation cannot reasonably bear, nor yet hope for any other way of reparation.

S. What is required to make it lawful for any private man to take arms?

Commission necessary for each private man.

C. Commission from the supreme power under which he lives, and to whom he is a subject, and who hath the power of the sword in his hand: and therefore as in obedience to such, it is possible for a private man lawfully to take arms, even when the governors do it unlawfully, supposing that he think the cause good upon the supreme power's undertaking it; so he that takes up arms only for hire or hope of honour, &c., under one who is not his magistrate, may, though the cause be just for which the general fights, commit sin in fighting under him.

S. What is there more that you think fit to teach me from this precept of not retaliating, or not avenging the injurious?

Christ's command of bearing light injuries.

C. It will be best given you by proceeding and observing what Christ adds on the back of this prohibition, "But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," &c.

S. What is generally observable from those additions?

C. 1. The occasion of them. 2. The general nature of them, wherein they all agree and accord.

S. What is the occasion of them?

C. Christ's foresight of an objection, which upon occasion of the prohibition precedent, men would be apt to make, thus; If when one doth me an injury, I may not revenge it on him myself, or require a legal revenge upon him, then by this easiness he will be taught to multiply those injuries, to smite me on the other cheek, when he sees me take that so patiently; to take away my cloak also, if I am so tame as to let him carry away my coat without any payment; to make me go a stage of two miles with him next time, if I take the first oppression so patiently. To this foreseen objection our Saviour answers, by commanding us to perform the former duty, and put this feared hazard to the venture, intimating that this is not so sure to be the reward and consequent of such patience; or, to suppose the utmost, if it should be certainly so, yet we Christians must rather submit to this also than give the reins to our revenge on that consideration; we must venture that consequent with Christ, who hath commanded us this patience, and be armed for the worst that can befall us in His service. From whence you see what obligation it is that lies upon us toward the performing of those acts which are accounted so ridiculous among men: not that we are presently to turn our left cheek to him that strikes us on the right, to give the cloak to him that takes the coat, &c., but to perform the precept of non-revenge, and not to be tempted from it by any foreseen inconvenience; yea, and ready to make that adventure, if I cannot perform that obedience without it, rather let him take the cloak also, than seek ways of revenge for such former trespasses. Which will be nothing unreasonable, if we consider, 1. that Christ can preserve us from further injuries, if He think good, as well without as with our assistance; and indeed that patience is oft blessed by Him to be a more prosperous means of this, than self-revenge would be, it being Christ's tried rule, 'to overcome evil with good:' 2. that if we should chance to suffer any thing by obeying Him, He will be able to repair us in another world.

S. What now is the general nature of these appendent precepts, wherein they all agree and accord?

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C. That they are all tolerable and supportable injuries, both in respect of what is done already, and what may be consequent to our bearing them. For thus the loss of the coat or cloak also is a moderate injury; the smiting on the cheek or cheeks, a very inconsiderable pain, and only valued for the contumely annexed to it, which yet Christians had been before, and should after by the sufferings of Christ, be taught to support cheerfully; and the going a mile or two a very tolerable injury to the body, or invasion on their liberty, and a very easy post, both among the Jews and the Persians[x], from whom the Jews had that custom[y], being compared with the ordinary stages. And from thence appears, 1. the reasonableness and agreeableness of Christ's commands to our strength, that He provides us such easy yokes and light burdens, even when we think He useth us most hardly: 2. the indulgence which He allows us in matters of greater concernment, where the damage or trespass is not so supportable. He there intimates a liberty to use some means to save or repair ourselves, where that may be extremely useful, if not necessary, to our temporal subsistence, though not to work revenge on the enemy for what is past, by exacting any punishment on his person, by endeavouring to trouble him who hath troubled us, which cannot bring in any profit to us.

ver. 11.

S. What now is particularly observable from each of these, and 1. from the first?

C. That for light injuries done to our bodies which leave no wound behind them, nor are the disabling or weakening of our bodies, nor bring any considerable pain with them, we are not to seek any way of private, no nor so much as of legal revenge, no, though the injury were a contumely also, and the putting it up a reproach in the account of the world, and withal a possible, nay, probable means to bring more upon me of the same making. This thus set, is my Christian duty,

[x] The Persian post or stage was a parasang, or thirty furlongs, of which the μίλιον or mile here was but a little above a fourth part, some seven or eight furlongs at most. Agathias, lib. ii. p. 55.

[y] It was the custom of the Persian tyrants to press the bodies of men, as among us teams of horses, and force them to carry their burdens for a stage, i. e. a parasang, and then to rest (whence the stages were called ἀνάπαυλαι) ἑτέρων ἀμοιβαδὸν διαδεχομένων, others succeeding them in turns. See Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26.

SECT. IX.

which I cannot omit without sin; and which for us to perform, or Christ to command, is so far from unreasonable, that the contrary, if we observe the experience of it, is much more unreasonable, the seeking of revenge ordinarily subjecting us to greater inconveniences, to more and more dangerous blows many times if we become our own champions, and avenge ourselves, and to more considerable trouble and charge, if we seek it from the court of judicature.

S. What do you, in particular, observe from the second?

C. It offers me a fair occasion to tell you somewhat of that great question, concerning the lawfulness of going to law.

S. I shall most willingly make use of the occasion, and desire your judgment in that point.

C. Going to law, I conceive, is not simply unlawful because Christ finding courts of judicature[z], for matter of mine and thine, in the world, did not take that power into His own hands, ("who made Me a judge?") or out of those hands where He found it. In this whole sermon of strict precepts upon the mount, He gives no command in, lays no restraint on, this matter any further than what is contained in these words, "He that would implead thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also:" the utmost of which can amount no further against going to law than this, 1. that it is such a thing that it may be abused to the most unjust oppressions, taking away the coat from one's back; and when so used, it is sure unlawful. 2. That I must not go to law with any by way of retaliation[a], I mean, for no other cause but because he by that means hath disquieted or injured me; for the precept of "Let him have thy coat also" being thus interpreted, that I must do so, rather than go to law with him, cannot justly be extended toward this sense, any further than the context will authorize the extending it, and that is only thus far, that rather than retribute to him evil for evil, or retaliate, I must even let him take it, and not go with him, i. e. I must thus be quiet rather than bear him any malice, or do any thing that shall inflame me, or raise in me a desire of revenge against him: for any of these will make that unlawful to me which indeed was not so. 3. That I must not go to law only out of a providence, that the bearing of

Of going to law.

[Luke xii. 14.]

How unlawful.

ver. 38.

[z] κριτήρια.

[a] Per modum talionis.

LIB. II.

one injury patiently may possibly or probably bring a greater upon me; but think fit to trust God with the preserving me for the future, who will be more likely to bless and reward my patience and meekness with tranquillity and prosperity in this life, (according to that promise of the Psalmist, "The meek shall possess the earth," where the earth signifies the land of Canaan, a most prosperous rich land: which very words are repeated by Christ in this sermon, and if there the earth be the 'land of the living[b]' only, there will be no great loss in such an exchange,) than any contrary vice of contentiousness or impatience. Or 4. that I must not go to law to recover a coat when I have a cloak left, i. e. for a small inconsiderable possession, which is not necessary to me, which I may be without, and the recovering of which will not be proportionably gainful to the charge or trouble of going to law for it. These severals contain the utmost that I can imagine that place of Christ can be justly extended to. All which notwithstanding, these other cases still remain, which come not under that interdict in its largest extent.

[Ps. xxxvii. 11.]

Matt. v. 5.

How lawful.

1. That he that cannot by any arbitration get his own, nor yet conveniently live without it, may make use of the settled judicature of the land where God hath placed him, supposing that he fall not into any of the faults before specified, and possibly incident to the waging or managing of the justest action. 2. That any one being tenderly affected in conscience, so as to desire assurance that he enjoys nothing but what is just for him to enjoy, may lawfully in matter of any doubt or controversy concerning propriety, use the law to make that decision for him; supposing again that this be sincerely his intention, and that he resolve quietly to stand to what the law shall so adjudge. 3. That he that by this means defends a widow or orphan, may very Christianly use this means. 4. That he that may thus preserve himself in a sufficiency to provide for his family, and without it probably cannot, without either craving other men's alms or expecting relief from God by extraordinary means, may use this means to do so. 5. That he that may by this means be enabled to relieve the poor, which otherwise he could not do so liberally, and doth it sincerely in order to that end, and when he ob-

[b] Terra viventium.

tains his own, evidences that sincerity by his performance, is still free from any restraint arising from that precept of Christ: whereas on the other side, he that contends for trifles, goes to law only that he may lose nothing of his right, or not only to get legal reparations for his losses, whereby that which is justly taken from the other that injured him is justly restored to him which was injured, the one being as well able to bear or support this act of justice as the other that of injustice, but also to give satisfaction to his revengeful appetite, a very carnal, importunate, devilish affection, to give the enemy some smart or pain, which brings in no real gain, or ease, or advantage to himself, save only that of satisfying his vindictive humour, can no way be justified or excused in such a suit. So also the suing of those which are not able to pay me, and by my suit are but made more unable, when all that I can hope for is not reparation of myself, but punishing of him by prison or the like restraint on him, that brings in no advantage again to me; this is unlawful and unchristian still. SECT. IX.

S. But is there not an objection against going to law in any case, producible from 1 Cor. vi. [1.]?

C. It will suffice to answer, that the Apostle's scope there is only to reprehend going to law before heathen tribunals, which, when any men are guilty of it, must signify either that there is no Christian among them fit to be judge betwixt contenders, or else that they would rather choose a heathen's arbitration than that Christian's: either of which being very culpable, that which arises from one of them must needs be so, but nothing else upon those grounds. This is agreeable to what Christ had before said, that "if thy brother trespass against thee," do thee any such injury, and will not make thee amends, thou shalt "tell it to the Church;" who are there surely some tribunal of Christians, who have power to make thee amends, if he will stand to their judgment: and if he will not, Christ then goes farther, "let him be to thee as a heathen or publican," i. e. I conceive in that place, not only that he is fit for excommunication, mentioned in the next verse, but also that thou hast liberty (let him be so to thee[c], against whom he hath trespassed) to implead him in Matt. xviii. [15.]

[c] ἔστω σοι.

LIB. II.

any gentile tribunal, because he will not stand to the Christians' award, as thou wouldest and mayest a heathen or publican which trades among them, and who is in the interpretation of the Jewish law, though a Jew, yet a kind of heathen, or by conversing with them equipollent to one.

S. But may it not from that chapter to the Corinthians be still pressed, that it is said, "There is utterly a fault among you, because you go to law one with another[d]?"

1 Cor. vi. 7.

C. I answer, that the utmost that that infers is only this, That those particular suits at law[e] that were then among the Corinthians were all unlawful, which you will have reason to believe, when you find the same Apostle telling them that "they did injure and defraud one another;" and it is more than probable that their going to law was used, as here in Christ's sermon it is supposed, as a means to do so, but it is not conclusible from thence, that all other men's suits are so, because possibly not of the same nature as theirs were. But then, secondly, there may be somewhat in the Apostle's using a special word in that place, not any of those more usual words[f] which are without doubt denotations of sin, but another[g] which signifies a going less, and so may perhaps only conclude the thing which he speaks of to be no more than comparatively evil, i. e. not so good as patient bearing of injuries and losses ought to be esteemed, which seems to be enforced by the words immediately following in the end of that seventh verse, "Why do you not rather suffer injury and defraudation?" which will infer, that patience of injuries is a greater virtue and more heroical excellence, a higher pitch of Christian philosophy and contempt of the world, than going to law implies, far more than that particular kind of going to law was approved to be; but not, that going to law is from that place made in all cases utterly unlawful. Just as losing my own life when I am assaulted by another, rather than I will take away his, is, as even now I shewed you, a high piece of imitation of Christ, who laid down His life for His enemies; which notwithstanding, the killing of the invader in that case, when I cannot otherwise save or rescue my own life, is acknowledged to be no sin, because

ver. 8.

[d] ἤδη ὅλως ἥττημα, κ. τ. λ.
[e] κρίματα.
[f] ἁμάρτημα, παράπτωμα, κ. τ. λ.
[g] ἧττημα.

not forbidden by nature, or Christ, whose prohibition (not counsel nor example to the contrary) it is that makes anything a sin; for "where there is no law, there is no transgression." This, I conceive, may give hints for the understanding this whole matter. SECT. IX. [Rom. iv. 15.]

S. I shall labour to make use of them; and because this discourse hath a little led you out of the way, recall you into the road again, and remember you where you left, by demanding what is to be learnt from the third particular, which Christ thought fit to superadd to the matter of retaliating.

C. It is this, That the same rule holds for my liberty that did for my body and estate, that every diminution of it must not enrage me either to a private or legal revenge on the invader. The sum of all is, that small supportable injuries of any kind we Christians must bear without hurting again, or so much as prosecuting or impleading the injurious: in weightier and more considerable matters, though we may use means, first to defend ourselves, secondly, to get legal reparations for our losses; yet even in those, the giving any way to revengeful desires, or desiring to give him any smart or pain, that brings no real gain or ease or advantage to us, save only the satisfying our revengeful humour, is still utterly unlawful. Invasion of our liberty.

S. But what is that that follows in the close of this period, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away?" And how comes it in this place? ver. 42.

C. The substance of it is a command of universal, unlimited liberality, according to our power, to all that are in need, and a direction to one special kind of works of mercy, the lending, without all exaction of use for the loan, to those that are in present want, and may, by such present supplies for present exigencies, be taught a way of thriving in the world, and getting out from those difficulties of fortune. In which case, the lending for a time, and after that time the requiring mine own again, may do some men as much, perhaps more, good by obliging them to industry and providence and fidelity, than giving to some others might have done. Liberality to all.

S. What connexion is there betwixt this precept of liberality, and the non-revenge immediately preceding?

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C. It is this, 1. that forgiving and giving, the two special works of our charity toward men, should always go together; one never doth so well as when the other is joined with it. Revenge will blast our liberality; and the covetous illiberal heart will defame the most perfect patience. 2. That the practice of liberality will help us to think it reasonable not to meditate revenge, and withal demonstrate our patience of injuries, &c., to be no pusillanimous cowardly act, because I dare not resist him, but only an act of obedience unto Christ, in doing as He hath done, both for patience and liberality, my Christian charity obliging me to one as well as the other.

SECT. X.

S. What now is the ground-work of the next period?

Of loving enemies.

C. The repetition of the old law of loving neighbours and hating enemies.

S. Is there any such thing in the law of Moses, or nature, that we should hate our enemies, and love none but neighbours?

C. I shall tell you as clearly as I can, what both those laws have done in this matter.

S. What hath the law of Moses done?

The Mosaical law concerning it. Lev. xix. 18.

C. For the loving of the neighbour, i. e. the fellow-Jew, it hath commanded to "love him as thyself," and not to avenge or bear any grudge against him; from which, though it were no exclusion of the like to men of other countries, yet it is very true that the Jews took occasion of advantage to deny all kindness and exercise of offices of common humanity to all others, unless they becam proselytes to them. Now this they did without any authority of their law, which therefore Christ, by the parable of the good Samaritan, shews to belong to the loving of, and shewing mercy to others beside their own countrymen, and extendeth the meaning of the word 'neighbour' to all those who are of the same common stock with us, and are men as well as ourselves: though the truth is, God, by prescribing the Jew peculiar meats, and forbidding others that were familiarly used by the nations, did consequently interdict them any special familiarity of converse with the nations, by way of caution, lest they should be corrupted by them, who were at that time so extremely idolatrous and filthy in their practices; which rule consequently was to be accounted temporary, and to last no longer than the reason of it. But

[Luke x. 30.]

SECT. X.

then, for the hating of enemies, it is not to be thought that there was any such precept given them, of hating either all but their own countrymen, or even all their very enemies. Thus much only toward it we find in the law, that though the Jews were commanded to do courtesies to their enemies of their own country, to "bring back an enemy's ox going astray, and to help up his ass lying under a burden," yet they are forbidden to enter any friendship, affinity, league, with the seven nations, Hittites, Amorites, &c., or to shew any mercy to them, but commanded to "destroy them utterly;" and accordingly it was practised, and the same, in some proportion, with other enemy cities, "Thou shalt smite all the male with the edge of the sword;" but this with some limitations, they were to offer them conditions of peace, and to permit them to redeem their lives, if they desired it, by servitude. The ground of this difference between the seven nations and other enemies of the Israelites, is visibly the nearness of the former, and the danger of the Israelites being corrupted by them: and so 1. this extreme severity was not commanded towards enemies indefinitely, but only toward the seven nations, lest, if any of them were preserved, they should seduce them to their abominable filthiness, whereas the proceeding was not so severe against other enemy cities farther off, from whom there was not the like danger; and 2. it doth not appear that this belonged to any but of that age, in consideration of the danger of seduction to their sins; for Solomon doth not so, but only "levies a tribute of bond-service" upon them. After the same manner were they to deal with the Amalekites, "to have war with them for ever," and with some difference with the Moabites and Ammonites. In all which nothing can be observed contrary to the law of nature or humanity; for the same power that the magistrates on earth have over malefactors, the same sure must be yielded God over nations and governors of them, to put them to death by what means He please. This execution He was pleased to commit to the people of the Jews after a long time of patience, when those nations had "filled up the measure of their rebellion." So that this, 'of hating enemies,' cannot be accounted of as any common general command, for it held not generally against any but these forc-

Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. Deut. xxii. 1.

Deut. vii. 16; xx. 16, 17.

Josh. x. 40.

Deut. xx. 13.

ver. 10, 11.

ver. 18.

1 Kings ix. 20, 21. Exod. xvii. 16; Deut. xxv. 19.

LIB. II.

named nations, but as a special, particular sentence of God's, to be at that time executed on them. And although, the truth is, the Jews did generally resolve it lawful to kill or spoil any that were strangers from the religion of the true God; yet by the limiting of God's command for such execution to these forenamed, and that with this reason, because they had "filled up the measure of their iniquities," which, when it is, none but God can judge of: it is evident that this was an error in the Jews, and that the rather, because at this time when Christ spake, they were subject to the Romans, and had no power of the sword in their hands; in which case those former commands of war with Amalek, much more with other idolatrous nations, against whom it was not appointed, became utterly out-dated, and the law of nature was to prevail, which commends love and charity to all men.

The law of nature.

S. You promised also to shew me what the law of nature had done in this matter; I pray, what is it?

C. We have no better way now to judge of that, than by the writings and sayings of the wisest natural men; the sum of which is this, that all men are to be loved and obliged by us[h]; no man to be hurt or disobliged, but he who hath first injured us: in which case the great philosopher[i] thinks it as reprovable[k] a thing to love an enemy, as to hate a

[h] Justitiæ primum munus est ut ne cui quis noceat, nisi lacessitus injuria. Cic. Off. [i. c. 7. tom. iv. p. 822.]

[i] Arist. Top., lib. ii. [c. 7. p. 131. οὐδὲ τὸ τοὺς φίλους κακῶς τῷ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὖ, καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀμφότερα φευκτὰ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤθους.]

[k] οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας χρεών. Æsch. Prom. [970.]

And

πάσχειν δὲ κακῶς ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, οὐδὲν ἀεικές. Ib. [1041.]

And

παθὼν κακῶς κακοῖσιν ἀντημείβετο. Sept. c. Theb. [1049.]

And

οὗτοι ποθ' οὐχθρὸς, οὐδ' ὅταν θάνῃ φίλος. Soph. Ant. [522.]

And

[καί τοι] πῶς ἐγὼ κακὸς φύσιν, ὅστις παθὼν μὲν ἀντέδρων, ὥστ' εἰ φρονῶν ἔπρασσον, οὐδ' ἂν ὧδ' ἐγιγνόμην κακός; Soph. Œd. [Col. 270.]

And

ὅταν δὲ πολεμίους δρᾶσαι κακῶς θέλῃ τις, οὐδεὶς ἐμποδὼν κεῖται νόμος. Eurip. Ion. [1046.]

And again

οὐ χρή με τοὺς κτείνοντας ἀνταπολλύναι; [Ib. 1328.]

So another,

μισοῦντα μίσει καὶ φιλοῦνθ' ὑπερφίλει. [Sent.]

And Thucyd. I. [c. 120.] ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους [ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης] πολεμεῖν—.

And Homer, Od. [ω'. 432.]

λώβη γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

"It is a reproachful thing not to revenge injuries."

And Hesiod, [Op. et D. 340.]

τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν, τον δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐᾶσαι.

So Aristotle, Eth. Nicom. iv. 5. δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι οὐδὲ λυπεῖσθαι· μὴ ὀργιζόμενός τε οὐκ εἶναι ἀμυντι-

friend. But withal, the moderatest, and wisest, and most elevated minds, though they would not command or oblige all men to love enemies, do yet command it as most honourable so to do, and give many excellent reasons for it, and conclude, That the wise and good man hath no enemy. So that from all this, the short is, that the Jews taking some advantage from those forementioned commands of Moses, and mistaking them, did think it lawful to hate others of different religions, i. e. all other nations, and the same may be observed of Grecians towards the rest of the world under the title of 'barbarians:' but in this did they both against the law of Moses, as hath been shewed, and against the law of nature, by which hating or hurting is avowed only in case of injuries done, and even then also the contrary commended: and so that which Christ hath here to do, is, partly to recall and reform the Jews to the law of nature, and to command that which that law commanded; partly to advance and set it higher than the law of the Jews had required of them before.

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S. What then is now the law of Christ in this matter?

C. It is set down, "But I say unto you, love your enemies," &c., to the end of this chapter. The sum of which is, that other men's faults or sins against us, nay, against God Himself, (for the Jews' enemies, the people of the seven nations, Amorites, &c., being most detestable sinners before God, are here referred to in this word 'enemies,') give not us any dispensation for the non-payment of that great debt of our nature, love to all our kind. It is true indeed, the passions and affections that our nature is subject to, do incline us to revenge against our enemies; or if we can conquer that, yet we cannot choose but make a distinction between friends and

The law of Christ. ver. 44.

κός· τὸ δὲ προπηλακιζόμενον ἀνέχεσθαι, [καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους περιορᾷν,] ἀνδραποδῶδες.

And Rhet. i. c. 9. [§ 24.] καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ καταλλάττεσθαι· τό τε γὰρ ἀνταποδιδόναι δίκαιον· τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καλόν· καὶ ἀνδρείου τὸ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι.

So Seneca, Ep. 81. Hoc [certe, inquit] justitiæ convenit, suum cuique reddere, beneficio gratiam, injuriæ talionem aut certe malam gratiam.

So Cicero: Inter ea quæ ad jus naturæ pertinent, ponit vindicationem— [Natura jus est quod non opinio genuit, sed quædam innata vis inseruit ut religionem, pietatem, gratiam, vindicationem... vindicatio per quam vis et injuria et omnino omne, quod obfuturum est defendendo, aut ulciscendo propulsatur. Cic. de Invent. 2. c. 53. tom. i. p. 257. See also 2. c. 22. p. 222.] Et ad Atticum: Odi hominem et odero. Utinam ulcisci possem. [Ep. ad Att. ix. 14.] And, Sic ulciscar genera singula, quemadmodum a quibusque sum provocatus. [Orat. ad Quirit. post red. c. 9. tom. ii. p. 957.]

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foes, and at least have a great coldness and indifference to those who have deserved so ill at our hands. But Christ is come to mortify those affections of rage and revenge; and lead us higher than nature would bring us, to affections, and words, and actions of kindness and benignity to those that have expressed the contrary of every of these toward us.

S. But is it not abundantly sufficient, if my affections and behaviour towards mine enemy be not like his to me, unkind, retaliating of injuries, &c.? Is there any more required of me?

C. Yes, undoubtedly, of a Christian; who is to transcribe that copy that Christ's own dealing with us when we were enemies did set us. I must not only negatively not hate, or curse, or pursue with injuries; but positively love, and bless, and do good, and pray for my greatest enemy.

S. What is meant by loving him?

Of loving,

C. That denotes the affection of charity and kindness and benignity toward him: 1. wishing him all the good in the world, but that especially which he most wanteth, the good of his soul, conviction of sin, reformation, &c.: 2. pitying and compassionating him, and that the more for being mine enemy, because that implies a sin in him, which is of all things the most proper matter of compassion: 3. being cordially affected towards him.

S. What is meant by blessing him?

blessing,

C. The word in Greek[1] and the opposition to cursing, i. e. evil or bitter speaking, noteth kindness and friendliness of language, giving them all friendly and courteous words, who have nothing but railing and evil speaking for us; commending in them whatever is capable of our praises, though they do nothing but defame and backbite us.

S. What is meant by doing good to them?

doing good to,

C. All outward real effects and actions of charity; such are alms, if they be in want; feeding, giving to drink, clothing them, when they are hungry, thirsty, naked; comfort, if in any distress; counsel, if in any difficulty; rescuing their goods, &c., if we see them in danger; admonishing them in a friendly manner, and such as may be most likely to prevail with them, when we see them falling into any sin;

[1] εὐλογεῖτε.

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reproving and correcting fatherly, when we see them fallen. In a word, contributing our utmost to the good of their bodies, estates, families, reputations, but especially their souls; and all this without any tincture of revenge or rage mixing with it.

praying for enemies.

S. What is meant by praying for them?

C. Desiring of God for them whatsoever they want: 1. grace for amendment of life; 2. pardon of sin, with an expression of my free pardoning them; 3. all other blessings temporal and spiritual which they stand in need of. And because the practice of this is such a stranger to the world, I shall, at once to prove and exemplify this duty, set you a copy of it, a very ancient form transcribed from St. Basil, one of the holiest champions of the Church of Christ, which from him you may not fear to use or imitate.

A PRAYER OF ST. BASIL, TRANSLATED OUT OF A GREEK MANUSCRIPT IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF OXFORD.

O LONG-SUFFERING and eternal King, that for the condemnation that came by the tree, wert lifted up on the tree, and taken from this earth by that shameful death, and hast shewed forth Thyself to all that choose to follow Thy steps, a pattern and copy of long-sufferance and patience, that offeredst up Thy intercession to Thy coeternal Father, for those very fighters against God which crucified Thee: do Thou, O Lord, Thou the same lover of mankind, afford Thy mercy and pardon to all that are enemies to us, which either by treachery, or reproach, or contumely, or envy, or by any other means, through

Ἀνεξίκακε βασιλεῦ καὶ ἀΐδιε, ὁ διὰ τὴν ἐκ ξύλου κατάκρισιν ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀρθεὶς, καὶ τοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν σου τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αἱρουμένοις, μακροθυμίας σαυτὸν ὑπόδειγμα παρασχόμενος, ὃς ὑπὲρ τῶν σταυρούντων σε θεομάχων ἔντευξιν προσήγαγες τῷ συνανάρχῳ γεννήτορι· αὐτὸς, φιλάνθρωπε κύριε, καὶ οἷς δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐσμὲν, ἢ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ἢ λοιδορουμένοις ἢ ἐπηρεάζουσιν, ἢ βασκαίνουσιν, ἢ καθ' οἷον δή τινα τρόπον, ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἐπηρείας τοῦ φιλαπεχθήμονος δαίμονος μισοῦσι καὶ ἀποστρεφομένοις, συγχώρησον τὸ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς παροινίας πλημμέλημα· μετάβαλε τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἐκ κακοηθείας εἰς ἐπιείκειαν· ἔμ-

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the treachery or calumny of the devil, that lover of hatred, have expressed their malice or madness against us: change their counsels from that mischievous, to a sweet Christian temper of gentleness; infuse into their hearts sincere unfeigned love; bind them fast to us in the inviolable bands of spiritual friendship; and by what means Thou knowest most fit, make them partakers of Thy pure life. As for those that love us, or for Thy holy Name's sake do administer to our bodily necessities, repay them with the riches and abundance of Thy gifts, and vouchsafe them the lot and portion of faithful and wise stewards; and for those that out of good affection have remembered our infirmities, or have prayed for us, reward them with Thy plenteous grace. To those that have commanded us miserable unworthy creatures to pray for them, grant those things that be profitable for them, and yield them those requests of theirs which tend to their salvation, and send them from Thy holy place Thy rich mercies and bowels of compassion. And, O Thou Father of compassions, pity all those that trust in Thee, draw all to the divine

βαλε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν ἄδολον ἀγάπην καὶ ἀνυπόκριτον· σύνδησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀῤῥήκτοις δεσμοῖς εὐνοίας πνευματικῆς· καὶ τῆς ἀκηράτου σου ζωῆς, οἷς οἶδας λόγοις, κοινωνοὺς ἀποτέλεσον· τοὺς δὲ ἀγαπῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἢ καὶ εἰς τὰς σωματικὰς χρείας διὰ τὸ σὸν διακονοῦντας ἅγιον ὄνομα, ταῖς πλουσίαις σου δωρεαῖς ἀντάμειψαι, καὶ τῆς λήξεως τῶν πιστῶν καὶ φρονίμων οἰκονόμων ἀξίωσον· καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἐν ἀγαθῇ διαθέσει μεμνημένοις, ἢ καὶ ὑπερευχομένοις, δαψιλῆ τὴν χάριν σου ἐπιβράβευσον· τοῖς ἐντειλαμένοις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ταλαιπώρῳ ἀναξιότητι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὔχεσθαι, τὰ ὠφέλιμα χάρισαι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα παράσχε, καὶ πλούσια τὰ ἐλέη σου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐξαπόστειλον. Πάντας, εὔσπλαγχνε, τοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθότας ἐλέησον, πάντας εἰς τὴν θείαν σου ἀγάπην ἕλκυσον· πρόστηθι πάντων, καὶ ἀντιλαβοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς καὶ ἀχρείοις δούλοις σου, καὶ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας κληρονόμους ἀπέργασαι· σὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

love of Thee: be Thou president in all things, and assistant to all, together with us Thy sinful and unprofitable servants, and make us all heirs of Thy kingdom; for to Thee it belongs to shew mercy, and to save us, O our God, for Thine is the power for ever. Amen.

S. This is a duty of some difficulty: what help can you direct me to, to facilitate the performance of it?

C. Many considerations there are which will tend to that end. Three there are here named.

S. What be they?

C. The first is the example of God, who sheweth mercy to sinners, who are His enemies; and in the outward dispensation of temporal blessings, giveth as liberal a portion many times to the wicked, unthankful provokers, as to his good servants; and for the common advantages of life, sun and rain, dispenseth them generally in an equality to all. And then for us to do the like is a godlike thing, the greatest dignity that our nature is capable of. Considerations to facilitate this duty. The first.

S. What is the second help?

C. The consideration of the reward which God hath decreed for such who do this, and that proportioned to their actions; viz. retribution of good for evil, of mercy and happiness, though we are sinners and enemies. Whosoever doth but think of that, how much the joys of heaven for eternity are beyond the pleasure of a little revenge for the present, will never think fit to make such an unequal exchange, to lose so rich a reward for so poor a pleasure. The second.

S. What is the third help?

C. The consideration of what is done by all others, the vilest and wickedest men in the world. For such were the publicans accounted, and yet they could think themselves obliged to love their friends, and satisfy that obligation; they could use civilities and courteous compellations and salutations to their neighbours, &c. And if we, who are bound to The third.

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exceed the scribes, and Pharisees, the strictest sect among the Jews, shall be but in the same rank with publicans, who are otherwhere put with heathens and harlots and sinners, the vilest and most abominable of all men, this will sure be a great reproach to us Christians.

S. What other motives can you add in this matter, why I should love my enemies?

Five motives more.

C. 1. That by this means I shall conquer myself, my unruly passions, which is a most glorious heroical piece of victory. 2. That by this I shall preserve myself in a great calmness and quiet of mind; which thoughts of revenge wholly deprive me of. 3. That this is of all others the most probable way of overcoming my enemy; revenge being a means of exasperating and inflaming him, charity of melting him. Which if I do, I first get a friend for an enemy; and secondly, have the honour and claim to the reward due to them that convert sinners from the error of their ways. 4. That this is a way of excelling all other men in the world, none but Christians thinking themselves obliged to do this. 5. That this is the special way of Christian perfection, and is so called in the close of this chapter, "Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect." Instead of which St. Luke reads, "Be ye merciful," &c., noting this mercy or alms or benignity to enemies to be the highest degree of Christian perfection.

[Luke vi. 36.]

S. I beseech God by His renewing quickening Spirit to mortify the contrary sin, and work this truly Christian grace in my heart. You have passed through the fifth chapter, and so Christ's reformation of and additions to the old commandments: I will not question why Christ reformed or improved no more of them, it is sufficient to me that He hath not; which being an act of His wisdom, it is not for man to question, but acquiesce in.

C. You judge aright; yet do I conceive that three other commandments of the second table Christ hath also improved in this sermon. The eighth, that against "stealing," He hath improved into "doing unto others all things which we desire should be done by them to us." The ninth, that of "not bearing false witness," He hath improved into "not judging." The last, of "not coveting," into "taking no thought."

Matt. vii. 12.

vii. 1.

vi. 25, &c.

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Of the fifth commandment.

And for those three you may have patience till you come to those places, and then you shall have them explained to you.

As for the fifth, which is the only one of the second table which will then be left out, there may be particular reason for it, because that honour of father and mother, obedience to superiors, magistrates, &c., was by the Jewish law advanced so high, even to the prohibiting of thoughts of evil against such, which, say the Jews, is the only case wherein thoughts are prohibited, that there was no need, or almost possibility, of setting it higher in respect of the degree. And for any thing else in that matter, it will be worth your marking, that Christ meddled not with it. Though He were as God, the King of all kings, and might have changed or disposed of their dominions as He pleased, yet He was not pleased to make any alteration, but to continue and settle all in that course wherein it had formerly been placed by God Himself, living in subjection to the known laws, paying tribute to Cæsar, and not so much as accepting the judicial cognizance of an offence when He was put upon it: so that what He added to Moses in this matter, was only greater reverence and awe to the father, or magistrate, or civil power, not any retrenching of his former rights. In which He was so extremely careful, and tender above ordinary, that whereas Moses among the Egyptians, when he was but a private man, did take upon him to exercise an act of judicature on the Egyptian which wronged the Israelite, Christ would never do any such thing, but left the woman taken in adultery, and all other offenders, to the ordinary legal course, and would not upon any importunity usurp or take upon Him any thing in that matter. By which, if you please, you may discern how far from the practice and gospel of Christ are those doctrines of ambitious men, which have made Christian religion a ground or excuse of moving and disquieting of states, and shaking, if not dissolving, of kingdoms.

Christ meddles not with dominion among men.

Exod. ii. 12. [John viii. 3.]

S. What doctrines are those?

C. I had rather you should be ignorant of them; yet those which are so famous, that you will hardly escape the knowing of them, I shall mention to you, that you may be careful to avoid them. 1. That of some adorers of the Papacy, viz. that the pretended vicar of Christ, as successor of St. Peter,

Doctrines of sedition.

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The pope's two swords.

hath two swords given him by Christ, the spiritual, and the temporal; and that by that means he hath power to dispose of all the kingdoms of the world, and in case of heresy, to excommunicate princes, and absolve all subjects from their bands of allegiance to them. A thing so ridiculous to be affirmed of the pope as Christ's vicar, (if it were supposed that he were so beyond all other bishops, when, as I have already shewed you, Christ Himself absolutely disclaimed all such power, and, beside that He gave no sword, but only keys, to Peter, most sharply reprehended him for using the sword, though against the apprehenders of Christ Himself,) that more considerate papists discerning this, and yet unwilling to divest the pope of that so long usurped power, have found it necessary to pretend another tenure for him; and therefore style the pope not the vicar of Christ, for that would give him no power so much as of a civil judge, but the 'vicar of God[m],' whom He hath set up to be His vicegerent over all the world: a doctrine too senseless to need, and not so much avowed as to expect a confutation. Of which whole matter it is enough to observe, that it is set as a character of Christ's greatest enemy, Antichrist himself, that he shall exalt himself above all that is called God, i. e. as it is ordinarily interpreted, above all the kings of the earth. All that will be useful for you to learn, is the unchristianness of those actions in subjects which are built on such antichristian principles as these, such as are rebellion, treason, sedition, attempting the commotion of states, on colour of religion, or any other title or privilege from Christ, or any vicar or officer of His, to do so; defaming, speaking evil of dignities, &c. A second doctrine of this nature is that which some speculators and nice wits have pitched on, by mistaking of some scriptures, and not foreseeing the dangerous consequents of it, viz. that all dominion[n], whether of any private man over his own possessions, or of a king over his subjects, is founded in grace, i. e. that no man hath right to rule others, or even

[m] [Periret rursus et mortalium omnium hominum commercium, nisi foret unus pontifex] vice Dei [in terra monarcha ..... Neque enim vera aut recta potest esse respublica, nisi unus omnibus præsit, qui gubernet et regat, qui summus pontifex est,] immortalis Dei vicarius.—Rodericus Zamorensis, in spec. hum. vit., lib. ii. c. 1. [p. 200.]

[n] "Dominion founded in grace." Dominium fundatur in gratia.

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to possess any part of his own inheritance, but he who is in the favour of God, a gracious spiritual person. A doctrine absolutely destructive to all government and to all community; every man that thinks himself godly, as when so much advantage is to be made of it, every ill man will either think, or, which is all one in effect, pretend himself to be, having by this doctrine authority to rebel against any, to despoil any, whose power or wealth is an eyesore to him, there being no other judge on earth, but his own censorious, or mutinous, or covetous humour, to pronounce infallibly of any man whether he be a child of God, or no. As for the falseness of it, it were sufficient to say from Christ, that "God sends His rain on the unjust as well as the just;" and therefore the latter of them hath not the inclosure of the good things of this world, whether riches or power: or secondly, that we are forbidden to judge before the time; and therefore if it were granted that none but the just hath that title, yet were there no way of defining who is just in this life, nor consequently of disseizing the wicked of his inheritance: and thirdly, that he that is not now within that covenant of grace, may be within it to-morrow; and therefore that the doctrine would bring in all uncertainty and confusion. But I conceive there is a chapter in the New Testament that is most of it set on purpose against this doctrine as against a branch of the heresy of those that then called themselves Gnostics; it is 1 Tim. vi., and if you please, because it is not readily understood, I will give you a paraphrase of it, for the former part of it, which most specially concerns this purpose. Verse 1. Those Christians which are servants under yoke, i. e. bondslaves to heathens, must perform all that service and obedience to them which belongs to them by the laws of servants among the heathens, that the profession and doctrine of the gospel or Christianity be not evil spoken of by those heathens, as it will be, if they see men prove the worse servants for being Christians.

[Matt. v. 45.]

1 Tim. vi. 1—9.

2. And those Christians again that have Christians for their masters must not despise them, or detract any part of that obedience which is due to them, upon pretence, that by being Christians they are become their equals or brethren; but let them rather consider that their Christianity obliges them to perform most diligent service to them, because

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the faith and love that constitutes men Christians, consists in helping and assisting[o] one another to do good, which is all wherein their service consists. And that this be the practice of all servants, do thou, who art to instruct them, take care by thy doctrine and exhortation.

3. And for those Gnostics (mentioned ver. 20, with the same character there set upon them as here) which teach libertinism instead of the doctrine of Christianity and piety;

4. This you may observe and mark of them, that they are puffed up with an opinion of knowledge[p], whence they take their name, whereas indeed they know nothing, and study nothing but disputings[q] and verbal controversies, which have no manner of substance in them: and this studying is a kind of disease[r] in them, or distemper, at least an effect of it, and all that comes of it is envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings.

5. Odd kind of discourses[s] of men that have their minds perverted, and have lost[t] the truth, and have taken up an opinion, which caused the Apostle's speaking of them at that time, that the Christian[u] religion is a gainful trade, a means of helping one to secular advantages, (as that a servant shall be made free by that means, &c., which occasioned this discourse;) from such teachers and doers as these do thou separate thyself; express thy dislike of them by some means; exercise some part of ecclesiastical[x] censure, by way of discipline upon them.

6. As for that opinion of theirs, that the gospel or Christianity is a gainful calling, though it be not true in that sense wherein they use or whereto they apply it; yet in this other sense it is most orthodox, that Christianity with a competency is all the wealth in the world.

7. For it teacheth us this, that "having brought no

[o] So ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῆς εὐεργεσίας signifies: ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι is 'not to partake,' (that is, συλλαμβάνεσθαι,) but 'to take up at the other end,' as in carrying a flasket, and so 'to help bear the burden,' or, (as ἀντὶ signifies 'pro,') 'to take up, and bear any weight in another's stead,' i. e. to help or assist, and particularly to take care of, as Isa. xxvi. 2, ἀντιλαβόμενοι ἀληθείας, that 'take care of the truth:' and εὐεργεσία is in an active not passive sense, as Acts iv. 9, the only place besides where it is used, it signifies 'doing good,' not 'receiving' it.

[p] γνῶσις.

[q] So ζητήσεις and συζητήσεις signify.

[r] νοσῶν.

[s] διατριβὴ, 'a discourse,' παραδιατριβὴ, 'a discourse out of the way.'

[t] So ἀποστερεῖσθαι signifies.

[u] εὐσέβεια.

[x] So ἀφίστασο noteth.

treasure with us into the world, it is certain that we shall carry none out:" and therefore,

8. If for the time that we live here, we have enough for the necessaries of life, 'food and raiment,' as any man that useth those means that Christianity directs to, shall never fail of them, we shall in this be sufficiently provided for[y].

9. But they that will not thus be satisfied, but will be rich, lay up treasures in this world, (and so for power and authority,) and make religion a means to procure them, they do by this ingulf themselves into all the dangers and temptations in the world.

This place you see is directly confronted against that doctrine: and if you will consult and explain those words, "Let every man in that calling whereunto he is called, therein abide," as the context will enforce, you will find this to be the result of them, not that it is unlawful for a Christian to improve his estate or condition in this world, for the Apostle advises slaves to obtain their freedom if they can, but to shew us, that to think ourselves free from any obligation of this world by virtue of our Christianity, is to make Christian liberty a pretence to the satisfying of our concupiscence or carnal desire, and so a thing most unchristian in those Gnostics, which there also are spoken against by this Apostle. By all this you see this doctrine as punctually prevented, as if it had been by prophecy foreseen so long before, it being indeed the doctrine of the then present Gnostics, (as will further appear by what is said of them distinctly, that they "despise dominion, and fear not to speak evil of dignities;" and so, "they set at nought dominion[z]," evacuate, take it away,) then in later times by the schoolmen revived, and of late by others brought back into the world again. The observing this antidote against it will secure you from many hurtful practices of which this last age hath been fruitful beyond all others. Some other

1 Cor. vii. 20.

ver. 21.

2 Pet. ii. 10.

Jude 8.

[y] That is the meaning of *ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τούτοις*, 'in these we shall have enough,' or 'with these we shall be satisfied;' not as we render, 'let us therewith be content,' for it is in the future tense, and the indicative, not the subjunctive mood; and *ἀρκεῖσθαι* is properly 'to have enough,' and so *αὐτάρκεια*, ver. 6, 'having enough of his own,' without inordinate means to get it. So the Syriac renders it, 'wherefore meat and clothing are sufficient for us,' סַפְקָא from סְפַק or שְׁפַק both in sense and sound 'sufficio,' differing from the Latin word only in the Latin termination.

[z] *ἀθετοῦσι κυριότητα.*

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doctrines there are of this same making, very fatal to government, especially to monarchy: but instead of insisting on them, I shall put you in mind of this great truth, that Christ and His disciples were, of all the doctors that ever were in the world, the most careful to preserve the doctrine and practice of allegiance, even when the emperors were the greatest opposers of the Christian religion; and if ever you mean to be accounted a follower of them, you must "go and do likewise."

Christ's example pretended for submission to the prevailing power.

S. But I pray give me here leave to insert one question concerning those emperors, which is thought to be of some difficulty, whether Christ, in acknowledging allegiance due to Tiberius Cæsar, whose predecessors had so lately changed the ancient government of Rome by the senate, did not by that act of His example give liberty to us, that we may lawfully yield our allegiance to any unjust prevailing power whatsoever it be.

C. The state of the government of Rome at that time when Christ lived, must be considered distinctly what it was. It is true indeed, that Julius Cæsar had, not many years before, wrested the power out of the senate's hands, and changed the government violently: but before this time of Tiberius, whereof now we speak, the business was so accorded between the senate and the emperors, that the emperor now reigned unquestioned without any competition of the senate: in him the power was quietly seated, the money superscribed with his image, and edicts sent out in his name, and he looked upon by all, without any rival, as inferior to God only. In which case of his acknowledged power, Christ being born in his dominions, thinks not fit to make a question of his right, where there was none made by the Romans, or to dispute Cæsar's title, howsoever acquired by violence at first, when they from whom it was taken did acquiesce, and disputed it not. Which case how distant it is from other forcible usurpations, where the legal sovereign doth still claim his right to his kingdoms, and to the allegiance of his subjects, no way acquitting them from their oaths, or laying down his pretensions, though for the present he be overpowered, is easily discernible to any who hath the courage and fidelity to consider it, and is not by his own

interests bribed or frighted from the performance of his Christian duty. It being withal most certain, that it belongs not to the conveniences or advantages of subjects, to determine or prevail any thing in the business of princes' rights. I have briefly answered your scruple, and thus far insisted on this theme, though a little out of the way, because the fifth commandment of the law is the only one of the second table, that the following of Christ's method in this His sermon doth not present to our consideration, and yet was fit enough for you to learn somewhat of, above what you had in the catechism of the Church. SECT. XI.

S. But why is there nothing here added by Christ concerning the duties of the first table, which immediately respect God? For that I conceive is clear, that no one of them, save only the third, that about swearing, hath yet been touched by our Saviour in this sermon. SECT. XII. Of the duties of the first table.

C. Beside the wisdom of God, which even now you acknowledged sufficient in this matter, many reasons might be farther rendered for this course of Christ's; especially this, that the duties of the first table were under Moses set high, and explicated enough already, and Christ need not to repeat, save only what He meant to improve, or farther to illustrate and explain, and therefore repeated them not. Now for this a farther reason may be rendered, taken from the different economy or administration of things under the Old and New Testament. Under the Old Testament God resided among the Jews Himself in His Divine nature, without taking upon Him our flesh, revealing Himself to Moses in the mount, and in visions and illustrious apparitions to him and other of the patriarchs, and to the people continually in the oracle, and so immediately disposed of all things, that the government of the Jews was by their writers styled 'the government of God Himself[a].' This revelation of Himself, and immediate residence among them, might make it fit and proper for Him to give them precepts for the worship of God, and for all kind of duties of that kind, as distinct and punctual, clear and high as could be: and so indeed it was an explicit elevated law of piety in general, to "love the Lord their God with all their heart, with all their soul, with all their mind, and with [Deut. vi. 5.]

[a] Θεοκρατία. Joseph.

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all their strength." And for the particulars of outward performances, there were so many cautions, so many ceremonies, such strict performances of all kinds, that Christ did rather think fit to take off from the weights of those burdens, than to add to them: and it is a common observation, that the ceremonial part of the Old Testament law, and all that which was typical and presignificative of somewhat to come under Christ's kingdom, was then, as all positive laws, obligatory only to them to whom it was given, i. e. to the Jews, but not to the rest of the then Gentile, or now Christian world, no not to the very proselytes under the Old Testament, that came and lived among the Jews, but only to the natives, and to those that would be proselytes of justice, i. e. would be in their obedience as perfect Jews as they. But the state of the Gospel being of another economy, God the Son pitching His tent[b] in our nature, taking our very human flesh and soul upon Him, and becoming very man among us, it was now most reasonable that He should heighten our obligations of duty, to that nature which He had thus heightened and elevated to a higher pitch of dignity, by assuming it, and by giving us in our flesh such sublime, visible, elevated copies of charity toward all mankind, require us readily to transcribe them; especially when He had also taken off so much of the former burden of ceremonies from our shoulders, and so lessened our weight, and yet given more grace, than before was allowed under the law, to sustain it.

John i. [14.]

S. This is a very reasonable account of this matter; but why then is one of the four precepts concerning God, that of perjury, mentioned and improved by Him, and none else?

Perjury respects men as well as God.

C. The reason is clear, because though that commandment concern God, by calling Him to witness whensoever we swear, and by calling Him to witness a lie, which is a great vilifying of God, if we swear falsely; yet ordinarily it respecteth men also, and that more principally, because they are wronged by my perjury, the promissory oath being indeed a means of securing my brother of any thing which I promise him, and the breaking of that, the betraying of this fortress which was to have secured him: and therefore it is observable in St. James' prohibition of swearing, that he adds to

[Jam. v. 12.]

[b] ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

the negative precept, this as the affirmative command, "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay," &c., i. e. let your word be as good as an oath, be you most strict in making good or performing your promises. And that I conceive to be the pitch to which Christ desired to raise us in this matter, that we should be so punctual in performing our promises to men, that they might not need an oath from us, to believe us in any thing; and so that we should never swear at all, or if we did, never have excuse or pretence to do so. And to conclude this particular, you may mark that Christ having taken our flesh upon Him, the generality of all His sermons and precepts do chiefly respect our brethren,—meekness, obedience, peaceableness, mercifulness; and even for the other sort of precepts, that concern God, He is content they should sometimes give way to these duties to our fellow-Christians; "I will have mercy," saith He, "and not sacrifice;" and in the business of the Sabbath again, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," i. e. when both cannot be performed, He prefers the work of charity, or mercy to our brethren, before the outward duties toward God Himself. SECT. XII. Matt. ix. 13. Matt. xii. 7.

S. I must now entreat but one favour more, and it is from your own example in that former of honouring the parents, that having not elsewhere as yet explained these three commandments of the first table to me, you will now please to do it, with what brevity you please, as you did even now the fifth commandment, because they be not directly in your way in this place, and then I shall hope to put all together, and shall conceive myself to have received sufficient light for the understanding of the whole decalogue. I shall suppose my request granted, and beseech you to begin with the first, "Thou shalt have no other gods but Me," or, 'before Me.' What is the general importance of that precept? Of the first commandment.

C. That we must acknowledge the God of Israel to be God, and as firmly resolve that there is no other God before, or beside Him.

S. What is it to acknowledge Him to be God?

C. To perform to Him those several parts of duty which belong from a creature to his God.

S. What be they?

C. I shall need but to name them, because they have most

L I B. II. Duties to God.

of them been formerly, and will hereafter on peculiar occasions, be explained to you. Such are faith, hope, love, fear, trust, honour, worship, and prayer to Him, and that in all the parts of prayer, both in imploring His mercy, and the grateful acknowledgment of what hath been received from Him; which is proportionable to sacrifice, which always among Jews and Gentiles was resolved to be God's peculiar. And you may observe that there is such a sympathy and consent betwixt the first article in the Creed, and the first petitions in the Lord's Prayer, and this first commandment, that the due explication of them which hereafter I shall give you, will be a comment upon this commandment.

Of the second commandment.

S. I will then expect till those seasons, and proceed to the second commandment. What is the prime importance of that?

C. It is the arming and fortifying our hearts against all other rivals that may possibly interpose to divert that honour and worship that are due from us to God only. The heathen world by that snare to the eye, that tempting bait of images, and some carnalities that were ordinarily annexed to the use of them, were brought to the worshipping of many false, or no gods, and some of them the basest, meanest creatures in the world. The Jews contrarily were disciplined by God to the worshipping of the one, invisible, infinite Deity, that had never been seen in any resemblance, and was therefore so to be worshipped, in a place and a manner peculiar to Him, and appointed by Him. And the making of images at that time being generally by the Gentiles designed to be worshipped, and the danger being very great, that the Jews would be corrupted by them, (though when that danger was not observable, they were not only counted lawful to be made, but set up sometimes by God's own appointment, as the pictures of the cherubim, &c.,) this being eminently true of the graven or molten images, which were by their ceremonies of consecration conceived to become the bodies of their gods inspirited by them, they were strictly forbidden by God, and the last of them, that of embossed images, became, as it is thought, unlawful to a Jew either to make, or to have, or to bow in their presence, though they did not perform any worship to them. And although that great strictness did

[Exod. xxv. 18.]

Images.

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not extend to all or any of the other nations, and consequently not to us Christians, yet God's jealousy of a rival being a thing wherein all mankind are concerned, especially Christians, the performance of any divine worship to any creature in the world, and the very use of any other thing in the service of God which is by others worshipped, and by which we are in any imminent danger to be corrupted, is to be conceived forbidden to all Christians by the force of that commandment. So also all that vileness and filthiness which was wont to be used in their idol feasts; which hath been the subject of another discourse[c]. Beside this negative part of the commandment, other particulars there are to which the affirmative part extends: as that bowing down, adoration, or bodily worship, is due from us to the one true God, though not to those idol false gods, a tribute peculiarly due to Him, which hath made and redeemed our bodies as well as souls, and this debt must in any reason be paid to Him; and the "worshipping of God in spirit and in truth," which is only set in opposition to the worshipping 'on that mountain, and in Jerusalem,' i. e. to the Samaritan and Jewish worship, is no way exclusive of, or contrary to this external worship of the body, when it is bestowed on the one true object, and hath the fervency and sincerity of the soul going along with it; for then sure that even bodily worship is performed in spirit and in truth, whatsoever those words signify; the spirits which we have not ceasing to be such, when they are yoked and joined with bodies.

Duties of the second commandment.

John iv. 23.

S. What is the importance of the fourth commandment?

Of the fourth commandment.

C. It is a designation of time for the special performing of God's public worship. For the worship itself being first settled, the branches together with the object of it agreed on, in all reason some time should be set apart for the public special performance of it. And the precept in this matter given to the Jews, although it have something in it typical, viz. the strict rest for that whole day, which imported a rest wherein all Christians are concerned, the ceasing of our whole life from our own works, i. e. from sin, the true meaning of the Christian Sabbath, and therefore the fourth

In it somewhat typical and positive.

Isa. lviii. 13.

[c] [See the Author's Tract] of Idolatry [vol. i. p. 250—264.]

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commandment is interpreted by our Church catechism to signify to us the necessity of our serving God truly all the days of our life; and secondly, although being a positive precept, given particularly to the Jews, it be not punctually in every particular obligatory to us Christians, that live not by their laws, yet will it conclude, from the equity of that command, many things of use unto us. As 1. That it is not only lawful, but, for a public community of men, necessary, to set apart some set times for God's service, and by the same reason some set places, set vestments, gestures, and other the like ceremonies, such as may best both comply with, and help, accompany, and heighten our spiritual performances unto God. 2. That what is thus set apart to God's use, is said to be sanctified or hallowed, i. e. to have a separate[d] respect due to it, such as that it must not ordinarily be mixed with profane and common uses; which is also the importance of the rest joined with the hallowing, the not mixing our worldly employments with our divine performances. 3. That the remembrance of God's special mercies is a fit hint or occasion to pitch upon some day, or time, or place, &c., in relation thereto, and thus to discriminate it from others. Such was the creation of the world, mentioned there, and the resurrection of Christ in the Christian Church; and yet this latter not appointed to supplant or swallow up the former, but only, as it deserves of us Christians, to be preferred before it, as for some hundreds of years in the ancient Church, the Jewish Sabbath[e] was retained, in a great part, at least, of the Christian Church, together with the Lord's day, and the services proportioned to them both, but the latter preferred before the former: and if in every week, or month, or year, we should set some time apart to commemorate God's mercy in the creation, and all His other acts

The equity of it to Christians.

Set times to commemorate mercies.

The creation and resurrection.

[d] So διεχωρίσθησαν, Ecclus. xxxiii. 8, is set to signify that holy separate state bestowed ἐν γνώσει κυρίου, 'in or by God's knowledge,' on one day above another, according to the notion of the Hebrew קדש both for hallowing and separating.

[e] τὸ σάββατον [μέντοι] καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσεως. Const. Apost. vii. c. 23.

[σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν σχολαζέτωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον εἴπομεν δημιουργίας λόγον ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν ἀναστάσεως.] Const. Apost. viii. c. 33.

So Asterius hom. de repud. calls it καλὴν συνωρίδα τοῦ σαββάτου καὶ τῆς κυριακῆς. [p. 61.]

Greg. Nyssen. ἡμέρας ἀδελφάς.

And therefore saith Balsamon, παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐξισώθησαν δι' ὅλου σχεδὸν ταῖς κυριακαῖς τὰ σάββατα.

of gracious providence belonging to our preservation, it would be no superstition, but an act of piety, in any single Christian, or, if authority should think good, in any public society of them. So likewise the birth, passion, ascension of Christ, the descent of the Spirit, the birth or martyrdom of the Apostles and saints of Scripture, and any remarkable temporal deliverance, or, by proportion also, any matter of humiliation, any sin or judgment on a kingdom, &c., will by the example of God Himself, both in that fourth commandment and in other feasts and fasts prescribed by Him, be resolved on to be fit seasons and opportunities to consecrate some considerable part of our time, yea, and of our wealth also, unto God. 4. That as God did then, so, Christ having transmitted His power to them, the Apostles and succeeding Church of God now may very reasonably dispose of us in matters of this nature, and direct all its members into some uniform way, at such set times, in such set places of the worship of God: and that they have so done, appears both by some mentions of the Lord's day in holy Scripture, and by the constant suffrage of the fathers of the Church since that time; which is a sufficient obligation on all Christians to a due, constant, diligent observation of it, over and above that of the fourth commandment.

The Lord's day.

S. How is the time thus set apart to be employed?

C. To the practice and advancement of piety in private and in public: in private, to private reading, prayer, thanksgiving, meditation, &c.; in public, to public exercise of the same, public reading, prayer, preaching, instructing of youth, by the hand of the lawful minister, authorized to be a public person both from God to us, and from us to God, together with the use of the Sacraments, in such manner, and with that frequency, as shall seem good to those to whose charge we are committed, with all due care, reverence, and zeal; not slightly, or formally, or profanely, but so as will best tend to the increase of piety and charity, to the benefit, not ensnaring, of mankind, the Sabbath, and all such institutions, being 'made for man[f],' i. e. for man's good, and Christ, being God, the author of this positive law, having delivered it with that [Mark ii. 27.]

How to be employed.

[f] Periculum animæ impellit Sabbatum. Proverb. Heb. et Sabbatum datum est in manus hominis, non homo in manum Sabbati.

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respect to moral duties, that the outward part of it, that which concerned bodily rest, should yield place to works of mercy or pity to ourselves or others; and consequently that man, and especially the Christian, should not be so enslaved to it, but that he hath power over it, to do what is most to his other Christian ends of charity, mercy, &c., on that day. I should spend a larger time on this commandment, to give you a distinct apprehension of it, and to enforce the duties of the day, as they now belong to us, more earnestly, but that it comes in with some violence in this place; and therefore I shall add no more of it.

Of festivities.

S. I am well satisfied with that proportion which you have afforded me, and should here conclude your trouble, had not the mention of the days of the birth, passion, and ascension of Christ, and of the births and martyrdoms of the Apostles and saints of Scripture, made it a little necessary for me to require your assistance and direction in that matter, to tell me whether you think it first lawful, and then either commendable or necessary, to retain such festivities in the Church, or indeed any besides that of the Lord's day already insisted on.

C. That the observation of such other festivities is lawful, I shall first make appear to you; and that I may do it the more fully, I shall fasten upon some one of them, by analogy with which, the rest will also be concluded; and it shall be the first and the principal, that of the nativity of Christ.

Of Christmas.

And to vindicate the lawfulness of that observation against gainsayers, I shall think myself obliged to clear this proposition, that the celebration and commemoration of the birth of Christ is under no moral or Christian prejudice,—is no way contrary, but altogether agreeable to the doctrine of the New Testament, and the frame of Christian religion.

S. That you may do this, I shall mention to you in order, the prejudices which it is conceived to be under. 1. The riot which is commonly used in the celebrating of this festivity. 2. The sin of will-worship. 3. Of superstition in the beginning and continuing of it. Will you begin first with the first of these?

The riot unlawful.

C. I will, and first acknowledge to you that all riot or excess is a sin, and that far greater and more culpable in a

Christian than in any man else, particularly than in the Jew, whose promises of an earthly plenty are not near so contrary and irreconcileable with corporeal excesses, as are those spiritual joys, which are the Christian's eminent, if not only, portion both in this and another life. But then, secondly, it is as certain, that festivities are very separable from riot or luxury in a Christian commonwealth. The heathen feasts and sacrifices had little else in them; gluttony and drunkenness being the prescribed worship and way of approving themselves to some of their idol-gods, and uncleanness the design of others; if not openly in their temples, yet secretly in their recesses and mysteries: and so both sorts recommended to them under the opinion of piety and holiness. But the Christian festival being wholly made up of Christian dainties, Christian instruction, prayers, thanksgiving and alms, and not feeding corporally, save in the sacrament only, is perfectly free from having any degree of luxury or excess intrinsecal or essential to it. As for the customary hospitality or good cheer of those seasons, that, though it be a decent attendant on the festivity, is not yet of the essence or substance of it; and therefore the excesses and vices of men, which also are but occasioned, at most, and not caused by that good cheer, are not in any equity imputable to that, much less to the festivity itself; the prayers and praises on that day, wherein the festivity consists, being surely free from the guilt of so much as occasioning that riot. And indeed what use would there be of laws or magistrates, if it were not in their power, without utter abolishing the festivity, to reform such excesses as these? Meanwhile, it is every man's duty to take all care to remove this scandal, and purge this duty from such blemishes as these, to be most strictly temperate at such times wherein Christ entered the world to bring all purity into it; and then this will cease to be an objection, if as yet it be one.

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The festival lawful.

S. This first prejudice hath been easily removed by you; please you to proceed now to the second, the charge of will-worship that lies on it.

C. This charge is wholly a mistake, whether you respect those which now observe, or those which first instituted this festivity. In those which now retain that usage, and observe

The objection of will-worship answered.

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it in obedience to the canons of the Church, and no otherwise, it proceeds from that moral principle of obedience to superiors, which is a duty owing to the fifth commandment of the law, as immediately and directly as chastity is to the seventh. And for those who first instituted it, without any precedent command from others, and so are the only persons in whom it can possibly be called will-worship, they will be also very far from any fault or guilt derivable from hence: it being clear that even among the Jews some feasts have been instituted by themselves without any command of God, the feast of Purim in the book of Esther, and the feast of dedication, and the latter of them used in Christ's time in the New Testament, and approved by Christ's presence at it. And so the third, and sixth, and ninth hours of prayer were received only by Jewish custom or law, of their own, not of God's enacting, and yet are observed by the Apostles: and indeed the case is clear, that any thing of this nature, of free-will offerings[g], &c., is likely to be the more, not the less acceptable for being voluntary.

[Esther ix. 26.]

1 Mac. iv. 59.

Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9.

S. What say you then to the third prejudice, that of superstition?

As also of superstition.

C. That is a calumny also. For if the word 'superstition[h]' be taken in the propriety of the notion either of the Greek or Latin, for the worshipping of demons[i], or the souls of dead men; then can it not without blasphemy, and making our God and our Christ, which alone are worshipped in that festivity, a demon, or spirit of a mere dead man, be affixed to this institution: or if it be taken improperly and abusively, for the placing of that sanctity in such days or performances which belongs not unto them, then will not this be any way applicable to the observation of this day: for the birth of Christ, the business and occasion of this festivity, is certainly a mercy of such a quality whether we consider our own wants, or the no other way imaginable to repair them, or whether the strangeness of this way, or the goodness united to the wisdom of God in designing it, that it cannot well be overvalued by us, especially when it is affirmed by Christ Himself

[g] See [the author's] tract of Will-worship [vol. i. p. 232—241.]

[h] δεισιδαιμονία.

[i] Superstitum cultus. [See the author's tract of Superstition, vol. i. p. 242—250.]

of Abraham, the representative of all faithful Christians, as well as father of all Jews, that "he rejoiced to see this His day" of birth or coming into the world, with all attending it; and again, when the Angel himself expresses it by the title of "good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people," because "this day is born to you a Saviour," &c.; and lastly, when, as an essay of that joy, the whole "heavenly host" join together with the doxology, "Glory to God on high," &c., and (as the writer to the Hebrews applies it to this very matter of the time of God's bringing Christ into the world) "all the Angels of God worship Him." All which being considered as our copies and examples, there will be little reason to fear that a transcript taken so far short of the original should have any criminous excess in it; the greater danger is, that we offend on the other side. And secondly, for the services performed on this day, they are looked upon by us but as they are, as acceptable tributes and acknowledgments unto God, in the way, prescribed by Him, of praise and thanksgiving, and so there is no appearance of excess or superstition in those neither. Thirdly, for the instituting or setting apart a day for this duty every year, this cannot be an excess; 1. because a duty cannot be performed without the circumstance of time, and that it is a certain set time, tends only to the securing of the duty of some time against the frailties of men and disturbances of the world, which might otherwise supplant and rob it of all: and 2. because the Angels doing it on the very day of Christ's birth, will not only be an evidence of the fitness—which is more than lawfulness—of doing it on a set day, but withal an example to us both to observe the duty, and fix the time of performing it: and seeing they cannot be imitated by us exactly by our bearing them company on the very day, the next and most natural way of endeavouring it, is to do it on the anniversary return of that day. Fourthly, if the strict abstaining from the labours of the ordinary calling on that day be the thing charged with the excess, the answer is clear, that that rest is agreeable to what God hath appointed on all days of festivity and fasting, and so proportionable to God's examples, and is also in itself absolutely necessary to a day of the public service of God: the works of the calling being irreconcileable with the solemn assemblies, and worldly

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John viii. 56.

Luke ii. 10.

ver. 14.

Heb. i. 6.

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thoughts very fit to be ceremoniously laid aside, that they may not intrude too rudely and mix with those services. And then what is so agreeable to God's patterns, and proper and natural toward so good an end, cannot be thought an excess, or culpable in that respect. Fifthly, for the setting apart this set day, the twenty-fifth of December, which by some is doubted whether it be the day or no, and thence is made guilty of strengthening men in blindness and superstition, I answer, first, that if indeed the day were mistaken, yet the matter of the mistake being of no greater moment than the false calculating of a day, which were it once never so accurately set, the least slip in chronology or want of exactness in calendars would alter it again, the mistake will sure be very pardonable in those who verily think they are not mistaken: and as long as those who are supposed to be in this error do perform the business of the day as completely and substantially on a mistaken day as they could do on the true one, if it were revealed infallibly which it were, the excuse of blameless ignorance will wash away greater errors than this of the day, supposing it were an error. But then, secondly, there is little reason to doubt but that this which we now observe is the very day. For the testimony of St. Chrysostom is clear for the tradition of it, out of the censual tables[k] at Rome, wherein the day is set down; affirming, that they[l]

The twenty-fifth of December.

[k] To these Justin Martyr appeals concerning the place of Christ's birth: [ὅπου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς γεννᾶσθαι ἔμελλεν ὡς πρόειπεν ἕτερος προφήτης ὁ Μιχαίας, ἀκούσατε· ἔφη δὲ οὕτως· καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγέμοσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου· κώμη δέ τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίων ἀπέχουσα σταδίοις τριακονταπέντε Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς] ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν [τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου. Justin. Mart. Apol. i. p. 65.]

Sed et census constat [actos nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum.] Tertull., lib. iv. adv. Marc., c. 19. [p. 532.]

And, [Tam distincta fuit a primordio Judæa gens per tribus et populos et familias et domos, ut nemo facile ignorare de genere potuisset, vel de] recentibus Augustianis censibus adhuc [tunc fortasse] pendentibus. [Adv. Marc. iv. c. 36. p. 564.]

And again: [Et tamen quomodo in synagogam potuit admitti tam repentinus, tam ignotus cujus nemo adhuc certus de tribu, de populo, de domo, de] censu [denique] Augusti quem testem fidelissimum Dominicæ nativitatis Romana archiva custodiunt. [Ib., c. 7. p. 507.]

[l] [καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοῖς δημοσίᾳ κειμένοις κώδιξιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔξεστιν ἐντυχόντα, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀπογραφῆς μαθόντα ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὸν βουλόμενον· τί οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, φησι, τοῦτο τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας ἐκεῖ οὔτε παραγενομένους; ἀλλ' ἄκουε, καὶ μὴ ἀπίστει, ὅτι] παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς ταῦτα εἰδότων, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἰκούντων παρειλήφαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν· οἱ [γὰρ ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντες,] ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ παλαιᾶς παραδόσεως, αὐτὴν ἐπιτελοῦντες, [αὐτοὶ νῦν αὐτῆς ἡμῖν τὴν γνῶσιν διεπέμψαντο.] S. Chrys. Hom. in Nat. ad Antioch., [tom. ii. p. 356 C.]

which knew those records exactly, and that had a long time celebrated it as from an ancient tradition, had now sent them knowledge of it. And so both the Greek and Latin Churches, which had very sharp contentions about the time of keeping of Easter, have yet agreed uniformly in this, asserting it from the tradition of the Church[m]. In the next place, for the character which St. Paul sets on the observation of days, and to which the fathers affix the title of superstition, I answer, that it is most clear, that that place belongs not at all to Christian feasts. The words there may possibly refer to Jewish feasts, as may seem probable from the mention of their willingness to be under the law, and then 'the days' will signify sabbaths; 'the months' new months; 'the times' their anniversary feasts; and 'the years' their sabbatic years and jubilees. And in this interpretation those words will no way prejudge the Christian feasts. For though the Jewish observations were feasts like these, yet were they not forbidden as feasts, but only as Jewish, now when they were out-dated by Christ, and so as ill symptoms in Christians, intimating their preferring of Judaism before Christianity, and depending on those legal observances for justification. But it is also possible that the words to the Galatians may refer to heathen observances, and so the mention of the heathenism in which they had lived, doth seem to incline them; and St. Ambrose[n] interprets them

Gal. iv. 10.

ver. 21.

ver. 8.

[m] See Const. Apost., lib. v. c. 13. [τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑορτῶν φυλάσσητε ἀδελφοι, καὶ πρώτην γε τὴν γενέθλιον, ἥτις ὑμῖν ἐπιτελείσθω εἰκάδι πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνός.]

And [Dominus autem natus octavo Kalendas Januarias.] S. Aug. in Ps. 132. [tom. iv. pars ii. p. 1490.]

And [Octavo enim Kalendas Aprilis conceptus creditur, quo et passus: ita monumento novo, quo sepultus est ubi nullus erat mortuorum positus, nec ante, nec postea, congruit uterus virginis quo conceptus est, ubi nullus seminatus est mortalium. Natus autem traditur octavo Kalendas Januarias.] S. Aug. de Trin., lib. iv. [tom. viii. p. 816.]

[n] [*Dies observatis, et menses, et tempora et annos.* Quæ elementa dixerit, nunc declarat. Diem sol facit, menses cursus lunæ: tempora vero sunt ver, æstas, autumnus, hyems: quatuor hæc, completo numero proprio, faciunt annum. Dies ergo observant, qui dicunt, ut puta: crastino proficiscendum non est; post crastinum enim non debet aliquid inchoari et sic solent magis decipi. Hi autem colunt menses, qui cursus lunæ perscrutantur dicentes, ut puta: septima luna instrumenta confici non debent, nona iterum luna servum emptum, ut puta, domum duci non oportet; et per hæc facilius solent adversa provenire. Tempora vero sic observant cum dicunt: hodie veris initium est, festivitas est, post cras Vulcanalia sunt. Et talia iterum aiunt: posterum est, domum egredi non licet: Annos sic colunt cum dicunt Kalendis Januariis novus est annus, quasi non quotidie anni impleantur, sed et Jani illius recolant memoriam bifrontis, hac superstitione utuntur quæ longe debet esse a servis Dei. Si enim Deus ex toto corde diligatur, ipso propitio nulla

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accordingly, and then the meaning will be, that they observed ominous days[o], as the Gentiles were wont to do; would not begin any business or journey upon such or such days[p], the day after the Calends or Nones, &c. And these again have nothing common with this or other Christian festivities: for on them we may begin any enterprise that is reconcileable with the devotion due to the day; and that labour or travelling is not so, it is not from any evil abode[q], but from the nature of the employment not very suitable with the public services of the Church.

The objection from teaching the commands of men answered.

S. But is not this celebration guilty of that which, if it be not superstition, hath yet a semblance of it, and is censured in the Pharisees by Christ, viz. the "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men?"

[Matt. xv. 9.]

C. I must first admonish you what is meant by that phrase, "teaching for doctrines." It is the affirming that such a thing is the pleasure[r], i. e. command or will, of God; and the affirming that of the commands of men, is the same crime as to put the king's broad seal to a deed of my own, or his stamp and impression on that which is not his coin. And thus to pretend a tradition of the Jews, which was an invention of their own, to be a law of God's enacting, or to set it up against any known law of God's, is the crime noted by that phrase; and nothing else but what shall bear some analogy with that. And therefore still this is no way chargeable here on those that acknowledge this to be an ecclesiastical institution, and do not so much as pretend it to be prescribed by Christ, and which seek not thereby to supplant any thing that is appointed by Christ, but do it upon a Christian occasion, in perfect subordination to, and compliance with, all other moral or Christian laws or institutions: and this as instrumental to an end commanded by Christ, the commemorating of His birth, praising and praying to Him; and for thus doing pretend not to any higher authority than may appear to belong to it.

S. You have now sufficiently cleared it from those preju-

debet esse formido neque suspicio harum rerum: prospere enim potest cedere quicquid simpliciter sub Dei devotione fit.] S. Ambros. [Comment. Supposit. in Ep. ad Gal., tom. ii. App. p. 224.]

[o] This is called αἰσιοῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας.

[p] καιροὶ ἀνεξοδικοὶ, and ἀνεκδήμητοι.

[q] Ominis gratia.

[r] δόγμα.

dices which might fasten any ill character upon it: please you now to proceed to inform me what that authority is by which this festivity pretends to stand in the Church of Christ; for that will be necessary to be superadded to the bare lawfulness of it, to render it either necessary or fit to be observed by us.

SECT. XII. The authority by which Christmas stands in the Church.

C. The authority by which it stands in the whole Church is that of the practice of the primitive universal Christian Church: not that we have any certain evidence of the time of its beginning, but that the immemorial observation of it is an argument of the primitive, if not apostolic, institution of it. And thus indeed do the ancient fathers, in their homilies upon that day, speak of it, as of a most ancient usage. Thus the very ancient author of the Constitutions mentions a day solemnized in remembrance of Christ's birth: and Origen[s], one of our first writers, doth not only vindicate that place of Gal. iv. from having any thing contrary to the Christian feasts, which were ridiculous, if there were none such, but also mentions the feast of the innocent infants[t], (which is now attendant on the nativity, and cannot be imagined ancienter than that,) as that which was by the holy fathers, according to the will of God, commanded to be for ever celebrated in the Church. Soon after him St. Cyprian[u] hath a treatise on this day. And Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of Julian the apostate, above thirteen hundred years ago, mentions it, as his design to cover his apostatical intentions, that he went solemnly to the Christians' church, and worshipped God[x] on that holy day in January which the Christians call Epiphany: which day being mentioned so anciently as a known festival of the Christian Church, gives not only to that day, but to Christmas, which that concludes, a far greater antiquity than that time of Julian's, on occasion of which it is there mentioned. And so saith St. Chrysostom,

[s] Orig. contra Celsum, lib. viii. [c. 22 sqq. tom. i. p. 758.]

[t] Hom. iii. in Matt.

[u] [Adest Christi multum desiderata et diu expectata Nativitas: adest sollemnitas inclyta; et in præsentia Salvatoris grates et laudes visitatori suo per orbem terrarum sancta reddit ecclesia.—S. Cyprian. de Nat. Christi, ad init., p. 445.]

[x] [Utque omnes nullo impediente ad sui favorem illiceret adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jampridem occulte desciverat arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinæ auguriisque intentus et ceteris quæ Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur,] feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dictitant [progressus in eorum ecclesiam sollemniter numine orato discessit. Amm. Marc., lib. xxi. c. 2. p. 206.]

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that, though till his time the observation of it on December the twenty-fifth, was not fixed at Antioch, yet from Rome over all the west it had been so observed from the most ancient records of Christianity[y].

By this, and much more that might be produced, it appears to be at the least an ecclesiastical institution, very early received over all the west, and the far greatest part of Christendom, and within four hundred years universally solemnized: and sure this is a very competent authority,—when withal it is so probable, that it may be more, according to a rule of the fathers, "that every ancient and general usage, whose beginnings are unknown, may be resolved to be of apostolical institution or practice,"—to oblige the continuance of so pious a solemnity in the Church, according to that of St. Augustine[z], "that all that acknowledge themselves sons of the Church, observe the festivals of the Church," (in which number he places this of the nativity in the front[a]:) to which it is consequent, that they which observe them not, disclaim this sonship, and cast themselves out of this family, upon a temptation much too slight to own or excuse an act of such unkindness to themselves, and ingratitude to the Christian Church, which designed it so much to their advantage. To this head of the ancientness of this institution in the universal Church I shall add but one evidence more, and it is this, that as most of the first customs or institutions of Christianity were taken by some light change from the customs of the Jews, (Christ's baptism from their washings at the initiation of Jews and proselytes in the temple, the Sacrament of the

[y] [καίτοιγε οὔπω δέκατόν ἐστιν ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ δήλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγένηται· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὡς ἄνωθεν καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμῖν παραδοθεῖσα ἐτῶν, οὕτως ἤνθησε διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας σπουδῆς· ὅθεν οὐκ ἄν τις ἁμάρτοι καὶ νέαν αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρχαίαν προσειπών· νέαν μὲν διὰ τὸ προσφάτως ἡμῖν γνωρισθῆναι, παλαίαν δὲ καὶ ἀρχαίαν διὰ τὸ ταῖς πρεσβυτέραις ταχέως ὁμήλικα γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐταῖς φθάσαι μέτρον· καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ γενναῖα καὶ εὐγενῆ τῶν φυτῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ὁμοῦ τε εἰς τὴν γῆν κατατίθεται, καὶ πρὸς ὕψος εὐθὺς ἀνατρέχει μέγα, καὶ τῷ καρπῷ βρίθεται· οὕτω καὶ αὕτη, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦσιν ἄνωθεν γνωριζομένη, πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ κομισθεῖσα νῦν καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν, ἀθρόον οὕτως ἀνέδραμε, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤνεγκε τὸν καρπόν, ὅσονπέρ ἐστι νῦν ὁρᾷν τῶν περιβόλων ἡμῖν πεπληρωμένων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης στενοχωρουμένης τῷ πλήθει τῶν συνδραμόντων.—S. Chrys. Hom. in Nat. ad Antioch., tom. ii. p. 355.]

[z] Recte festa Ecclesiæ colunt qui se Ecclesiæ filios recognoscunt.—Serm. 253. de Temp.

[a] Quotiescunque aut natalem Domini, &c., celebrare disponitis. Domin. i. Advent. [See also Serm. 287. tom. v. p. 1151; and Serm. 292. tom. v. p. 1168, where it is noticed that the Church celebrates the birthdays of our Saviour and St. John Baptist only.]

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Lord's Supper from their loaf and cup of benediction after supper, our Easter from their Passover, the Christian from the Jewish Pentecost, and many other the like,) so it was in this matter also. The beginnings of all months, and seasons, and years, were kept festival among the Jews[b]; in like manner the feast of the dedication of the temple, the anniversary commemoration of the beginning, or birth, as it were, of that house of God, as among other people the birthdays of cities[c], the day wherein the trench was first cast up, hath usually been solemnized. And then, as the temple was a type of Christ, and He said by Himself to be greater than the temple, as the substance which the temple foreshadowed, His flesh the walls, and His divinity the glory which inhabited it, so are these two, the type and antitype, the feast of dedication among them and the nativity among Christians, most perfectly answerable the one to the other. And proportionably as among them the beginnings or calends of every month were kept holy, so here twelve days together, one for every month, are joined to attend the calends or nativity of Christ. And all this, as it is a fair compliance with God's institution among the Jews, so sure is it an argument of the antiquity of the observation, that it is thus imitated from the Jews, for that signifies it to have been begun about that great time of reformation, before the Jewish ceremonies were quite abolished, as the Egyptians' jewels were then taken from them, [Exod. iii. 22.] when the Israelites departed out of the land, and began their journey toward Canaan. As for this particular Church wherein we live, there is little doubt but that this festivity is of the same standing with the first plantation of Christian religion among us. If we reckon that from the conversion of the Saxons, to which the name of English is properly affixed, it is then most clear by the records of King Ethelbert[d]. But if

[b] See Targum Hieros. in Gen. i. 14, [p. 1.] where the use of the "sun and moon for seasons and days and years," is expressed by, "let them be for the sanctifying by them the beginnings of months and years." [Et sint in signa, et in tempora constituta, et ad sanctificandum per illa mensium et annorum initia.]

[c] Palilia.

[d] [Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 605.] Ethelbertus rex in fide roboratus Catholica una cum beata regina filioque ipsorum Eadbaldo, ac reverendissimo præsule Augustino cæterisque optimatibus terræ, solennitatem natalis Domini celebravit Cantuariæ. Convocato [igitur] ibidem communi [concilio] tam cleri quam populi die quinto Idus Januarii——. "King Ethelbert, with his queen, and his son, and Augustine, &c., celebrated the solemnity of the birthday of Christ at Canterbury," &c. —Spelman, [Conc. Eccles. Brit., tom. i. p. 126.]

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we speak of the Britons, then as their conversion is much more ancient, and Tertullian's testimony[e] is clear, that the British islands were converted to Christianity before his time, so if there be any truth in that objection which some men have made against the celebration of this feast among us, viz. that some heathen usages are retained in it, this will be yet a higher evidence of the antiquity of this festival in this nation, so far as to render the original[f] of it, if not apostolical, yet very primitive and near the Apostles' age; that being the time of the conversion of the nation from heathenism: and if it were not of the usage of this festivity also, it is not imaginable how any heathen custom should come to be adherent to it. This, I suppose, may help to recover this festivity to some competent part of that reverence which in reason is due to Christian antiquity in point of ceremony or observation, in a kingdom especially where common usage is common law, the best that any man holds his estate by, and awake us to a more pious, Christian, spiritual, and not to a more voluptuous, carnal, heathenish observance of it.

I have detained you long on this theme, and longer than you had reason to expect when you first proposed your question about it, on purpose to shew you the proper basis on which this and other the festivals of the Church are fastened, and to vindicate them from the little exceptions and envies which are raised against them, and by this one example to recommend to you that uniform obedience which is due from you to the commands of that Church wherein you were born, which, of all others in the Christian world, hath most adhered to the universal Church of the first and purest ages, which is known to have censured and turned out Aerius for this, among other heresies, his opposing and

[e] [In quem enim alium universæ gentes crediderunt nisi in Christum qui jam venit? Cui enim et aliæ gentes crediderunt . . . . . et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita . . . . . in quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen qui jam venit, regnat.—Tertull. adv. Jud. Lib. c. 7.]

[f] An argument of this may be taken from the name of this day in the ancient monuments, Midpintpadæg, i. e. Midwinter day: for this will conclude, if the imposition of the name were answerable to the nature of the season, and if the twenty-fifth of December, with the western Church, be granted to be the day of Christ's birth, that when that name was first applied to Christmas-day, the day was then not far removed from the solstice, and that by calculation must be not long after our Saviour's time. Vide Baronii Apparat. [ad Ann. Eccl., tom. i. p. 39 sqq.,] and Bishop Mountague in his answer to him. [Apparat. ad Orig. Eccles., p. 369 sqq.]

condemning the festivals of the Church. The usefulness and advantages of which I shall now no farther enlarge to recommend unto you. SECT. XII.

S. I thank you for what I have, and have no reason to quarrel the length of it. You have now gone through that whole work with convenient brevity, the explaining all the commandments to me, save only those three which you bid me expect ere long in your farther progress, both those mentioned by Christ, and those omitted by Him, and so you have obliged me beyond your first undertaking. I shall now detain you no longer, but desire you to proceed to the next, the sixth chapter of St. Matthew, in that sermon on the mount, and consider what first we shall fall upon.

LIB. III.

S. WHAT is the first general aim or design of this next part of the sermon, beginning chap. vi.? SECT. I.

C. The regulating of three Christian duties, almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. Three so necessary considerable offices of a Christian, that learned divines have resolved them to be the three especial Christian sacrifices or acts of divine worship[g]: the first out of our estates, the second of our souls, the third from our bodies; which are the three principal parts of a man, every one therefore obliged to pay its tribute of acknowledgment to the Creator. Three parts of divine worship.

[g] [Ad secundum dicendum quod triplex est hominis bonum. Primum quidem est bonum animæ quod Deo offertur interiore quodam sacrificio per devotionem et rationem et alios hujusmodi interiores actus, et hoc est principale sacrificium. Secundum est bonum corporis, quod Deo quodammodo offertur per martyrium et abstinentiam. Tertium est bonum exteriorum rerum, de quo sacrificium offertur Deo, directe quidem, quando immediate res nostras Deo offerimus, mediate autem quando eas communicamus proximis propter Deum.]—S. Thom. Aq. Sec. Sec., qu. 85. art. 3. § 2. [tom. xi. p. 202.]

Tria fundamenta legis, say the Arabians, [In summa, fundamenta legis Islamiticæ hæc sunt, 1. Munditiei in extremis corporis partibus et vestium oris quod dependeant, et rebus spurcis occurrant, cura. 2. Oratio quæ est subjectio et demissio sui coram Domino potentiæ. 3. Eleemosyna quæ est communicatio in miseriis, et auxilium et largitio. 4. Jejunium quod est sui domatio et depressio, et subjugatio concupiscentiæ qua producatur teneritas cordis et animæ puritas. 5. Peregrinatio, quæ exitus e mundo et itionis in occursum futuri typus est, nec alio plerique eorum qui in ea observantur ritus, tendunt, quam probationi et tentationi hominis an ea quæ ipsi mandata sint sectari velit; quales sunt Cursus et Properatio in circuitione (Caabæ) et jactus lapillorum.]—Abul. Farajii de [Orig. et] Mor. Arab. p. 29.

Partes fidei, saith Al Gazal, foundations of the law and parts of faith: [Apud Al Gazalium, ut et in libro Mostatraf dictum a Mohammede fertur, "Fundatus est Islamismus in quinque rebus, confessione hac, 'Non est Deus præter Deum illum et Mohammedes est Apostolus Dei,' et orationibus constanter celebrandis, et eleemosynis largiendis, et peregrinatione religionis ergo, et jejunio Ramadani."—Ib. p. 301.]

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Of almsgiving.

S. I shall then presume them worthy of our distinct survey, and to that purpose pitch upon that first which I see first placed, that of almsgiving, and expect what method you will propose to me as most proper to give me a clear sight of what Christ hath thought fit to represent to me concerning it.

C. I shall reduce it summarily to these two heads, 1. a duty supposed; 2. a caution interposed for the regulation of this duty.

S. What mean you by the duty supposed?

C. I mean this, that the duty of almsgiving here mentioned, is not so much here commanded by Christ, as presumed and supposed, as a duty that both the law of nature and of Moses required of all men, heathens and Jews, before, and therefore need not to be commanded by Christ, but only to be thus honourably mentioned by Him as a duty that He meant not to evacuate, but confirm; so far, that he that would not observe it should be unworthy the title of a Christian, nay of a Jew or heathen man, all laws so strictly exacting it of him. Thus you shall find it mentioned with
Tob. xii. 8. the other two, fasting and prayer, by Raphael the angel, as the three prime branches of piety or goodness accepted and rewarded by God.

S. The duty being so necessary, and yet only touched on or named here, you may please a little to explain it to me.

C. I will, by telling you, 1. that it is the same duty, expressed by the same word, that mercifulness is in the fifth beatitude: but then, 2. that it seems here to be restrained to that one kind of mercifulness which consists in giving, and that peculiarly of relief corporal to them that want it; and therefore it will not be pertinent in this place to speak to you of any branch of mercifulness but of that which we ordinarily call giving of alms.

S. What do you think fit to tell me of that?

C. Only these two things, as most proper for your direction in this duty: the first, for the substance of the duty; the second, for the most convenient manner of performing it.

S. What for the substance of the duty?

C. That I am bound by all laws, of nature, of Moses, of Christ, as God hath enabled me, to relieve those that are in want, the hungry, the naked, the fatherless and widow,

and others destitute of worldly succour, the doing of which is called 'pure religion[h],' or 'worship,' by St. James. SECT. I. Jam. i. 27.

S. What directions have you for the most convenient manner of performing it?

C. This is one especially, which St. Paul hath given me occasion to think on, that every rich man, or thriving man, every one that hath either constant revenue or profitable trade, should lay by him in store, as God prospereth him, for the use of the poor; dedicating yearly, or monthly, or weekly, such or such a proportion for this purpose, and separating it from the rest of the heap, that it may be ready for such uses as the providence of God shall offer to us. The manner of performing it. 1Cor.xvi.2.

S. How will this best be done?

C. By a yearly valuation of my income, whether of rents, or gains by trading, and setting apart a reasonable proportion of that, and then dividing that gross proportion into as many parts as there be weeks in the year: and then every Lord's day, according to the Apostle's direction, or otherwise weekly, to put into the poor man's bag, or box, or pocket, such a just proportion, which from that time I am to account of, as none of mine, but the poor's propriety, which I cannot take from them again but by stealth, that I say not sacrilege. This way of setting apart beforehand will be very useful both for the resisting of covetous thoughts, which will be apt still to intercur, when objects of charity offer themselves; and also for the having provision ready at hand, to give when we would be willing to give, which otherwise would sometimes be wanting: and the doing this thus weekly, will make the sum thus parted with so insensible, that we shall not miss out of our estates, what is thus consecrated.

S. But I pray what proportion yearly should I thus design? The proportion of it.

C. The exact proportion or quotum I cannot prescribe you, the Scripture having defined nothing in it but by commending liberality, and voluntary and cheerful giving, rather intimating that there is no set proportion to be defined, but to be left to every man's own breast how to proportion his free-will offering. For although one place there be that seems to require all to be set apart for this purpose

[h] καθαρὰ θρησκεία.

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1Cor.xvi.2.

that comes in by way of gain from God's prospering hand, to wit, that just now mentioned, where he appoints that every one set apart "treasuring up whatsoever he hath gained[i], or thrived, or been prospered," not, as we render it, 'as God hath prospered him;' for it is not 'as[k]' but 'whatsoever[l],' yet it appears that that was in a peculiar case at that time, for the relieving the poor Christians at Jerusalem, who were so many, and so few to relieve them then, that all that could be spared was little enough for the turn; and therefore that can no more make a rule for all other times, unless when there is the like occasion and conjuncture of circumstances, than the having all common then, and bringing all to the Apostles' feet, will be exemplary to us. I shall only, for your better direction, give you the best light I can, which will be by these gradations. 1. That the Jews, the people of God, were bound by the law to set apart a tenth of all their increase every third year for the use of the poor. Every year, you know, the tithe was paid to the Levites; and when that was done, then another tithe was to be set apart, which for two years was to be eaten, in a festival manner at Jerusalem, and the third year it was for the fatherless and widow, i. e. for the poor, whose portion consequently was, in effect, a thirtieth part yearly of their increase; for to that proportion, you know, a tenth part every third year being distributed into three parts, and each of those three assigned to each year, will amount. But then 2. other commands there were given to those Jews concerning the poor, as of permitting them to lease in the field, lending them without use, restoring the pledge before night, and other the like, and all this a Jew was bound to; he sinned against the law if he did it not. This was his 'righteousness[m],' i. e. that degree of mercy which the law required of him; instead of which the Greek translators use a word signifying 'alms[n]' or 'pity,' the same which is in this place of Christ's sermon: and it is farther observable, that in this place some very ancient copies instead of this word which signifies 'alms,' have another word signifying 'righteousness[o],' all which signifies some degrees of alms-

Deut. xxiv. 13.

[i] *Θησαυρίζων ὅ τι ἂν εὐοδῶται.* [k] *ὡς.* [l] *ὅ τι ἄν.*
[m] צדקה [n] *ἐλεημοσύνη.* [o] *δικαιοσύνη.*

giving to be required by the law, without performance of which a Jew cannot be accounted righteous: and such were those third year's tithings, and the rest forementioned. But then 3. besides this righteousness of the Jew, or that proportion required to his being a righteous Jew, there was another higher degree among them, called mercy[p], or goodness, or bounty, or charity, which, say their interpreters, is more than righteousness, excess or abundance of righteousness[q]. Thus shall you see those two words many times put together, not as equivalent, but one a higher degree than the other. "Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor;" the mercy set last, as being highest. So, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice[r], and love mercy?" so when the comparison is made by the Apostle between a righteous[s] man and a good[t] man, the good man is this merciful-minded man, which far exceedeth the other. By which you see that he that will be a good, a pious, a merciful Jew, he must exceed those terms which by the law the Jew was bound to, i. e. must allow to pious uses much more than the thirtieth part of his increase every year. And this law and direction being by God Himself given to His own people the Jews, may deserve so far to be considered by us, as it is an evidence of God's opinion or judgment then to that His own people. But then 4. though this be not a law now binding us, as not given to us; yet being a law of charity and mercy to my poor neighbour, which for the substance of it is an eternal law of nature, there will be small reason for a Christian to think himself disengaged from that quotum or proportion which even the Jews, who were considered as in a state of imperfection, were obliged to: save only that this is now left to their own freedom which was before commanded; and it were shame that a Christian thus left to his own freedom, should come short of what a Jew was brought to by constraint. But 5. on the contrary side, the more perfect law of Christ, and the more grace, and the more light brought into the world by Him, requiring higher perfection now than before by law was required, so that "except our righteousness exceed" theirs, "we shall not enter the kingdom of heaven," may very justly

Dan. iv. 27.

Micah vi. 8.

Rom. v. 7.

[p] חסד [q] ויתרון הטובה Kimchi. [r] צדקה [s] δίκαιος. [t] ἀγαθός.

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be deemed to require a greater proportion of us now in works of mercy than of them was then expected. From whence it will be consequent; 6. that as our righteousness[u] must exceed their righteousness, so our mercy[x] their mercy: i. e. that to be a righteous Christian, i. e. such an one as performs what the law of Christ requires of him for almsgiving, it is necessary to set apart much more than a yearly thirtieth of his revenue or increase; and to be a merciful or benign or pious Christian, much more again than that is necessary. But then 7. the Christian, as also the Jewish law in this matter doth not so consist in an indivisible point, as that any set proportion can be defined, lower than which would be the sin of parsimony, and higher than which the sin of prodigality; but is allowed its latitude, within which it may move higher or lower, without sin: yet so as it may on one side be so low, that it will be unchristian love of money; and on the other side so high, if it be to the causeless neglecting and exposing his own children and family, that it may be wretchless prodigality: which two extremes being by the help of the former directions avoided, the rule will be, that the more liberal we are to them that want, or the more liberal in setting apart for them, to provide them a plentiful patrimony, the more acceptable it will be in the sight of God, and the more liberally rewarded; according to that of the Apostle,

2 Cor. ix. 6. "He that soweth bountifully, shall reap bountifully." By which, I conceive, is meant not only God's abundant retributions of glory in another world, but even His payments of temporal plenty[y] and blessings here, to those who have been willing to make that Christian use of that earthly talent committed to their stewarding.

S. Do you believe that liberality to the poor is likely to receive any such reward in this life? The reason of my question is, because if there were any ground for the affirmative, I should conceive it a most convincing motive to all, even the most worldly-minded men, to cast their bread thus upon

[u] צדקה [x] חסד

[y] μουνογενὴς δὲ παῖς εἴη πατρώϊον οἶκον
φερβέμεν· ὣς γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀέξεται ἐν μεγάροισι.
γηραιὸς δὲ θάνοις ἕτερον παῖδ' ἐγκαταλείπων.
ῥεῖα δέ κεν πλεόνεσσι πόροι Ζεὺς ἄσπετον ὄλβον.

Hesiod. [Op. et D. 374.] Non memini me legere mala morte mortuum qui liberaliter opera charitatis exercuit.—Hier.

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the waters, if it should return to them again in this life with increase. Liberality being a thing pleasant and delightful even to flesh and blood, to the most covetous-minded man; and nothing imaginable to deter any from the practice of so lovely a duty, were it not for the fear of diminishing our store, or bringing ourselves to want by that means. I shall therefore in great earnest desire to hear your opinion in that point.

C. I make no doubt of this truth, that mercifulness and Christian liberality is the surest way to plenty and contentment in this life; so far from ever being a means of impoverishing[z] any, that it is most constantly (when exercised as it ought) a means of enriching them. And that you may not think this a fancy or speculation, or groundless confidence in me, I shall tell you, that I conceive there is not any one thing temporal, for which there are so many clear evident promises in the Scriptures as this. For the giving you ground of faith in this, I will name you some. And a foundation I shall lay, Deut. xxvi. 13, where there is by God prescribed a form of prayer to be used by him that hath made an end of tithing all the tithe of his increase the third year, i. e. that,

z "Who was ever made poor by bounty to his neighbour," [says] Julian, and "His patrimony which was violently detained from him, was yet preserved entire to him upon his liberality to them that wanted, out of the small possessions which he had." *τίς* [*γὰρ*] *ἐκ τοῦ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς πένησ πένης*; [*ἐγώ τοι πολλάκις τοῖς δεομένοις προέμενος, ἐκτησάμην αὐτὰ παρ' αὐτῶν πολλαπλάσια, καίπερ ὢν φαῦλος χρηματιστής· καὶ οὐδέποτέ μοι μετεμέλησε προεμένῳ· καὶ τὰ μὲν νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη παντελῶς ἄλογον εἰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἀξιώσαιμι βασιλικαῖς παραβαλέσθαι χορηγίαις· ἀλλ' ὅτε ἔτι ἐτύγχανον ἰδιώτης, σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο ἀποβὰν πολλάκις·*] *ἀπεσώθη μοι τέλειος ὁ κλῆρος τῆς τίτθης, ἐχόμενος ὑπ' ἄλλων βιαίως, ἐκ βραχέων ὧν εἶχον, ἀναλίσκοντι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μεταδιδόντι·* [*κοινωνητέον οὖν τῶν χρημάτων ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις.*] — Juliani Imp., fragm., [p. 532.] The Arabic word for alms is taken from hence, that alms increaseth wealth, saith the Scholiast on their Ritual. "Because the giving alms brings God's blessing on wealth," saith Al Bidavius. According to that of the Alcoran, "they which lay out their wealth in the way of God, are like a grain that bringeth forth seven stalks." And so saith Ebnol Kassai, "The word alms literally signifies increase; but in the use of the law, the giving a set portion of every man's wealth out of that which he hath." "Appellatur illud quod in pauperes erogatur Zacat, quoniam opes adauget" [respectu scilicet benedictionis divinæ seu ut loquitur Al Bidavius] "Quoniam erogatio ejus benedictionem conciliat opibus" [et in animo virtutem liberalitatis producit juxta illud Alcorani] "Similes sunt illi qui opes suas erogant in via Dei grano quod septem spicas germinavit" [vel ab ea thematis notione qua "Mundare" denotat, "quod opes ab inquinamento et animum ab avaritiæ sordibus purget." Apud Ebnol Kassai hæc nominis et rei explicatio.] "Al Zacato," i. e. Eleemosyna, "juxta nominis significationem denotat incrementum, at ex usu legis erogationem ratæ portionis opum e facultatibus designatis."—[Abul. Faraj., p. 306.]

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besides the Levites' and festival tithing, hath also paid the poor their patrimony, as appears by the rest of the verse, and which till it be done, the third year's tithing is not made an end of. And the form prescribed gives the man that hath so done, liberty and privilege of claim and challenge to all kind of earthly blessings; "Then thou shalt say before the Lord thy God, I have given to the stranger, to the fatherless," &c., and thereupon, "Look down from heaven, and bless Thy people Israel, and the land which Thou hast given us, a land flowing with milk and honey." The mention of the milk and honey, and affluence, is an interpretation what that blessing is which is there prayed for so confidently, to wit, temporal plenty here; and God's prescribing this form of prayer is argument enough that God will grant it to him, i. e. to every one that having performed this condition, doth humbly in prayer require the performance of such promise. Only by the way, these two things must go together inseparably, performance of the condition, and then prayer to God. According to that of the blind man in the gospel, that whosoever is "a worshipper of God, and doeth His will, him He heareth." Other places fit to be superstructed on this you have in the Psalms of David, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy," and what kind of blessing this is, appears by the context, "the Lord will deliver him, preserve him, keep him alive, bless him on the earth," &c. And besides others, one remarkable place that book affords, "I have been young, and now am old; yet saw I never the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." What is meant by the righteous there will be evident, if you advise with verse 21, "the righteous sheweth mercy and giveth;" and verse 26, "the righteous is ever" (or, "all the day") "merciful, and lendeth." His liberality is supposed such and so continual, 'all the day merciful,' that one would think it enough to exhaust his patrimony, to bring him, at least his posterity, to want and beggary; and yet in all David's observation, he had found by experience, so far as to make an aphorism of it, that none were ever brought to want by that means. But, as it follows for confirmation of this truth, verse 26, "his seed is blessed;" his posterity are as prosperous as if their father had digged through the mine into hell, where the poets thought riches

Deut. xxvi. 13.

ver. 15.

[John ix. 31.]

Ps. xli. 1.

Ps. xxxvii. 25.

dwelt[a], to fetch out treasure for them. Where although the rule do not necessarily hold so far, that no other means can make a merciful man poor, (for perhaps negligence, suretiship, some other sin lived in, and bringing a curse upon him, may; and mercifulness not prove antidote sufficient to secure him against all other poison,) yet thus far it doth in David's observation hold; 1. that that never brings any man to want; whatever else may, that will not: 2. that it is an ordinary means to help to more wealth, to enrich the posterity to bestow temporal blessings on them; a benign favourable influence this hath upon all that belongs to him. And this, which David mentions as an aphorism of his own observation, I believe I might extend to all ages, and challenge any historian of past, or observer of present times, to give one instance, out of his knowledge to the contrary, of any Christian almsgiver that ever brought himself or his posterity to want, nay, that did not thrive and prosper the better by that means. Some notable examples I have known in my time, for the confirming what I now say, but could never yet hear of any to the contrary. To these I shall add a few places of testimony also out of the Proverbs of Solomon. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth;" i. e. one sort of scatterers there is that increaseth by scattering; and there is no cause of doubt but that the merciful is this kind of scatterer, which farther appears by the opposition in the rest of the verse, "there is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty." It is indeed a strange thing that scattering should be a means of increasing, giving, of having, and withholding, of poverty, keeping, of not having; but when it is considered how all temporal plenty is of God's disposing, how by His blessing and "opening His hand all things are filled" with plenteousness, and by His withdrawing His auspicious influence all things become improsperous, moulder and crumble into nothing, there will be small difficulty in believing God's promise for such kind of difficulties as these. Besides, the following verses make it farther clear that it belongs to this matter, "the liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered also himself." And selling of corn being an act of liberality

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Prov. xi. 24.

ver. 25.

ver. 26.

[a] πλοῦτος, Pluto.

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in opposition to him that withholdeth it, it follows, "blessing shall be upon his head;" and "the righteous," i.e. the liberal again, as opposite to him that trusteth in riches, "shall flourish as a branch," i. e. be very prosperous. And though it follow in the last verse, "that the righteous shall be recompensed on the earth," i. e. meet with afflictions and punishments here; yet is that common state of good men reconcileable with temporal blessings here, as may appear,

ver. 28.

Mark x. 30. "he shall have an hundredfold more in this life, houses," &c., but this with persecutions, the Christian's portion, along with them. So again, "A good man leaveth his inheritance to his children's children." Where if the good man be the same that is meant by that phrase, Rom. v. 7, it will be distinctly pertinent to this matter; and so the context would enforce in the following words, "and the wealth of the sinner is laid up for the just;" but if it be a more general word, yet then also this of the merciful will be contained under it. So again, "he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he." So "he that hath pity on the poor, lendeth to the Lord:" the vulgar read it, "lendeth unto the Lord upon use," as where it is said of the liberal almsgiver, that he "lays up a good treasure for himself," the word which we render 'treasure[b],' signifies a sum of money put out to use; "and that which he hath given, will He pay him again," and, it being lent upon use, pay him with use and interest also. On occasion of which place I remember an ancient story in Cedrenus[c], how true I know not, of a Jew, as ancient, saith

Prov. xiii. 22.

Prov. xiv. 21; xix. 17.

Tobit iv. 9.

[b] θέμα.

[c] [ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ ἀνθρωπός τις ἐγνωρίζετο ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, πλούσιος καὶ ἀνελεήμων, ὃς ἐλθὼν πρός τινα τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ ἀναπτύξας τὴν σοφίαν Σολομῶντος, εὗρεν εὐθύς· ὁ ἐλεῶν πτωχὸν, δανείζει Θεῷ· καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος, καὶ κατανυγεὶς, ἀπελθὼν πέπρακε πάντα, καὶ διένειμε πτωχοῖς, μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ καταλείψας πλὴν νομισμάτων δύο· καὶ πτωχεύσας πάνυ, καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐκ θείας δοκιμασίας ἐλεούμενος, ὕστερον ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγει μικροψυχήσας· ἀπελεύσομαι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ διακρινοῦμαι τῷ Θεῷ μου ὅτι ἐπλάνησέ με διασκορπίσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου· πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, εἶδεν ἄνδρας δύο μαχομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὑρόντας λίθον τίμιον· καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἵνα τί, ἄδελφοι μάχεσθε; δότε μοι αὐτὸν, καὶ λάβετε νομίσματα δύο· τῶν δὲ μετὰ χαρᾶς τοῦτον παρασχόντων, οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν τοῦ λίθου τὸ ὑπερτίμιον, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὸν λίθον ἐπιφερόμενος· καὶ δείξας αὐτὸν χρυσοχόῳ παραχρῆμα τὸν λίθον ἐκεῖνος ἰδὼν, ἀναστὰς προσεκύνησε· καὶ ἔκθαμβος γενόμενος ἐπυνθάνετο ποῦ τὸν πολύτιμον, λέγων, καὶ θεῖον λίθον τοῦτον εὗρες· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἔτη τρία σήμερον Ἱερουσαλὴμ δονεῖται καὶ ἀκατασταταῖ διὰ τὸν περιβόητον λίθον τοῦτον· καὶ ἀπελθὼν, δὸς αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ σφόδρα πλουτήσεις· τοῦδὲ ἀπερχομένου, ἄγγελος Κυρίου εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα· νῦν ἐλεύσεται ἄνθρωπος πρός σε τὸν ἀπολεσθέντα πολυθρύλλητον λίθον ἐκ τῆς διπλοΐδος Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἔχων· λαβὼν αὐτὸν, δὸς τῷ ἐνέγκαντι αὐτὸν, χρυσίον πολὺ καὶ ἀργύριον· ἅμα δὲ καὶ βαπίσας μετρίως, εἰπέ· μὴ δίσταζε ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ

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he, as King Hezekiah's time, that having read this place, and weighed it, resolved to try whether God would be as good as His word, gave all that he had but two pieces of silver to the poor, and then waited and expected to see it come again; but being not presently answered in that expectation, grew angry, and went up to Jerusalem, to expostulate with God for cheating him by this unperformed promise. The story goes on, that he going on his way, found two men striving, engaged in an irreconcileable quarrel, about a stone that both, walking together, had found in the way, and so had both equal right to it, but, being but one, and not capable of being divided, could not both enjoy; and therefore to make them friends, he having two pieces of silver, doth upon contract divide them betwixt the pretenders, and hath the stone in exchange for them: having it he goes on his journey, and coming to Jerusalem shews it the goldsmith; who tells him that it was a jewel of great value, being a stone fallen and lost out of the high-priest's ephod, to whom if he carried it, he should certainly receive a great reward. He did so, and accordingly it proved; the high-priest took it of him, gave him a great reward, but withal a box on the ear, bidding him trust God the next time. The story, if true, is an instance of the matter in hand; if not, yet an emblem or picture of it. So again, "He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed, for he giveth of his bread to the poor." Where the affirmative promise is most punctual, and the reason to confirm it most remarkable, being but the repetition of the thing itself, as principles are fain to be proved by themselves, the bountiful-minded man shall be blessed, why? because he is bountiful, i. e. no other argument is needful to prove it but this; the promise, infallible promise belonging peculiarly to such. And "He that giveth to the poor shall not lack:" a most definitive large style of promise, from whence no exception is imaginable, if we had but faith to depend upon it. And lest you should think that this referred only to the state

Prov. xxii. 9.

Prov. xxviii. 27.

σου, μηδὲ ἀπίστει τῷ διὰ τῆς γραφῆς λέγοντι· ὁ ἐλεῶν πτωχὸν, δανείζει Θεῷ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἐξεπλήρωσά σοι πολλαπλασίονα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδάνεισάς μοι· καὶ εἰ πιστεύεις λείψῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι πλοῦτον ἀνυπέρβλητον· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ διατεταγμένα πάντα πεποίηκε πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ λελάληκεν· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ ἔντρομος γενόμενος, πάντα ἐάσας ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐξῆλθεν, εὐχαριστῶν, καὶ πιστεύων Κυρίῳ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ διηγορευμένα. —Cedreni. Hist. Compend., tom. i. p. 109.]

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of the Jews under the Old Testament, and belonged not at all to us Christians; you may, 1. observe that these Proverbs of Solomon are not truths peculiar to that state, but extensive even to us Christians; and more peculiarly to faithful Christians, than to them, many of them. 2. That in the gospel one place there is that repeats in sense one part of one of these places, that of xix. 17, "He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord," to wit, "Inasmuch as ye did it to one of these, ye did it unto Me." And then why may not the latter part belong to us also? 3. One plain promise of temporal things there is in the gospel also to those that part with any of their goods for Christ's sake; and such sure are the Christian almsgivers that do it in obedience to Christ's law, and charity to fellow-Christians, and that in a general unlimited style, excluding all exception, "There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, &c., and lands," i. e. worldly goods, "but he shall receive an hundredfold in this time[d]," (the first lower harvest, this season of retributions,) "houses," &c. i. e. temporal blessings here, and then over and above in another world, "everlasting life:" only with a mixture of persecutions, as St. Mark, or St. Peter, who had asked the question which occasioned this speech of Christ's, and whose amanuensis St. Mark was, hath it: as before I told you that after all those temporal promises to the almsgiver, it is added, "He shall be recompensed," or "receive his portion" of afflictions "in the earth." By all these testimonies from the word of God, both in the New and Old Testament, I conceive this doctrine as clear as any in the Scripture, that the promise of temporal plenty to the liberal is so distinct and infallible, that it can be no less than, 1. a very gross ignorance of plain Scripture not to observe it; and 2. an act of arrant infidelity not to believe it. Which I take to be the meaning of those words, "Love your enemies," to wit, those which will never repay you those expressions of love mentioned, ver. 34, and "do good," and "lend" even to them from whom you so little expect any retributions, "distrusting nothing[e]," (so the Greek signifies, "doubting, fearing, distrusting nothing;" as Ecclus. xxii. 22, "fear not[f]," and chap. xxvii. 21, "is without hope[g]," and

Matt. xxv. 40, 45.

Matt. xix. 29.

Mark x. 30.

Prov. xi. 31.

Luke vi. 35.

[d] ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ.
[e] μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες.
[f] μὴ ἀπελπίσῃς.
[g] ἀπήλπισεν.

and 2 Mac. ix. 18, "despairing[h]," and in all the Bible in no other sense but that of distrust and despair,) or making no doubt but that God will repay thee, though he to whom thou givest do not; at least never fearing that God will suffer thee to be the poorer for want of that which in obedience to Him, and dependence on His promises, is thus liberally laid out by thee. Agreeable to which is that apostolical saying of Barnabas, in his epistle, "Make no doubt to give, neither murmur when thou hast given; give to every one that asketh thee[i]," where, "not doubting[k]" before "giving," and "not murmuring[l]" after it, is a paraphrase of the phrase which I render "distrusting nothing[m]," in St. Luke. And 3. it is a strange, unreasonable, as well as unchristian sin, not to practise a duty which is in its own nature so amiable, so agreeable to our humour and disposition as we are men, that to him that believes, and so rests secure of this one particular, that he shall not be the poorer for what he parts with on these terms, there is not the least objection or temptation imaginable against it, though even the covetous man himself were allowed to be the objector. SECT. I.

S. I cannot but acknowledge the truth of your premises, and reasonableness of the conclusion from them, and only marvel what artifice the devil hath gotten to ensnare men by, and keep them from doing that which is so agreeable to their humours and dispositions even as they are partakers of but ingenuous nature. God melt the heart and open the hand of the obdurate world, and teach us the due practice of it. I shall presume you have no more necessary to be added to the explication of the duty here supposed, "And thou, when thou doest alms:" I shall call you from thence to the second particular mentioned, the caution interposed, and desire to know what that is.

C. The caution is, "that we do not our alms to be seen of men," or use any means in the doing of them to have glory of men, to be praised or commended by them. For this is an infirmity very ordinarily insinuating itself in our best Of vainglory.

[h] ἀπελπίσας.

[i] οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδε δίδοὺς γογγύσεις· παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου. [γνώσῃ δὲ τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.—S. Barn. Ep. c. 18. p. 52.]

[k] οὐ διστάζειν.

[l] οὐ γογγύζειν.

[m] μηδὲν ἀπελπίζειν.

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actions, to blast and defame them in the eyes of God; every man being apt to desire to be better thought of by man for the performance of this duty, especially if he be an exceeder in it.

S. But were we not commanded before, that our light should shine before men? What is that but to do our good works so that men might see them?

Letting our light shine before men.

C. To this I shall answer, 1. By telling you that the performance of duties to God may be either public or private; the one in the congregation, the other in the closet; the former ought to be as public as it may, that so it might be more exemplary, and tend more to the glorifying of God, and to that the shining of our light belongs: the second, as private as it may, to approve ourselves the more to God, and to demonstrate that it is only our love and obedience to Him, and not our desire of the praise of men, that moves us to do what we do; and to this second sort of performances this caution here pertains. And though this be more illustriously observable in the two following duties of prayer and fasting, yet will it hold in some measure in this also; the Church being designed for giving also, and every Christian anciently wont to bring somewhat to the Corban every time he came to church, a remainder of which custom we have still in the offertory at the Sacrament. 2. That there is great difference betwixt doing our good works so that men may see them, and doing them to be seen of men; and again, between doing them so before men that they may see, and glorify our Father in heaven, and that we may have glory of men. The former, if it have not the latter to blast it, (and if it be truly so, it excludes the latter,) is only a Christian charitable care that my good actions may be exemplary to others; the second, that they may be matter of reputation to myself. The former respects only God's glory, and not mine own; the second, mine own vain airy credit here, and not, or more than, the praise or glory of God. The first is a most divine Christian act, an expression of great love of God, and desire to propagate His kingdom, of great love of my brother, and desire to make all others as good as myself, by setting them such copies on purpose to transcribe: the second is an evidence of great passion and self-love, and impatience

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of having our reward put off to so long a date as the reversion in another world. And consequently these two are very different, and accordingly are most diversely rewarded: the first with a greater degree of glory, for the glory we have brought to God's name; the second so odious in the sight of God, that even our almsgiving, or best actions, are eaten through by this means, and smitten as the gourd with the worm, and come to nothing, find no reward in another world; the little reputation gotten here and affected by us, must serve our turns as the only reward we are to hope for: which shews the unhappiness and folly of this sin of vainglory; it robs us of all the reward that our most esteemable, acceptable, free-will offerings, our works of mercy, can hope for from God. [Jonah iv. 7.]

S. Is this desire to be seen, and have glory of men, a sin, or no?

C. I must return answer by these degrees. First, that that part of our constitution that is so pleased with a little, mere, empty, vain blast of air, which signifies so little when had, and like the wind, is soon and causelessly changed into the contrary, is a very pitiful piece of carnality: and if it be indulged to immoderately, or if it thrive so well in us as to become the principal or chief mover in any, especially in our best performances, it is then a sinful and very culpable piece of us, not only depriving us of all other reward which awaits good actions, but withal cheating the soul[n], and possessing it with that which is directly contrary to that love of God, and value of His acceptance, which is necessary to denominate the best things good. Secondly, from this it follows, that any one who is strongly inclined to this is obliged not only to pray against it, but to design ways to mortify it; not only by considering the huge vanity and withal danger of it, but by repressing desires of it, repelling injections of such fancies, giving them no stay upon the soul, and working some acts of revenge, at least self-denials, in this kind: as sometimes in some indifferent things, which might lawfully be done, but yet have no kind of goodness in them, nor are visibly ordinable to any good end, to deny himself the doing or saying them, if that principle of vainglory suggest them, and

[n] *πρὸς οἴησιν τοὺς θαυμασθέντας ἢ μαλακίαν τοῦ τόνου τῆς ἀρετῆς εἴωθεν ὑποχαλᾶν.*—Photius, ep. 32. [p. 94.]

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nothing else, especially if that suggest them any thing strongly; and in brief, having and keeping a strong guard over this weak part, that it neither cause danger, nor betray to losing the reward. Thirdly, that the love of God, the value of His acceptance, and the comfort of a good conscience, ought to be set up against this usurper, and made the principle of all those actions which have any thing of good in them; and that those things of which these do not or cannot own to be the principles, be not reflected on as things of any weight, or that add any thing of worth to any man, nor, if they may be as a diversion innocently taken in, pursued with any design for their own or that acquisition's sake, save only as that may advance a superior end. This being said on one side, I conceive it perfectly lawful on the other side: first, to look on a good reputation as on a good estate, i. e. as a very proper engine to do good with, and that neither to be prodigally misspent, nor possessed unprofitably. And if the heart be sincere, and not as it is ordinary in covetous persons, that pretend to wish for great estates only to do more good, but at present do little good with what they have; and when they get more, are forced to discern and discover the fallacy they had put upon themselves; and if the ways of acquiring it be direct, such as God may be most likely to prosper, i. e. doing things substantially, and not only superficially good, not using of tricks and deceits or fucuses to set out beauty, but a perfect wholesome diet, yet not excluding the addition of fashionable ornaments, such are wit, cheerfulness of discourse, &c., and then designing this acquisition thus regularly gotten, only to pious uses, the glory of God, the benefit of others, and the man's own living as profitably as he can, and as suits to his account; if, I say, these cautions be taken in, I conceive it very lawful both to enjoy, and to acquire, and seek a good reputation: whereas to do this either for itself alone, abstractedly from such explicit design, or in a superior degree for that, than for the other nobler end, or immoderately and intemperately and with transportation for that; this makes it presently cease to be so.

Desire of a good reputation lawful in some cases.

So also the being pleased with it.

Secondly, the being pleased with this, when it comes either designed or not designed, in order to or in proportion

with this good end, is perfectly lawful: and it will be judged whether it be so or no, by this; whether the design of the good end be as intense as this pleasure is, (I say not so sensibly delightful, but as constantly and industriously pursued as this is sensibly delightful,) or whether the contrary be discernible upon strict survey and entire judging.

Thirdly, the good work being secured upon the right or good principle, and reputation being either not sought at all, or sought explicitly, or habitually, in order to some real good, (living the more profitably, &c.,) if praise do come in to the actor, as many times earthly blessings do, I conceive it may be tasted, simply as it is such, as a refreshment to the weary, and encouragement to the labourer among the rest of God's blessings, and so as wine moderately used, if it do cause some gladness in the heart, I cannot lay guilt on that. But the safest course is, especially where the inclination is naturally such as makes the utmost caution necessary, before I deliberately taste this pleasant liquor, to consider to what good use of mine or others it tends; and, if I find to none, to abstain from sipping of such delicacies. But if any such use be, not only possible, for almost every thing is so, but also visible, or but strongly probable, I know not that that should be neglected, or not pursued, only to deny myself that praise which I foresee, if I taste, will be pleasant to me. Lastly, in performing of things in themselves pious, or directly ordinable to a pious end, if I either desire or feel pleasure from praise, it will be easy enough to judge and to keep myself from deceit in judging, whether I do so either wholly or immoderately for my own praises' sake, or else for the good that is in the action, or that may come from the praise, and only secondarily and moderately and in subordination to that, for the pleasure of praise to myself. And that is the matter in hand; and therefore every man is left to pass judgment on himself, and to take care that he do not lose the substance for a wretched shadow, or (worse than so) weaken° that precious flame within him, the love of God, which seldom wants allays, but rather all acts of heightening it, by indulging to a little false love of himself in his sensual capacity.

Matt. vi. 33.

The safest course.

δι' ἐπαινῶν τὸ γλυκὺ τῶν κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀναζωπυροῦνται ἡδοναί.—Θεὸν πόνων πέφυκεν ἐπικαταῤῥεῖν, καὶ αἱ Phot., epist. 32. [p. 94.]

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S. But if it be lawful to receive and taste the pleasure of praise, why is it not lawful to desire or design it?

Designing of praise differs much from receiving or tasting it.

C. I answer, that the designing of praise differs much from the receiving or tasting it.

The end designed in any action is one of those things, which, as being essential to the action, gives it the denomination; which of any thing that is but accidental or extrinsecal, cannot be said. From hence it follows, to this matter of the praise of men, that in a spiritual action to design the praise of men, though but as a subordinate end, is to mix a secular with a spiritual work, and that will defile it, and maim it, and rob it of the reward. But if it be designed as the principal end, then first it makes it cease to be spiritual or Christian; and the reason is clear, for to its being so, spiritual, or virtuous in the Christian sense[p], all must concur, the principle or motive, and the end or design must be Christian and spiritual, and if either of those be wanting, it is not virtuous: and if it be thus principally designed to the praise of men, not of God, then that necessary end is somewhat, and that somewhat is wanting; and secondly, it renders the whole action considered together a gross dissimulation or hypocrisy and an interpretative impiety, in preferring the praise of men before the acceptance of God, which is directly contrary to all justice and duty; and thirdly, a sacrilege, in prostituting a sacred thing to so vile uses. So likewise, when the action is matter of duty, and so necessary, as being under precept, it is also necessary that it be done principally in obedience to God's precept: and if it be not so, but either only or principally for the praise of men, then still it is, 1. no obedience to God; and 2. if it be abstaining in matter of a negative precept, it is an evidence that the person more fears the disreputation of men than the displeasure of God; or if it be in matter of affirmative precept, it is an argument and testimony again, that he will do more for the praise of men than to approve his obedience to God: or if it be, though not principally, yet subordinately, for the praise of men, then again it is a maim in that obedience. Only in indifferent actions, if we design them to that praise that is proportionable to them, and do that not immoderately, but in such a

[p] Bonum est ex causa integra.

temper of appetite as is regular, and answerable to the lawful desires of any other worldly blessing; (for that the praise of men is such, appears by its being proposed as a reward in Scripture; and that it is not only the advantageousness of it to us, in respect of the benefiting others by that means, either by our authority or example, that makes it a blessing, appears from hence, because it is a blessing and the contrary a curse, even after death, when, as we have received our reward in heaven, so we cease to be capable of making use of our authority to the edifying of others;) then, there is not from either of the two former considerations any such obliquity to denominate it a crime, though yet there is enough to keep down that which, by having designed a good end, might from indifferent have grown virtuous, from advancing to that dignity, to continue it in that lower form or class of indifferents, as a kind of non-proficients or unprofitable servants, which with good usage might have improved or ascended higher, but have neglected to do so. SECT. I. [Rom. xiii. 3; 1 Pet. ii. 14.]

But now on the other side, for the coming in of praise undesigned in any of all these, it is but accidental to the person or action, and so that of which I am no way guilty, as of what I have designed I clearly am: and being not culpable in the coming of it in, and being a blessing of God in itself, certainly to reject a blessing of God's cannot be my duty; but on the contrary to look upon it as a blessing of God's performance of some part of His promise to His servants, and a testimony to their performances, and so to bless and praise Him for it, is strictly and absolutely a duty. And as it is a duty so to acknowledge and bless God for it; so simply to taste it as it is, i. e. as a blessing of the earth, sent me by God's providence, and to enjoy it as such, with that pleasure and thanksgiving which is proportionable to it, is no irregularity, and so no fault in me; nor is in this case made such by any, either ill or secular principle, or design, motive, or end; for it is supposed that these are both spiritual and Christian. In brief, it must be resolved in every action, that that which is merely accidental, as the consequents or shadows, must be solemnly distinguished from that which is essential, as the motive and end are, that which is merely extrinsecal from that which is intrinsic, and so conse-

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quently must be done here; and if it be, this difficulty is answered.

Praise of men considered as a temptation to inordinate pleasure.

S. But what if the praise of men, that comes in to me, tempt me to immoderate and excessive pleasure and transportation: may I do or say that which will probably bring me that praise, and with it that temptation?

C. In that case, as I foresee, so I must fortify myself against that temptation, and either wholly deny myself liberty to take that pleasure, or take special care to moderate it; and if that prove successful to me, or till it prove unsuccessful, it is clear I am not bound to abstain from that action upon that objection only.

S. But what if having formerly and frequently had this warning against this temptation, and having been thus fortified, I have yet constantly been foiled as oft as I have met with the temptation, and so judging by my own experience, have no reason to hope the contrary if I am again so tempted: am I not then bound to abstain from that action, whatever it be, which will probably bring in that praise, which will certainly bring that temptation?

Three sorts of actions considerable in this matter:

C. I answer, that in this case the matter of the action is to be considered, and supposing that not to be bad or sinful, for then there is no question but I am bound to abstain from it, without the addition of this farther charge against it, it may then again be of three sorts: either first, indifferent, under no precept or prohibition; or secondly, necessary, under precept, and so matter of duty; or thirdly, that which is neither of these, neither indifferent, nor yet necessary, but yet virtuous and excellent, more than is required by strict duty, and so better, and that to which God promises reward.

indifferent;

S. What if it be indifferent, neither ill, if it be not done, nor better, if it be?

C. Then there is no question but the foresight of the danger and weakness ought to restrain me from that indifferent action.

commanded;

S. What if it be under precept?

C. These precepts commanding such or such actions are to be supposed affirmative precepts, which therefore do not bind to do them always [q]. And if it be indifferent whether

[q] Ad semper.

it be done at this time or no, i. e. neither commanded to be done at this time, nor better to be done at this time, then supposing some other season to be less obnoxious to the temptation, I am to abstain now and do it then. As in case it be in all respects indifferent whether I pray or give an alms now, or at another time, I am to choose that time wherein I foresee least of that danger from that temptation.

S. But what if it be at a time when it cannot be neglected without some breach of duty, as an act of affirmative precept may by some concurrence of circumstances become duty at some one time; must this danger deter me then?

C. No, it must not, for that were actually to sin, to avoid the danger of possible or probable sinning.

S. But what if the action be not necessary at that time, i. e. not under precept, but yet of that nature that the more frequent it be the better it is, as whatsoever number of hours of daily prayer be affirmed or supposed the Christian's duty, if it be yet another hour beyond the former, (that intercepting no other business to which I am obliged by strict duty or charity,) what is then to be affirmed?

better.

C. This falls into the third sort of things at first enumerated, those that are better, but not necessary; excellent, or rewardable, but not under precept. And of them the difficulty is greatest; because as there is no particular precept to make the doing of them necessary, so there is not simple indifferency to make the omitting them as good as the doing of them. But yet the resolution may be this, that though I am not bound in that case to do that excellent thing, (for by its being not necessary, but excellent, that is supposed,) yet I may lawfully do it, if the advantage that is in my view, to the glory of God, the good of my brother, &c., be above the proportion of the danger of falling into sin, that I incur by attempting it.

S. But what if the danger be greater or more visible than the advantage is?

C. Then to him that apprehends it so it is not lawful.

S. But what if the danger and advantage be equal, or apprehended to be so?

C. Then from that equal balancing of their circumstances, nothing can be defined as yet; but then some other circum-

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stance may be considerable, and direct me to define it lawful to do that excellent thing, which is thus supposed to be in the even poise betwixt the advantage and the danger. For then, first, the consideration that it is best in itself, will incline to make it lawful, and nothing hinder it to be so: for as when there is neither danger on one side nor advantage on the other, that which is best, is lawful, certainly; so in reason it is to continue, when, as there is addition of danger, so there is of advantage proportionable. But then, secondly, there is another circumstance which makes the difference considerable. For he that doth that better action in order to that advantageous end, prudently and industriously, is accepted by God according to his intention and endeavour, though it fall out that that advantage do not follow; and so though that advantage be not certain, the virtue, and acceptableness, and reward of his action is certain: whereas on the other side, as the falling by that temptation is not certain in itself, so it is far from being at all intended by me, but all fortifications made use of by me to the contrary, and so further some matter of hope left, that though I have hitherto constantly fallen, yet I shall not now be so weak or unhappy. And thirdly, if I do fall, yet there being nothing of my choice, at least deliberate choice, or intention in that, but only a treachery of some weak part of flesh about me, which against my deliberate will, and my prayers to God, and faithful endeavour, betrays me to it, I shall hope this will pass for a human frailty, if I do so fall; and the excess of the charity or love of God, and zeal to advance His glory, will be able to cover such a sin, as this; as the martyrs' constancy and perseverance in confessing the faith of Christ, did cover some greater sins, viz. killing themselves, rather than they would have any villainy committed upon them.

[1 Pet. iv. 8.]

S. But will not my foresight of that danger oblige me to prevent or avoid it? and if I do not so, will not that sin become deliberate and voluntary to me, if I deliberately and voluntarily venture myself into that temptation?

C. In the present case I do not voluntarily venture myself into that danger, as 'voluntary' signifies that which I do either upon the free motion of my own will, or upon some carnal end or motive of mine own, as it would be, if either the thing

designed by me were not better, or not lawful; for it is clear, I venture the hazard only in intuition of some good to others, or of somewhat otherwise tending to the glory of God; and were it not for that, I would not venture it. And secondly, though I venture deliberately the possible, nay probable danger of falling, yet I do also deliberately and industriously fortify myself that I may not fall, and that is matter of some hope that I may escape. And if still, through humility and fear and caution, I do not hope it actually; then though it be lawful for me, nay, perhaps better, to abstain from that,—better upon that fear, because that fear proceeds from one excess of love, and every excess of love to God denominates the action better,—yet if it fall out that the excess of love lie the other way, and incline me strongly, and so carry me to that other pursuit of the glory of God in benefiting of others, even to the despising my own danger of sin (I say not sin, but danger of sin) in that pursuit; I suppose this will be still lawful to me, being caused by so noble an impellent, i.e. only by the excess of love. And if in the event some sin thus fall from me, it will be but frailty still, reconcileable with my loving of God, and so with the continuance of His love to me. SECT. I.

S. I have by my questions given you occasion to beat this matter of the praise of men very thin; be pleased now to give me the sum of all in few words.

C. It is this, that the desire or design of the praise of men in the best action is surely a sin, as a deflection to the creature; and if it be the principal motive of our actions, then a wasting sin, irreconcileable with charity or the favour of God, for it seems the praise of men rules in us, and not the love of God; but if the love of God be the principle, or prime mover of our actions, and this other, of the desire to be seen of men, do only steal in as a secondary carnal interest of our own; then, though it be a sin still, and such an one as will deprive us of all future reward of that good work to which it is adherent, yet through God's mercy in Christ, and His equitable interpretation of our infirmities, it will not prevail so far as to separate between God and us eternally, or to cast us out of His favour. Meanwhile this favour which he finds that is thus guilty of this blasting sin, Desire of glory of men is a sin.

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will give him but little encouragement or comfort to indulge to it, when he knows that when it is the chief in his heart, the principle of his actions, or superior to the love of God in him, it is then an act of arrant infidelity, and little mercy to be expected then; and even when it comes in but as a secondary appendant to his good deeds, done out of a right principle, it is yet then a means to deprive him of all the reward or benefit of his best actions, his almsgiving, prayer and fasting, yea, and brings him low, to a very sad state here, and to a comparatively mean one hereafter. All which he that will adventure for a little paltry praise, that mere blast and wind, and breath of sinful men, is sure very ill advised.

S. This being so unhappy a sin, and yet so hardly gotten out of us, what means can you direct me to prevent it?

Means to prevent it. [Matt. vi. 1, 2.]

C. 1. A consideration of the price it costs us, "ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven," or "they have their reward" here, and so none behind in another world. 2. A resolution beforehand, never to make my good deed more public than the circumstances necessarily attending the present occasion extort from me. If I do every good deed in the season and place that God represents the object to me, let Him alone to provide for His own glory that is to rise from it; and therefore I shall not need in that respect to use any artifice to publish it, under pretence of making my light shine before men. Therefore I say, the second means will be a resolution not to make my good action more public than it needs must, as by blowing a trumpet, or using any means proportionable to that though in a lower degree, to call men's eyes towards me; or to do what I do, on purpose and by choice, in the market-place or street, or places of public meeting and concourse, for so the word rendered 'synagogue[r]' signifies. But 3. rather on the other side, if I find that humour of vanity getting in upon me, to labour for the greatest secrecy imaginable, for that is meant by that high phrase of "not letting the left hand know what the right hand doeth," which by the way, gives also a very useful advertisement for our direction in our dispensing of alms: not to do them so much to the beggar in the street, (who i. is

[Matt. vi. 3.]

[r] ἐν συναγωγαῖς.

here by accident literally forbidden, ('not in the streets;') and ii. for the most part is a 'disorderly walker,' and not the fittest object of such charity, relief of his wants, without requiring his labour, being the nourishing his idleness; and withal, iii. the publicness and openness which is necessary to the giving to him, is most useful and instrumental to our vainglory,) as to the poor labourer in secret, the housekeeper that comes not abroad, and yet needs aid and relief most truly, to support the burden of a numerous hungry family, and withal cannot be any temptation to our vainglorious humour, at least is not so probably as the other. 4. The contemplation of the reward that attends my contempt of the praise of men, a thousand times more even in kind, than that which the vain man attends to; to wit, to be praised of God openly before men and angels, in a full choir, all looking upon us and applauding, (whereas a few spectators of sinful men is all that can here be compassed,) and not only being praised, but rewarded also. And to fortify you better, you may observe, 5. that no person that receives the praise of men with any gust, is ordinarily able so to carry it, but it shall be discerned by those that are long near him; and when it is discerned, it is a quality generally looked on in others with so much contempt by all men, even by those that are guilty of it, that it really takes off more from the reputation of the best performances than any one ordinary vice can do: and then the less this is discerned by the person himself, the more unhappy are the fruits of it to him, and he yet the more mean; as he that thinks he is admired by all, and is deceived in it. This, as it is prodigiously true in a mere *animal gloriæ*, excessively taken with this pleasure, so it is proportionably in any other, that being so in a less degree, is yet so far so as to be discerned; and if, by careful concealing, without mortifying the humour, it be not universally discerned, yet still those that do discern it, which generally are the wisest, and also the most censorious, (whose discerning it is of most concernment,) will accordingly judge of him. And if particular care be not taken of this, this humour will be the most contrary to the good end which alone is pretended to make it pardonable, and the most destructive of it of any thing.

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ver. 2. [2 Thess. iii. 6.]

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S. I conceive you have now gone through the first of the three things, and fully satisfied all my scruples: God grant my obedience and practice and observation of your directions may be as perfectly complete and impartial, sincere, and universal. I shall call you now to proceed to the second, beginning at the 5th, and extending to the 16th verse. In all which I expect what you will observe unto me.

SECT. II. Of prayer.

C. The same general parts that before; a duty supposed, and a double caution interposed. The duty supposed is prayer: that great prime branch of the worship of God, required of all that acknowledge God to be God, and most reasonable for all that acknowledge 1. the world to be ruled by His providence; 2. themselves to have any need of His grace or pardon; or 3. that hope for any reward from Him in another world.

S. I shall desire your direction in divers particulars concerning this duty: and first, how many sorts of prayer are there?

The sorts of it.

C. There is first, prayer of the heart, and of the tongue. Prayer of the heart, when the soul sighs out its desires unto God; and of the tongue added to that, which is then vocal prayer. Secondly, there is either public or private prayer. Public of two sorts: first, in the church; secondly, in the family. 1. In the church, or meeting together of all that will join with us, called together by tolling of a bell, &c. And this very useful and necessary, i. for the public testimony of our piety; ii. for the stirring up and inflaming of others; iii. for the making of those common public requests wherein all that meet are concerned, as for all men, the whole Church, the rulers and magistrates of that community wherein we live, for pardon of sins, the gift of grace, preservation from danger, and all other things that as fellow-members of a Church or state we may stand in need of; iv. for the prevailing with God, (the union of so many hearts being most likely to prevail, and the presence of some godly, to bring down mercies on those others whose prayers for themselves have no promise to be heard,) especially if performed by a consecrated person, whose office it is to draw nigh unto God, i. e. to offer up prayers, &c. to Him, and to be the ambassador and messenger between God and man: God's ambassador to the people, "in God's stead, beseeching them to be reconciled;" and the people's ambassador to God, to offer up our requests

SECT. II.

for grace, for pardon, for mercies to Him. Then 2. in the family, which is a lesser congregation, the master or father of which is to supply the place of the priest, and to provide this spiritual food for all that are under his power and charge, as well as their corporeal food, and to ask those things which in that relation of members of the same family are discerned to be most needful for all there present. Then for private prayer, that is of two sorts again; either of husband and wife together, who are as it were one flesh, and have many relations common to one another, and yet distinct and peculiar from all others; or of every man and woman single or private from all others, in the closet, or other place of retiredness.

S. Having mentioned the sorts, you will please also to mention the parts of prayer. The parts.

C. Those are set down by St. Paul, "supplications, prayers, intercessions, giving of thanks." The first[s] seemeth to refer to confession and acknowledgment of sin, and beseeching pardon for it. A necessary daily duty both in public and private, for ourselves and others; only in private fit to be more distinct and particular, by way of enumeration of the kinds, and acts, and aggravating circumstances of sin. The second[t] is the petitioning or requesting of all things necessary for our bodies or souls in all our capacities, either as single or double persons; as members of families, of kingdoms, of Christendom, of mankind itself. The third[u] is the interceding or mediating for others, offering up prayers for friends, for enemies, for all men, especially for our lawful governors, kings, and all that be in authority, spiritual or civil. The fourth[x] is the returning our acknowledgments to God for all benefits received by us or others: being bound by the rule of gratitude, to be mindful of what we have received; by the rule of piety, to acknowledge God's hand in bestowing them; of charity, to be sensible of whatever good any part of mankind hath been partaker of from that great spring of goodness, as well as ourselves; and by all these to express all in our prayers and addresses to Heaven. 1 Tim. ii. 1.

S. My next enquiry must be how often this duty must be performed.

[s] δεήσεις. [t] προσευχαί. [u] ἐντεύξεις. [x] εὐχαριστίαι.

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The times.

C. This great duty, consisting of these so many parts, must be performed frequently by all and every Christian, without any slackening or intermitting of it; but how frequently there is no precept in this place or any other Scripture: which argues, that though the substance of the duty be under particular precept, yet the frequency is left, after the manner of other free-will offerings, to every man's own conscience and prudence, as occasions and circumstances shall direct. Yet from the commands and examples of Scripture, some special directions we may take with us. As, 1. That one day in seven is to be set apart for this purpose, though not to be all spent in the performance of this one duty, yet for this duty to be carefully performed both in the church, the family, and in private; and that with more solemnity than ordinary. 2. That other times, taken notice of by the Church, either by way of commemoration of particular passages in the story of Christ, of His saints, &c., or by way of commemoration of some notable benefits received, or on occasion of particular urgencies, &c., be by us solemnly observed also, according to the rule of the ancient catholic, or of the present particular Church wherein we live, in like manner as the Jews observed their days appointed them by law. 3. That no man omit to perform this duty, at least morning and evening, every day; this being solemnly required of the people of God, directed by the law of piety to begin and close all with prayer, (which the very heathen could judge necessary,) and being the least that can be meant by that precept of the Apostle, of "praying without ceasing," or 'continually:' which is thought by many to extend no farther than in proportion to the daily sacrifices[y] among the Jews, which were constantly every morning and evening; but by none interpreted or conceived interpretable to any lower proportion. But then 4. the examples of holy men in Scripture do add unto this number, some more, some less. David in one place specifies the addition of a third, "at morning, and at evening, and at noon-day will I pray, and that instantly," i. e. in a set, solemn, intense, earnest address, and so Daniel; and this of noon-day is the same with the sixth hour, which is a time

[1 Thess. v. 17.]

Ps. lv. 17.

chap. vi. 10.

[y] θυσίας ἐνδελεχισμοῦ, Exod. xxix. 42. See Ecclus. xlv. 14. καθημέραν ἐνδελεχῶς δίς.

of prayer, used by St. Peter. Others again observed the ninth hour, i. e. about three of the clock in the afternoon, as Peter and John, Acts iii. 1, which is there called an hour of prayer, (it seems commonly observed,) and by "going up to the temple," it is likely that public prayers were used at that time, (or if not, it is clear it was to pour out private devotions,) and this superadded to the former is a fourth time. And there is little doubt but that the third hour, i. e. nine in the morning, was an hour of prayer also, as will appear by Acts ii. 1, compared with ver. 15, and then that is a fifth time. And the evening prayer being answerable to the morning, and so used at six in the evening, as the other at six in the morning, the custom of godly men hath been to shut up the evening with a compline or prayer at nine of the night, and so that is a sixth time. To which David seems to add a seventh, "seven times a day do I praise Thee:" where praising being the fourth part of prayer, may be a denotation of the whole duty: although the truth is, the phrase "seven times" may possibly be taken not strictly to signify that number, but as a phrase or form of speech to denote frequency. These directions put together, and pondered and compared with the leisure that every man hath from the duties of his calling, and with the great invaluable benefits of prayer, and with the power of importunity, i. e. frequent coming to God in prayer, acknowledged by Christ, and with the concernance of those things which we may ask and obtain by prayer, (above most other things which we spend a great part of our time on,) and with the reasonableness of giving God a liberal portion out of our time, as well as our estates, who hath allowed us so much besides to our own uses, will be very helpful to any that will judge discreetly what is to be done in this business; and then still you must add this resolution, that what is well done and well weighed for circumstances, being for the substance a duty commanded, the more of it is performed, it will be the more acceptable to God.

SECT. II.

Acts x. 9.

Ps. cxix. 164.

[Luke xi. 8; xviii. 7.]

S. From these scruples satisfied, give me leave to proceed to another: what kind of forms my prayers may, or must be presented in.

The forms.

C. In this there are two questions couched. 1. Whether

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The lawfulness of set forms.

any set form be lawful to be used. 2. If it be, whether any other may be used. And then, what directions may be had for that. To the first I answer positively, that set forms of prayer are lawful, both as the word "set" signifies premeditate limited forms, as opposed to extemporary; and as it signifies prescribed, and for some occasions and uses commanded. That it is lawful to use a set determinate form of words, either written or fastened in our memory, is apparent both by the example of Christ, who in St. Luke bids us when we pray, say, Our Father &c., not only pray after this pattern, as the words in St. Matthew may be interpreted, but use

Luke xi. 2. these very words, "When you pray, say, Our Father," &c., and of John Baptist, who taught his disciples to pray in some

Luke xi. 1. form, though we know not what it is, as also of the priests under the law, by God's appointment, that used a set form of

Numb. vi. 24. blessing the people, and of our Saviour Himself, who used a part (if not the whole) of the twenty-second Psalm upon the cross, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me," &c., and of the Church of the Jews, and Christian Churches through all times, who have had their liturgies, as ways and forms of serving God publicly, and as means to preserve the true religion from all corruptions in doctrine. And to these arguments may be added one more, of common observation. That even when the minister, or whosoever is the mouth of the rest, prayeth, though in a form of his own present extemporary effusion, yet at that time all others present are limited to his conceptions, and pray in as stinted a form as if what the minister prays were read out of a book, or dictated by his memory. That it is also lawful to use a 'set' (as that signifies a 'prescribed') form of prayer, is as apparent, 1. by Christ's prescribing one, which He would not sure have done, if it had not been lawful to have used it being prescribed; and so also, 2. by the other examples mentioned, which are most of them prescriptions; 3. by the no objection against the use of them; for sure if it be lawful to use them, it is lawful to prescribe them at some time, and for some uses, (for that a thing in itself acknowledged and proved to be lawful, should by being commanded by lawful authority become unlawful, is very unreasonable, unless lawful magistrates be the only unlawful things,) and at other times

to use other liberty is not forbidden, and so hereby there is not any invasion or tyranny used upon our Christian liberty; 4. by the great benefit that accrues to the congregation in having discreet well-formed prayers, and so not subject to the temerity and impertinences of the sudden effusions; and the same still in constant use, and so not strange or new to them, but such as in which they may with understanding go along with the minister, and by the help of their memory the most ignorant may carry them away for his private use, and generally those that want such helps, are by this means afforded them; and lastly, by the consideration of this one special farther advantage of them, viz. that by means of prescribed liturgies the unity of faith and charity is much preserved.

Of other unprescribed forms.

S. Well then, supposing these set forms to be lawful in themselves, and lawful to be prescribed, another question you taught me to ask, whether any other may be used but such.

C. Yes, doubtless: for the Church being obeyed in the observation of the prescribed liturgy in public, permits sometimes, and upon special incidental occasions prescribes, other forms in the public congregation, so it be done prudently, and piously, and reverently, and to edification; and so also in the family, or in visitation of the sick, if the particular condition of one or other do require it: and in private, in the closet, it is not supposed by our Church but that every one may ask his own wants in what form of words he shall think fit; which that he may do fitly and reverently, it will not be amiss for him to acquaint himself with the several addresses to God, which the book of Psalms, and other parts of holy writ, and all other helps of devotion will afford him, either to use as he finds them fit for the present purpose, or by those patterns to direct and prepare himself to do the like.

The qualifications of prayer, in the person, [1 Tim. ii. 8.]

S. What qualifications be required in our prayers to make them acceptable to God, or prevalent with Him?

C. Three sorts of qualifications. One in the person that prayeth; and that is, that he lift up clean hands without wrath or doubting, i. e. 1. that he be purified from all wilful sin, bring not any unmortified wickedness with him for God to patronise. 2. That he have charity to his brethren,

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and humility; the two contraries to wrath. 3. That he comes with confidence to God's throne, assuredly believing that if he ask what he ought, and what God hath not decreed against, God will grant it him either in kind, or by giving him that which is better for him. For this a Christian is bound to believe, that God is the "hearer of prayers," that they which "ask shall have:" only this with these limitations, unless God by His all-seeing eye judge somewhat else better for us, or by some particular decree hath determined the contrary; as when [Ezek. xiv. 14.] the destruction of a nation is determined, then though Noah, Daniel, and Job intercede for it, they shall only save themselves, but not the nation.

S. What [other] sort of qualifications is there?

in the prayer;

C. In the prayer itself. As 1. that the matter of it be justifiable; such things as God hath promised to give His children: or when that is doubtful whether it be such or no, then with submission to His wisdom as well as His will, if He seeth it best for us, and not otherwise. 2. That the things that belong to our souls, and wherein God may most be honoured, and our neighbour benefited, be most and primarily desired. 3. Zeal or fervency. 4. Attention, as it is contrary to wandering idle thoughts; which, though they are very apt still to interpose, and no hope ever to be wholly without them, yet must be laboured against, and by the use of all means probable repelled, and pardon for them asked solemnly of God. 5. Constancy and perseverance in asking, [Luke xviii. 1.] commended to us by the parable of the importunate widow. 6. The use of such bodily reverence, such gestures and postures as may both help to inflame our zeal, and be a fit companion of our spiritual worship. And 7. sometimes adding to our prayers vows of voluntary oblations, after the example Gen. xxviii. 20. of Jacob, "If God" &c., and those either when we pray to receive any special mercy from God, as Jacob did, or by way of gratitude and acknowledgment to God, when we have received them.

S. What is the third sort of qualification?

those that must follow our prayers.

C. Those that are to follow our prayers. 1. Observation of God's returns to our prayers; and in that of God's gracious providence in denying what would have been less fit, and granting that that is more. 2. Returning Him the

thanks, and the glory of all His grants and denials. 3. Considering and setting a value on this great unparalleled dignity and prerogative of a Christian, in talking and conversing, and prevailing with God; no difficulty of access, no doubt of acceptation. 4. Raising from His mercies a stock and treasure of confidence for the future, together with a love of Him; and by His denials learning to make fitter addresses the next time. 5. Expressing our gratitude for His mercies by our acts of charity and bounty to our brethren that ask of us, or need our aid, and, in case of precedent vow, paying that which we have vowed. SECT. II.

S. If there be nothing else which you will add concerning the duty supposed, be pleased to proceed to the cautions interposed in it. The cautions,

C. The first of them is common with that in the matter of almsgiving, that the desire "to be seen" or "praised of men" for our piety, do not interpose in our devotions: to that purpose, that it be not done in common assemblies, (meaning thereby not the church, or public assembling to that purpose in the house of God, as the word "synagogues[z]" might seem to import, but any place of public view, where men use to be spectators,) nor in the "corners of streets," i.e. places chosen on purpose as most conspicuous, for he that is in the corner of streets is seen by all in either street; but that our private prayers, which peculiarly are here spoken of, be as private as may be, in the closet, and the door shut; and, as near as we can, no eye but that of Heaven admitted to behold us. For if, in a duty wherein God is so nearly concerned by way of honour, and ourselves both in duty and for the obtaining our needs, we can take in so poor an accession as the consideration and desire of the praise of men, it is most just that that should be our reward, and no other expected from God for us. of vain-glory,

S. What is the second caution?

C. That we "use not vain repetitions." of vain repetitions.

S. What is meant by that phrase?

C. The word in Greek is a proverbial word[a], referring to a person whose name was Battus, and a fault that he was observed to be guilty of; which, seeing it is now uncertain what it was, we shall best guess of by the context here, particularly

[z] συναγωγαῖς. [a] βαττολογία.

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by the reasons that are here annexed to the cautions. 1. Because by this we shall be like the heathens, "who think to be heard for their much speaking." 2. Because we shall be like them in thinking that our many words help God to understand our meaning, which He knows before we begin to pray. By which it is first plain, that all repetition in prayer is not forbidden, because all such is not against either of those reasons; and withal, because both David in his Psalms (particularly Psalm cxxxvi.) and Christ in His agony used the same words in prayer many times; secondly, that the thing here forbidden is somewhat that the heathens were guilty of; as before the hypocrites were of the vainglory; thirdly, that the thing most probably to be fixed on is this, the tumbling out of a many unsignificant words, as the heathen tragedies express their manner, or the same words over and over again, not out of fervency of mind, but to lengthen out the prayer as long as they can, counting this length of words a good quality, or that that makes it either more powerful or more acceptable with God; which indeed was the peculiar fault of the Gentiles, the Jews rather using conciseness and brevity in their prayers. From all which it follows, that the bare length of prayers, any farther than either the necessity of our several wants or the fervency of our zeal requires, or than may tend to the inflaming of our zeal, is not acceptable to God, or like to prevail with Him; but rather to do the contrary, if it be affected by us: which is farther evidenced by the manner of that prayer which is here by Christ commended to us, as a pattern and form of ours to be ruled and directed by, "Our Father" &c., a very concise and short prayer.

Of the Lord's prayer.

S. Being by our Saviour's speech and our progress, in attendance thereon, fallen upon the Lord's prayer, though I have formerly in the explication of our Church catechism learned somewhat of the understanding of it; yet it being a prayer of such special weight and difficulty, I shall again desire your particular directions for the understanding of every part and branch of it distinctly. And first, is there any thing that from the general fabric of the words you would observe to me?

C. Yes, this one thing, that our first and chief care ought to be the glory of God, advancement of His kingdom, and

obedience to His will, i. e. the setting up of God in that excellence that belongs to Him; which is the sum of the three first petitions: and then after that, the care of ourselves, and those things wherein we are most concerned; the sum of the three latter. To which if we annex the doxology, "for Thine is the kingdom," &c., which is the reflecting on God's glory again, the observation will be enlarged, that the glory of God &c. ought to be our first and last care; and all that is good to ourselves, taken in only as it may best consist with that, on each side enclosed and bounded and limited with it. Just as we read of the liturgy used by the Jews, that of the eighteen prayers used in it, the three first and the three last concerned God; and the rest between, themselves and their own wants. But the truth is, the ancient Greek copies have not those words of doxology, and there is reason to think that they came in out of the liturgies of the Greek Church; where as now in many places the custom was, when the Lord's prayer had been recited by the presbyter, for the people to answer by way of doxology, (as after the reading of every psalm a "Glory be to the Father," &c.,) "For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen." SECT. II.

S. Please you then to enter on the particular survey of this prayer, where first occurs the title which we bestow on God in it, which I already conceive as a means to raise up our hearts to Him, and a ground of confidence that He can and will hear our prayers. But what is the particular importance of it?

C. First, that we look on God as children on a father, with all reverence, and love, and gratitude, as on Him who is 1. our Creator, and Father of our being; 2. more particularly set out to us in that relation than to any other sort of creatures, (as Plato said, God was a Maker[b] of other things, but a Father[c] of men.) Secondly, that all the acts of a father on earth are by Him performed to us, but in a far higher and more excellent degree, as far as heaven is above earth. Such are 1. His "begetting us anew to a lively hope," i. e. His giving us His Spirit, the principle of spiritual and celestial life: 2. His continuance of assisting grace to preserve what He hath Our Father.

[b] ποιητής. [c] πατήρ.

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begotten: 3. His first, preventing, secondly, exciting, and thirdly, illuminating grace, as a kind of education to our soul: 4. His providing an inheritance for us in another world, not by the death of the father, but by the purchase of the son, to be instated on us at our death, which is the coming out of our nonage, as it were. And (besides all this, wherein He is a father to our souls and spirits) many, nay, all kind of paternal acts to our very bodies, which we owe more to Him than to our earthly parents who begat them; as also the feeding, preserving, maintaining, adorning, and at last crowning of them. Thirdly, by this title, and in it that particle "Our" we 1. signify our belief of God's free bounty, and fatherly respect to all our kind, and that we labour not to engross or enclose it to ourselves; 2. we extend our prayers to them as well as to ourselves; 3. we express our faith, and reliance, and total plenary dependence on Him as ours, and without whom we can hope nothing; 4. by the adjoining of this title "which art in heaven," we celebrate His infinity, immensity, all-sufficiency, and all the rest of His attributes, whereby He differs from our fathers on earth, i. e. from men, and the honourablest of creatures.

S. From the title you may please to descend to the petitions; and first to those which concern God, of which, all together, if you would teach me any thing, I shall be ready to receive it.

C. I shall from thence only trouble you with this, that the form of wish rather than prayer retained in all those three, different from the style of the three latter, doth contain under it a silent prayer to God, to take the means or way of performing this into His own hands; and by His grace or providence, or however He shall see fit, to take care that by us, and all mankind, His name may be hallowed, His kingdom may come, His will be done, &c.

Hallowed be Thy name.

S. What is meant by the first petition, "Hallowed be Thy name?" and first, what by God's name?

C. By His name is meant Himself; God in His essence and attributes, and all things that have peculiar relation to Him: it being an ordinary Hebraism that 'thing' and 'word[d],' 'doing' and 'speaking[e],' 'being called' and 'being[f],'

[d] πρᾶγμα and ῥῆμα. [e] εὐποιεῖν and εὐλογεῖν. [f] κληθήσεται and ἔσεται.

'name' and 'essence[g],' (as "His name shall be called Wonderful," i. e. He shall be a wonderful one,) should be taken promiscuously the one for the other. SECT. II. [Isa. ix. 6.]

S. What is meant by hallowing?

C. The Hebrew word[h], or Syriac dialect, in which Christ delivered it, signifies 'to separate from vulgar common use,' 'to use in a separate manner,' with that reverence and respect that is not allowed to any thing else; in that notion that holy is opposed to common or profane. Thus is God hallowed when He is used with a reverence peculiar to Him above all other things; when such power, majesty, dominion, goodness, &c. are attributed to Him that are compatible to nothing else. Thus is His Name hallowed when it is reverently handled; His Word or Scripture, when weighed with humility, received with faith, as the infallible fountain of all saving truth, applied to our souls, and the souls of our hearers, as the instrument designed to our endless good, the "power of God ordained to salvation." Thus is His house consecrated to His service; His priests designed to wait on Him and officiate; the revenues of the Church instated on God for the maintenance of His lot or clergy; the first day of the week among us (as among the Jews the last) set apart for the worshipping of God publicly and solemnly. And every of these is hallowed when it is thus according to the design used separately, when none of these mounds (to fence each) are broken down, but all preserved from the inroad of sacrilegious profaners. [Rom. i. 16.]

S. Having explained the single terms, what is now the meaning of the complex, or petition?

C. I pray to God that He will be pleased, by His grace poured into my heart, and the hearts of all men, and by the dispensation of His gracious providence, to work all our hearts to such a reverence, and awe, and separate respect unto Him, His majesty, His attributes, His works of grace, His name, His word, His day, His ministers, His consecrated gifts, the patrimony of the Church, devolved from Him upon the ministers thereof, that the sins of sacrilege, and profaneness, and idolatry, and irreverence, and indevotion, &c. may be turned out of the world; and the contrary virtues of

[g] ὄνομα αὐτοῦ and αὐτός. [h] קדש

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Christian piety and reverence and devotion set up and flourish among us.

S. O blessed Father, thus be Thy name hallowed by me and all mankind. Please you now to proceed to the second, "Thy kingdom come." And first, what is meant by God's kingdom?

Thy kingdom come.

C. The exercise of Christ's spiritual regal power in the hearts of all His servants and subjects, or disciples, that give up their names unto Him, 1. here in this imperfect kingdom of grace, where the mortifying of every unruly affection is the erecting of a throne for Christ; much more the uniform obedience of a whole world of humble, pious, meek, peaceable, charitable Christians, when God by the power of His grace shall be pleased to new form and mould the universality of Christians into the temper of His Christ; which though we know not whether it will ever be, yet it well becomes us to endeavour and pray for it: 2. in the great final doom of all enemies, and crowning of all saints, which shall be attended with a kingdom which shall have no end, Christ giving up the kingdom to His Father, and all His saints being taken in to reign with Him for ever.

S. What do you mean by praying that this kingdom of God may come?

C. I pray that God by His grace inspired into my heart, and the hearts of all men, and by His blessed disposal of all things below, will so begin to set up His kingdom in our hearts immediately, so weaken the power of the adversary and the malice of opposers, that it may by degrees of flourishing daily increase; and that all other things which are in His purpose may be orderly completed; till at last this mortal compounded kingdom, which hath so much mixture of infirmity and sin and rebellion in it, be turned into a kingdom of perfect holiness and immortality.

S. O come, Lord Jesus, come quickly, into Thy kingdom of grace here, for the illuminating and preventing, for the purging and cleansing, for the regenerating and sanctifying, of our souls, for the bestowing on us that precious blessed grace of perseverance, and in the kingdom of Thy glory for the perfecting and accomplishing of us hereafter. Proceed we to the third petition, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." What is meant by God's will?

Thy will be done.

SECT. II.

C. His commands whatsoever they are, but especially those which are delivered to us in the gospel by Christ.

S. How is His will done in heaven?

C. It is performed by the angels, who are His ministering spirits, doing those things in the governing of the world below, and of every of us, which He appointeth them to do. And this which they are thus appointed, they do willingly, cheerfully, speedily, and without neglecting any part of it.

S. What do you mean by the doing it on earth?

C. The obedience of all men here below.

S. What then is the full importance of the whole petition?

C. We pray to God that He will so inspire His grace into all our hearts, and so direct us by His providence, and assist us to performance, that we may obey Him in all His commands here on earth willingly, readily, cheerfully, speedily, impartially, or sincerely, without indulging ourselves to any kind of sin in the omission of any part of our duty to Him, as His angels daily obey His commands in Heaven.

S. Blessed Lord, give us this grace to will and assist us to perform. From the petitions that respect God, we may now proceed to those that respect ourselves more particularly; though by your explication I perceive that in those which respect God we are nearly concerned also.

C. It is true in some kind, but not so immediately and particularly as in the latter three; of which one thing you may observe in general, which yet I cannot conveniently declare to you, till I have explained to you the particulars.

S. Be pleased then to do that, and first in the former of them, "Give us this day our daily bread," to tell me what is meant by daily bread.

Give us this day our daily bread.

C. By 'bread[i]' is meant all the necessaries of life. By 'daily' somewhat which the word in English doth not distinctly signify, yet well enough expresseth the sense of it. For thus it is; the word in Greek may come from a word which signifies 'the day approaching[k],' whether that be the now instant day, or else the morrow, that is, (in the scripture sense of the Hebrew[l] answerable to it,) the future, the re-

[i] ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος.
[k] ἐπιοῦσα.
[l] סחר, and so also אחר, rendered ἐπιὼν χρόνος. Deut. xxxii. 29.

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mainder of our lives, how long or short soever it is, which time, because it is uncertain, men ordinarily make this an excuse for their covetousness, that they may lay up for their age, and so the older they are, they grow the more covetous. If we fetch the word rendered 'daily' from hence, it will then denote so much as shall be sufficient or proportionable for the future or remainder of our lives[m], which in our prayers we beseech God to take into His care, and to distribute unto us 'this day,' that is, as St. Luke interprets it, 'daily[n],' or 'day by day.' Another way there is of deducing the word which we render 'daily' so that it shall signify that which is agreeable or fit for my being or subsistence[o]; not so as to restrain it to the lowest proportion with which a man can subsist or live, but that which is agreeable to his condition[p] taken with all its circumstances, for that is it which is called his being; and then it will be exactly agreeable to Solomon's prayer for "food convenient for them." And so in either sense the prime importance of this petition is, "Lord, give us day by day that which shall be sufficient for the remainder of our lives."

[Luke xi. 3.]

[Prov. xxx. 8.]

S. You said this was the prime importance of it, which seemed to imply that there was another; what is that?

C. The most obvious and natural sense I call the prime sense, because the words do first yield it; that is, as I told you, all that belongs to the bodily necessaries of this life, food and raiment: but a secondary sense there is, which though the word yield but in the second place, yet is a more weighty considerable sense, to wit, as 'bread' imports in a spiritual acception the food of the soul, the grace of God, without which the soul can as little sustain itself as the body without food; and then the 'daily bread' is that measure of continual grace which will suffice for the remainder of our warfare here, which we beseech God day by day to bestow upon us, to assist and uphold us in all our wants, and refer the care thereof unto God, who, we are confident, "careth for us."

[m] *ἐπίουσα, ἐπερχομένη.*—Phavorinus [in verbo, p. 208. l. 99.] *ἐπιοῦσα τυχὴ*, "the future events of things," as opposed to *παροῦσα*, "the present."—Niceph. Basil. *διηγ. ιε'.*

[n] *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν.*

[o] *ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν.*

[p] *ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος, ὁ τῇ ἑκάστῃ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἁρμόζων.*—Phavorinus [in verbo, p. 208. l. 99.]

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S. I beseech God thus to care for us all, and give us day by day for the remainder of our lives all things necessary for our souls and bodies. You may now please to proceed to the next, i. e. the fifth petition, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us."

Forgive us our trespasses,

C. There will be little difficulty found in that; 'to forgive,' is 'to absolve,' 'pardon,' 'free from punishment;' and the word 'trespasses' signifies all manner of offences against God: the word in Greek is 'debts[q],' which is a Syriac expression to signify 'sins.' And it seems to be thus occasioned. Every man is bound to perfect, exact obedience to God by the condition of the first covenant, and that under a heavy penalty, if he fail: he then which hath so failed, is thus God's debtor to punishment; which if it be not forgiven him, Satan God's officer will fetch out a writ against him, cast him into prison, and there leave him, till he hath "paid the uttermost," i. e. eternally. We therefore pray to God to remit these 'debts' of ours, the payment of which would go so deep with us. And whereas we add "as we forgive them" &c., that is only a mention of a qualification in us, made necessary by Christ, to make us capable of that remission of God's, and as an argument to enforce that grant, by professing ourselves freely to pardon all those that by any injuries done to us are become our debtors, i. e. might justly in strict law be by us prosecuted to punishment.

as we forgive.

S. Lord, grant us all this free pardon through the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, for all our sins; and give us grace thus to forgive all others that have injured us, as freely as we hope for pardon from our God. I shall lead you to the last petition, which seems to be made up of two members, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." What is meant by temptation first, then by God's leading into it?

Lead us not into temptation.

C. By 'temptation' is meant an allurement of pleasure or profit, or determent of danger or evil, which may bring me to fall into any sin. "To enter into such temptation," as Matt. xxvi. 41, the phrase is used, signifies so to be involved with either of these that I cannot get out. 'To make to enter[r],' or 'to bring,' or 'to lead into it,' which are

[q] ὀφειλήματα. [r] εἰσφέρειν.

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all one, is to occasion our thus entering, or being involved: which God may do by leaving us, or by withdrawing His grace. So that the meaning of this petition is not, that God would not permit us to be tempted, which is the lot of all, especially the most godly men, but that He will not so forsake or leave us to ourselves, so destitute, and withdraw His grace, so deliver us up in time of temptation, either through prosperity or adversity, or Satan's assaults, that we be not able to extricate ourselves, that He will not leave us to be overcome by temptation; for so "to be tempted" signifies, the word being of a real passive signification, of which nature there be many in the New Testament, and so noting the being "overtaken" also, the being ensnared by sin, wrought on by temptation: for the possibility of that only is it, the consideration of which will move us to restore such as be already overtaken, which is the subject of that verse.

Jam. i. 2, 3.

Gal. vi. 1.

S. Lord, do not Thou thus leave or forsake us in time of temptation, so far as that we be overcome by it. But what is the importance of the other member of the petition?

Deliver us from evil.

C. The former was only negative, for not bringing us to this great hazard by forsaking or destituting us; the latter is positive, for deliverance from temptation, not again from falling into it, but from being overcome by it: which God may do by either of these ways: 1. by giving us a proportionate measure of strength or grace to bear it, and move under it, how heavy soever the pressure be; or 2. by tempering the temptation to our strength, and not permitting the assault to be over heavy. And that God will do this, by which of these means He pleases, and deliver us from the power or hurt of temptation, which then only becomes evil when we are overcome by it, is the sum of that second part of the last petition, "Deliver us from evil," or "out of evil:" whether by that we mean the evil one, Satan, the artificer and designer and improver of temptations; or the temptation itself, either that of our own lust, or the world, and enemies of piety.

S. Lord, be Thou thus seasonably pleased to rescue and deliver us, when we should otherwise surely be overcome, by the power and assistance of Thy mighty grace. I now

remember you told me one thing would be observable from the general view of these three petitions, which having now explained them, it will be seasonable to afford me. SECT. II.

C. It is this; the order wherein God is wont to dispense His spiritual gifts unto us, by the order wherein Christ directeth us to petition them. Thus, God 1. gives grace to sanctify; that 'manna' from heaven, that 'bread of life,' without which we are not able to live to God. 2. He pardons sins to them that are thus fitly qualified to receive His pardon. 3. He assisteth and upholds from falling into sin, i. e. He first sanctifieth, secondly, justifieth, thirdly, gives grace to preserve. And in this order we must desire and pray for these several degrees of grace.

S. What now have you to add concerning the doxology added to these petitions? The doxology.

C. This, that whether it were delivered by Christ, and taken either out of David's form, or out of the ancient forms of the Jews, or whether it were by after copies annexed out of the liturgies of the ancient Greek Church, it is a very fit form of acknowledgment to God to enforce the granting of the petitions; especially those three which respect God; thus, "Thy kingdom come," for "Thine is the kingdom:" "Thy will be done," for "Thine is the power:" "Hallowed be Thy name," for "Thine is the glory for ever and ever." The first of these is the acknowledgment of God's dominion due to Him over the world; and is not nor can be, said in earnest by any but those that resign up their souls for Him alone to reign in, as the sole prince and monarch of their souls: he that retains one rebel lust out of God's obedience, doth mock Him when he repeats those words. The second is, the acknowledgment of God's omnipotency and all-sufficiency, as the fountain of all that grace and strength we beg for; and he that cannot rely on Him for all that is necessary for this life and another, doth reproach Him when he saith, "Thine is the power." The third acknowledgeth the thanks, the honour, the glory of all we are or have, to be due to Him from whom all is received; and he that can impute any thing to himself as his own acquisition, can never be thought in earnest when he saith, "Thine is the glory." The "Amen" that concludes, is but

1 Chron. xxix. 11.

Thine is the kingdom,

the power,

and the glory.

Amen.

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a solemn style of the Jewish first, and then Christian Church; either noting the faith of him that prays, and confides that what he here prays for shall be granted; or only a recollection of all that is before prayed for by the speaker, by which all that are present, use to make themselves partakers of the severals, and to express their joining in each with them, "so be it;" answerable to what is at length in our litany "We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord."

S. I perceive after the recitation of this prayer, one appendage there is which cometh in as it were in a parenthesis, before our Saviour proceeds to the next matter, "For if we forgive men their trespasses," &c. What is the meaning of that?

Matt. vi. 14, 15.

Prayer for pardon obligeth to forgive.

C. It is a returning by way of review, or giving a reason of one passage in the former prayer, (and but one, as if that were the most hugely important of any,) to wit, why those words, "as we forgive them that trespass against us," were interposed; namely, because in God's forgiving of us, He hath a peculiar respect to our free pardon and forgiving of other men; as appears by the parable, where he that had his debt forgiven him by the king, yet going out and challenging his fellow-servant, and exacting payment from him, hath the former forgiven debt most sadly brought upon him again; and this applied there, ver. 35, particularly by Christ to every of us, who "from our hearts forgive not our brethren their trespasses." And therefore whosoever prayeth for forgiveness in this prayer doth not only oblige himself to forgive all others, but he doth even curse and bring down imprecations upon himself, and desire God in effect never to pardon him, if he be not thus qualified by pardoning of others. It will therefore be most absolutely necessary for every man that takes this prayer into his mouth, first to put all malice, desire of revenge, or grudge out of his heart; or else his prayer shall be turned into a curse to him: and that is the importance of this passage.

Matt. xviii. 35.

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Of fasting.

S. You have passed through the second period of this chapter, the weighty duty of prayer, together with the cautions and directions belonging to it. Let us now by your leave advance to the third, reaching through the next three verses, "Moreover when thou fastest," &c. Where first, I

Matt. vi. 16—18.

pray, what is the importance of the phrase "moreover," because that was not formerly used in the second of the three?

C. It first noteth this duty not to be so ordinarily and frequently taken notice of as the former, and therefore a note of remark is prefixed to it. Secondly, that this is also a duty necessary to be superadded to the practice of the other two, if we will be disciples of Christ; it being a part of the worship of God also, especially when it cometh in conjunction with them.

S. Well then, I shall presume you will continue the same method of handling this which in the former two you have observed; by taking notice of 1. a duty supposed, 2. a caution interposed. I shall desire to receive first what you will recommend unto me for the duty which is here supposed, "Thou, when thou fastest." What kind of fasting is here spoken of?

C. Not the solemn prescribed fasts of the Jews, (for those were not to be concealed or dissembled,) such as the great day of expiation, called the "fast which God hath chosen," (described Isaiah lviii. [5.] in those expressions which are ordinarily thought to belong to the weekly Sabbath day, but both there and Levit. xvi. 31, and xxiii. 32, and Num. xxix. 7, most clearly belong to that day of expiation;) nor those other three added to that under the time of the second temple: but days of private fasting, that every one prescribed themselves as free-will offerings, some once, some twice, some oftener, every week, denying themselves their lawful ordinary food, commonly not eating till the going down of the sun, and then very moderately also. Which exercise as Christ dislikes not, but rather approveth it by His mention here; so He desires to free and rescue it from the vainglorious design of pharisaical hypocrites in the using of it. But before you will be well capable of hearing and assenting to your duty in this of fasting, or denying yourself your lawful food, it will be necessary by way of preparative, for you to know your duty in respect of sobriety; or what eating or drinking, abstracted from the superaddition of this duty of fasting, is lawful for Christians. For as he which is not advanced so far in the school of nature as to observe rules of justice, will scarce be a fit auditor of the doctrine of alms-

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giving premised; so certainly, he that hath not submitted himself to the rules of sobriety, will be hardly brought to hear of fasting; and besides, the truth is, that the unjust man's alms will avail him little, and as little the drunkard's or glutton's fasts. And therefore it will not be amiss awhile, before we proceed, to take in the consideration of this duty of sobriety.

Of sobriety.

S. I acknowledge the reasonableness of the proposal. What then do you mean by sobriety?

C. That temperance in eating and drinking which—whatsoever may be said of it under the Old Testament among the Jews, who being allured to the service of God especially, with the representation of temporal promises, of plenty, &c. could not so fitly be interdicted the liberal use of meats and drinks, but might be allowed somewhat in that matter which is not allowable to Christians, at least might be so far permitted the exceeding of those strict terms of sobriety without danger of the like punishment—is now strictly commanded Christians in the New Testament, and that under threat of damnation to him that frequently, or willingly and indulgently, offendeth herein. Thus it is said of 'drunkards[s],' that they "shall not inherit the kingdom of God:" where the word is not to be restrained to those who drink to bestiality, to the depriving themselves of the use of their reason, that drink drunk, as we say; but belongs to all that drink wine or strong drink intemperately, though through their strength of brain they be not at present intoxicated by it. So among the works of the flesh, "which they that do shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven," there is mention of 'drunkenness, and revellings[t],' or comessations, or excess in eating. So both are together forbidden; 'surfeitings, or excess in eating, and drunkennesses, or excess in drinking[u].' And so 'excess of wine, comessations, and drinkings[x].' And on the other side is sobriety commanded. And it is mentioned as a special design and end of the appearing of Christ, that we should be instructed to walk justly, and piously, and "soberly in this present world." The first of those three referring to

1 Cor. vi. 10.

Gal. v. 21.

Rom. xiii. 13.

1 Pet. iv. 3.

1 Thess. v. 6, 8.

Tit. ii. [12.]

[s] *μέθυσοι*, from *μέθυ*, strong or sweet wine, all one with vinosi or vinolenti.

[t] *μέθαι, κῶμοι.*

[u] *κώμοις καὶ μέθαις.*

[x] *οἰνοφλυγίαις, κώμοις, πότοις.*

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our duty to our neighbour, the second to our duty toward God, and that of sobriety to our duty toward ourselves, (nothing tending more to the preservation of ourselves than that; and nothing being more hurtful and more unagreeable with that charity which we owe to ourselves, our bodies as well as souls, than intemperance,) and so in those three is the whole duty of man comprised.

S. How many sorts of excess in eating and drinking be there, to which sobriety is opposed?

C. The excess is of two sorts: one in the quantity, when we eat or drink to the overcharging of the body; and the sobriety contrary to that, is the eating and drinking no more than agrees with the health and good temper of it, though we do allow ourselves the pleasures and delights in choice of meats, &c. Another excess there is in the quality or delicacy of meats or drinks, and a studied care and pursuit of such as are thus most delightful; and the sobriety contrary to this, is when we content ourselves with that meat and drink which is necessary or useful to the health and strength of our bodies, and neglect or despise all other delicacies.

Excess in eating and drinking, of two sorts. In quantity,

quality.

S. Are both these kinds of excess condemned, and sobrieties commanded us Christians?

C. Some difference there is in this matter. The former of those excesses is so expressly forbidden, that he that useth it is excluded from the kingdom of God. And consequently the contrary sobriety is strictly commanded under that heavy penalty. But the second kind of excess is not so certainly and expressly forbidden, nor the contrary sobriety so distinctly and peremptorily commanded under penalty of exclusion from the kingdom of heaven, to him that useth that excess only in the choice of meats that are most delicious. Yet because it is not improbable that the words in the original do belong and extend to quality as well as quantity, i. e. to excess in either, (and the word used for drunkards and drunkenness[y], comes from the word that signifies sweet as well as strong wine[z],) and because there are two considerations which make this excess in the quality or delicacy to be unagreeable to the composition of the evangelical rule of life, I cannot but say that this kind of sobriety

1 Cor. vi. 10. Gal. v. 21.

[y] μέθυσοι, μέθη. [z] μέθυ.

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is commanded also, and that the contrary habit to it deserves to be deemed a sin.

Two considerations pertaining to the latter.

S. What be those two considerations?

C. First the hope of eternal life and endless spiritual joys, that are proposed to us in the New Testament; which if they be ever suffered to enter into and fill our hearts, will produce a disesteem and mean opinion, and in time a contempt and scorn, of all carnal delights and pleasures, will bring us to an using the pleasant part as well as the profitable of the world as if we used it not, and (so we may have food convenient for us) a not caring for any choice or superfluity, an abstaining purposely from all supervacaneous pleasure. The second consideration is the duty of charity and liberality to our poor brethren, required of us and recommended to us in the gospel: in which he that fares deliciously, and takes care not only for the preserving of the health and strength, but also for the pleasing and entertaining of his palate, will surely be less able to discharge his duty; that supervacaneous pleasure bringing a superfluous expense and charge along with it. These two considerations make it very hardly separable from sin, for any man to allow himself this second kind of excess: though I shall not be over forward to pronounce damnation on him that is guilty of it; 1. because I am not so sure that there is in the New Testament any particular, direct, immediate command against it; 2. because the virtue of sobriety, especially in this second sort, consists not in any one point indivisible, (so that it should possibly be resolved, that he that eateth this kind of meat sinneth not, and he that eateth any more delicious doth sin); 3. because there is no certain rule by which to define delicious meats, that being most delicious to one which is less to another; 4. because indeed to a temperate healthy man, the plainest and ordinariest meats are most delightful and pleasing also. On which and the like reasons I shall not make haste to condemn or terrify any man in this matter, nor tell him the abstaining from delicacies is by any express precept required of him; but only mention to him these seven things. First, that it is a vile and unchristian thing to set the heart upon such mean carnal delights: secondly, that what I can conveniently spare from myself, I should reserve for those that

do or may want it: thirdly, that there is excess in the quality as well as quantity of meats and drinks; and that the excess in, or indulgence to, the former is a most forcible provocation to the latter, which is acknowledged a damning sin: fourthly, that a Christian may do better to deny himself lawful pleasures, than to do all that is not unlawful: fifthly, that the end of eating and drinking is the preservation of health and strength, and not the delighting the palate: sixthly, that though a well-tempered healthy man's appetite ordinarily demands those things that are fittest for him, and consequently in that case the satisfying the appetite may not be amiss, yet first, the appetite is oft intemperate in its demands, oft demandeth this or that, which by some custom it hath been used to; and then that custom being equivalent to a disease sometimes, sometimes the author of some real disease, that disease should be cured, and that appetite meantime not obeyed: secondly, the appetite is tempted many times by the object, either really present, being set before us, or imaginarily, being represented by the fancy; and then the motion of the appetite is no argument of the meetness of satisfying it: seventhly, that fasting, or abstinence wholly, is also a Christian duty to be used sometimes. And by these rules I shall leave any prudent and sincere Christian to direct himself in this matter, and desire him in the fear of God to be careful that he offend not against that Christian necessary duty of sobriety in any kind.

Of feasting.

S. But may not feasting be lawful now among us Christians: and so delicious fare?

C. Feasting, as it is an expression of thanksgiving to God, and celebration of some act of His mercy; as it is an act of hospitality for the receiving and treating of others as well as our own family; as it is a means of preserving and increasing mutual love and charity among men, is certainly now lawful and commendable: but all these ends and uses may be provided for without luxury and delicacy, (only variety perhaps will be useful in sundry respects,) and again without any man's overcharging himself, and therefore will never be an excuse or apology for either. And as for honest mirth and cheerfulness, it will not at all be provided for by immoderate or delicious eating or drinking, but rather hindered

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by it; raised tumultuously perhaps by that means for the present, but then apt to degenerate into scurrility, &c., and withal, attended with bitterness in the stomach, with satiety and drowsiness, which is most contrary to it. In brief, the true Christian feasting is when the poor and rich meet at the same common entertainment, and they that want partake of others' plenty in the same common meal, contrary to the 1Cor.xi.21. "every man his own supper[a]." Where for one to be drunken, i. e. to eat or drink excessively, is as great a solecism as for another to go away hungry.

S. I shall hope to lay that doctrine of sobriety to heart, and so to be in some measure qualified for that superstruction and superaddition of fasting, which occasioned this discourse. Of fasting. Which because you resolved to be a duty supposed in a Christian, and acceptable to God under the gospel, I must first desire the ground or reason of that affirmation.

A duty. *C.* 1. Because it is here in the same manner joined with the two former, almsgiving and prayer, which are unquestionably such duties. 2. Because it is here promised a reward by Christ, if it be not blasted by vainglory. 3. Because it is foreseen by Christ to be that that men are apt to expect praise for among men. 4. Because Christ in other places approves, if not commands, the use of it; only affirms the season for His disciples to fast, to be then not so agreeable, Matt.ix.15. because the bridegroom was with them. "But when the bridegroom should be taken away," i. e. after the death and departure of Christ, "then shall they fast in those days." 5. [Luke xviii. 12.] Because Christ bringeth in the Pharisee boasting that he fasts twice in the week, and lays no manner of censure on him for so fasting, but only for the pride in boasting of it: and, I remember, it is St. Chrysostom's direction, that we should only avoid the Pharisee's pride but not neglect his performances; as on the other, forsake the publican's sins, and retain his humility. 6. Because it was prevalent with Matt. xvii. 21; Acts i. 14; ii. 1; xiii. 3; xiv. 23. God, being joined with prayer, to the working of miracles, and so again probably, for the obtaining the presence of the Holy Ghost in a special manner, and used by the Apostles before the ordination of ministers. 7. Because the performance of this is thought by St. Paul a sufficient occasion for a tem-

[a] τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον.

porary parting of man and wife, which otherwise he would not advise; which signifies this to be an employment of weight among Christians. 8. Because it is mentioned by St. Luke as a part of the worship of God joined with prayer, in Anna, of whom it is said, that "she departed not from the temple, serving[b] or worshipping God, in prayers and fastings night and day;" of which, I conceive, this is the importance, that she constantly frequented the temple at the hours of prayer, (not that she dwelt or continued always there; for there is mention of her coming thither,) and used constant observations of fasting, and in so doing worshipped God. 9. Because Cornelius' vision, which brought him to Christianity, is mentioned to have been at a time of his fasting and praying. 10. Because of the many good ends and uses to which fasting is proper, and in respect of which it looks yet more like a Christian virtue than considered as a bare abstinence from a meal it doth.

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1 Cor. vii. 5.

Luke ii. 37.

ver. 38.

[Acts x. 30.]

S. What be those ends or uses?

C. 1. As an act of self-denial, which it is, when otherwise I would eat, but choose rather to abstain, to perform this act of that which in general Christ requireth of His disciples. 2. As an act of revenge[c], which you find among the effects of godly sorrow, and parts of repentance; and such may fasting be, if on consideration of, and by way of punishment on, my former plenitude and luxury, I now think fit thus to punish myself. 3. As a means of expressing my humiliation for sin, in time of God's wrath lying upon a nation or any particular person, and for the averting of that wrath: to which fasting hath been always counted very agreeable and found to be very successful, both in the Old Testament and in all stories of the Church. 4. As a means to fit any man the better for the performing the duty of prayer as he ought. To which purpose he that doth not acknowledge its propriety of usefulness, is certainly a man of a strange making; much distant from the best sort of Christians, whose experience will sure commend it to him. 5. As a means to enable me to the performing of works of mercy, by giving that to the poor which is spared from myself; which therefore should be always observed in either public or private fasts which we keep

The uses of it.

2 Cor. vii. 11.

[b] λατρεύουσα. [c] ἐκδίκησις.

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religiously, that we may never be the richer for what is thus spared, lest we seem or be tempted to fast for covetousness, as others do for strife. To which purpose it is that you see here alms, and prayer and fasting, joined together by Christ, not to be divided by us. If the meal we fast from bring any thing to our purses, it will not be accepted. For the fast which God hath chosen, or that which is acceptable to Him, is said to be that, "when we break the bread to the hungry," &c. 6. As a means to abate the desires and luxuriances of the flesh, and make the body more tractable and tame, and patient of receiving the dictates of reason, and to subdue in it inclinations toward uncleanness, when those are likely to prove too strong for us. To which purpose that fasting should be useful, it will not be hard for any man to guess that considereth the cause of carnal desires in the body, and that old saying, that without Ceres and Bacchus, the belly deities, Venus, or incontinent desires, grow cold[d].

Isa. lviii.

[ver. 5.]

S. Is all kind of fasting then acceptable to God?

C. No certainly: to fast out of sorrow or mourning for the death of a friend, is not so, though not sinful neither. To fast to save the charges of eating, to be the better able or more at leisure to transact business of the world, is not so, though again not sinful. And by these you will guess at some other kinds also. Yet you may mark still, that one thing there is in all fasting, to wit, self-denial, which though it is not by every one that fasteth proposed as an end, yet if it be so proposed, by so doing that fast shall be acceptable to God.

An objection against fasting being a duty,

S. I have yet one objection against all which you have said in this matter, and it is this, that all this while you have not mentioned any command or precept of fasting in the New Testament, and therefore do I not believe there is any such: and for the Old Testament, though there be a command for the observation of the great day of expiation every year, yet first, that was only obligatory to the Jews; secondly, it was a public feast, and not pertinent to this place, which speaks of private fasts; thirdly, if it should be thought to concern us, yet being but once in the year, it would not be considerable. From all which, it being supposed that there is

[Lev. xvi. 29.]

[d] [Sine Cerere et Baccho languet Venus.]

no precept now particularly obliging us Christians to fast, it may seem to follow, that fasting is not now acceptable to God. SECT. III.

C. To your whole objection I answer, 1. That there is no necessity of a precept of fasting, to assure us that it will be acceptable to God: there was no precept for voluntary oblations under the law, (save only a direction, when they were offered, that they should not be offered maimed, &c. as here there is, that we should not blemish our fasting with desire of praise of men,) and yet they were accepted; and many other evidences have been produced to prove the use of fasting to be acceptable to God, though not commanded. 2. Though there be no explicit command of fasting in the New Testament, yet from the nature and constitution of the gospel it may be collected that there are in some cases some tacit commands of it. As when all degrees of uncleanness, all satisfying the desires of the flesh, are forbidden, save only in lawful matrimony, and no allowance of polygamy or concubines. To him that finds himself unable thus to live in conjugal chastity, the using of means which may help to it are tacitly commanded by God; and so consequently fasting, if that be the only means left him, as many times it is. And then, as to the disciples that could not cast out that devil which would not go out but by prayer and fasting, it is accounted infidelity by Christ not to use that means, so will it be the like unchristian sin in him that uses not this means, so necessary to so necessary an end. The same may be said in case the magistrate under whom we live prescribes the observation of it, or whenever any man seeth it necessary, or very probable that he shall be hindered from the performing of some duty which he owes to the glory of God, or edification of his brethren, unless he fast that day. Lastly, the case may be so set, that a man may discern himself able without any detriment to his health, or danger of shortening his life, &c. to use frequent fasting and withal by that means much advance his spiritual ends, have greater vacancy for holy employments, greater store for works of mercy, &c. and then sure in this case the commands of praying and mercifulness will be also tacit commands of fasting. So that though there be not any particular explicit precept, obliging every man whatsoever under pain of sin to fast simply, thus, or thus

answered.

[Lev. i. 3; xxii. 19, 21.]

Mark ix. 19.

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often; yet tacit commands there may be to them that are by any of these circumstances fitted for it: and even to those that for the present are not, it will yet be fit to be considered and counted of as a duty that they may be concerned in; and that if in no other respect, yet in this, that they are Christians who aspire to an angelical life and invisible joys, and should therefore deny, and by that wean, themselves of those sensual, corporal pleasures of eating and drinking, so far as to preservation of life and health, and to their duty to themselves may be agreeable.

S. How often then should a Christian fast?

Times of fasting.

C. By what hath been said you will guess it unlikely that I should undertake to prescribe positive set rules for this; the duty I shall leave to you as a voluntary oblation for you to offer as frequently as prudence joined with due care of your health, and as piety and the spirit of God shall prompt you, and only tell you these three things. First, that the Pharisee "fasted twice every week," and that that was never censured in him as a piece of pharisaism or hypocrisy or fault of any kind, but as commendable, if he had not boasted of it. Secondly, that every Christian ought to have his solemn set days, for the performing that great and weighty duty of humiliation, in calling himself to account for all his ways, and confessing his sins to God more particularly; and those days should not be too slow in their returns, lest his soul be too deep in arrears, and so unwilling to come to accounts at all. It is very reasonable for every man or woman of leisure to set apart one day in the week for this turn; or if the whole day or any other part of it may not thus be spared from the business of his calling, yet the dinner-time that day may be borrowed from eating, and thus more usefully employed without any disturbance to his other affairs. And he that useth not some such constant course which yet on special occasions may be altered, will be in great danger to be found and censured a neglecter of the duties of a disciple of Christ. Thirdly, that over and above this common duty of all men, some other wants there are or may be in this or that man, to the repairing of which fasting may be very instrumental, as hath been shewed; and so proportionably is to be more frequently used by them who have this need of it; of

[Luke xviii. 12.]

which their own conscience in the fear of God is left the judge. All this hath been said of private fasting because that is peculiar to this place: for public fasting, the direction must be had from the laws where we live; which so far at least oblige every one, that he offend not against them either contemptuously or with scandal. SECT. III.

S. I shall now desire God's direction and grace to incline me to the performance of this my duty, so as may be acceptable to Him, and to pardon me for my former omissions of it, which truly have hitherto been very great.—You may please now to proceed to the caution interposed, wherein I shall presume it superfluous for you to say much, having twice already insisted on it, in order to prayer and almsgiving.

C. The caution is itself in plain intelligible words, "When you fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance, for they" ('disfigure,' we read; perhaps the word only signifies) "veil," or "cover their faces," as mourners were wont to be, "that they may appear to men to fast;" but, rather than so, "do thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face," (for thy outward guise, appear in thy ordinary countenance and habit; for the Jews were wont to anoint themselves daily, unless in time of mourning,) "that thou appear not to men to fast, but to thy Father which is in secret;" that thou mayest appear desirous to approve thyself to Him only, who only is able to reward thee. The caution in it.

S. You have now passed through those three great Christian duties, which by their so near confederacy here, and by what you have said of them, I find so linked together, that it is very reasonable we should set apart some time for the joint practice of them altogether: for though it may be fit to give alms when I pray not or fast not, and to pray when I neither give alms nor fast; yet sure my fasts wherein the expense of a dinner is saved, should be joined then with almsgiving, (to wit, giving to the poor that which is thus spared,) and always with prayer. God give me a heart thus to practise it.—Having thus far advanced, you may please to proceed to that that follows, which I perceive to be a new matter, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," &c., and so on in one continued thread to the end of the chapter. Of all which what is the chief summary importance you may briefly tell me. SECT. IV. Of the desire and love of wealth.

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C. There are two things to which all the ensuing sixteen verses belong, and the second of them appendant to the former, into which the discourse insensibly glides. The former is for the mortifying of all desire and love of wealth: the latter for the moderating our worldly care or secular providence, which I told you would serve instead of (and might be laid up by us as) an improvement of the tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet." The former is set down in the six ensuing verses.

[Matt. vi. 19—24.]

S. Why do you refer these words, "Lay not up," &c. to the mortifying of desire and love of wealth?

C. Because a treasure is a metaphorical word to signify that which men desire and love most importunately, and set their heart upon; and so the prohibition of "laying up our treasure on earth," is in effect the forbidding to love or desire, or set the heart upon any earthly riches as a possession; but only to use them so as may most improve our future account, i. e. by liberal dispensing of them to raise a bank which may enrich us for ever in another world. For the enforcing of which prohibition and exhortation, he mentions, 1. The vanity and uncertainty of worldly riches; which evidences how unfit they are for our hearts to be set upon. One kind of them, that which consists in costly vestments, the moth, a poor despicable creature, can and doth destroy and make useless: another kind, our corn, and other the like fruits of the earth, (of which the fool so applaudeth himself that he had "store for many years,") eating [e], (for so the word rendered 'rust' doth signify,) whether of men, or the ordinary attendants of granaries, vermin, bringeth to nought; or if you will retain the word in our translation, 'rust,' it must then be taken in that notion as it belongs to corn in the field, and is called smut[f], when by some wind or the like the grain is smitten or blasted, and made good for nothing. And then for money, or our any other kind of treasure, never so closely and safely locked up, thieves can and ordinarily do "break through and steal" it from us. And it is observable that that moth and the like are bred[g] in the things themselves; and so those

Vanity of wealth.

[Luke xii. 19.]

[e] βρῶσις.
ἐρυσίβη, ærugo.

[f] καθάπερ γὰρ σιδήρῳ μὲν ἰὸς, ξύλοις δὲ θρίπες καὶ τερηδόνες συμφυεῖς εἰσι λῦμαι, δι' ὧν, κἂν πάσας τὰς ἔξωθεν διαφύγωσι βλάβας, ὑπ' αὐτῶν φθείρονται τῶν συγγενομένων—. Polyb. Hist. [vi. 10. p. 322.]

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kind of possessions are subject to these destroyings when no outward violence approaches them: and that is a mighty evidence of the vanity and uncertainty of riches, that many times vast estates and possessions do insensibly, no man knows how, crumble and moulder to nought, rich men without any visible expenses come to arrant beggary, and all the providence in the world cannot keep them from it, but rather betrays them farther; the greater their love of money is, the swifter their ruin follows them. And 2. the infatuating power of riches, when we come once to love them, to resolve to have them, (which St. Paul calls, "they that will be rich [h],") and to that purpose to serve or wait upon them, which way soever they lead us: our hearts are then so wholly set upon them, that we cannot at all serve God, or endeavour to approve ourselves to Him. This our Saviour proves by the contrariety of the commands of these two masters, God and mammon: for if their commands might be subordinate one to the other, they might both have their answerable obedience; God in the first place, and mammon or worldly wealth in the subordination. But God's commands being contrary to mammon's, i. e. to those courses which are necessary to the getting of riches, he that will grow rich, that is bent on that design, must give over all hope of being, or passing for, God's servant.

The infatuating power of it. 1 Tim. vi. 9.

S. What be the commands of God that are so irreconcileable with the service of mammon, or vehement desire of wealth?

C. 1. His command of doing justice, exact justice, as that excludes all violence, fraud, oppression, &c. 2. That command of the justice of the tongue, in performing of promises, though to the greatest hindrance and damage, and in not slandering any for the wealth of the whole world. 3. His command of absolute contentment in what state soever I am set by Him. 4. That command of selling, and giving to the poor; i. e. if otherwise thou canst not relieve thy indigent brother in distress, but by selling somewhat of thy own, then to do that, though it be most unlike to prospering or thriving in the world. 5. That command of freedom and ingenuity of spirit, of unconcernedness in these worldly, inferior, tran-

God's commands irreconcileable with mammon's.

[h] οἱ βουλόμενοι πλουτεῖν.

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sitory things, of self-resignation, dependence on God's providence for our daily bread; instead of all the carking infidelity of the worldling. And 6. that precept of earnest desire and contending for peace. 7. That of meekness, patience, praying for enemies.

S. How are all those so irreconcileable with mammon's commands?

C. You will discern it in the particulars. 1. Mammon prescribeth violence to every man, oppressing the poor righteous man, any that stands in our way to our espoused gain. 2. Mammon commands, not only despising our faith in performance of disadvantageous promises, but also false accusing, blasting, defaming of any which are likely to keep or get any preferment or possession that we have a mind to; as in the example of Jezebel toward Naboth it appears when her husband had a longing after his vineyard. 3. Mammon commands a perpetual unsatisfiedness, a kind of dropsy thirst, infused still more and more at the increasing of our plenty: mammon will not be thy friend, but on condition thou shalt be more importunate in getting wealth, more passionate in making court to mammon after this increase than thou wert before; and so generally you may observe it, the more possessions men attain to, still the more covetous they grow. 4. Mammon commands tenacity, a most strict keeping of our own; nay, a perpetual desire of being a purchasing, of making some new bargains, of enlarging the walk: and if Christ require to sell and give, you see the rich man, mammon's servant, presently leaves Him, he "goes away very sad, because he was very rich." 5. Mammon hath all manner of slavish tremblings, cowardly, uningenuous fears for his subject's task, quite contrary to self-resignation, a dismal thoughtfulness at every apprehension of danger, a perpetual carking and hovering over his wealth, and a venturing on any the most unlawful, unchristian practice, whenever that great law of self-preservation, (as mammon tells him,) i. e. the law of mammon, but of no other lawgiver, (I am sure not of Christ,) suggests it to him. 6. Mammon commands war (for enlarging of dominion, of possessions) that more glorious name of piracy; which St. James seems to have considered, when he saith, "wars come from our pleasures[i]," Jam. iv. 1.

[1 Kings xxi. 1, sqq.]

[Luke xviii. 23.]

[i] ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν.

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which are surely those pleasures consequent to the delight or lust of the eye, desiring to have. It being most clear, that covetousness puts men upon all the most furious wars, and contentions, and quarrels in the world. 7. Mammon sets men upon the most malicious acts of revenge of any thing. The covetous man hath still so many enemies in his black book, so many quarrels to answer, injuries to repay, trespasses to revenge, that his whole life is a kind of hell to him; not knowing how to be quit with every of them, he is fain to treasure up quarrels many years together, and study nothing but the payments of such debts. Other contrarieties might be mentioned between the commands of God and mammon. God commandeth to "keep the heart," mammon the wealth, "with all diligence," or above all keeping: God commands "sorrow for sin," mammon sorrow for losses: God commands confession of Christ and all Christian truth, and never more than when it is most opposed, when it is like to bring most danger to the confessor; mammon commands prudence, wariness, time-serving, never hazarding any thing for truth's sake: "The righteous is bold as a lion;" when the mammonist, with his wealth and heaps before him, dares not quatch without a licence from mammon, and assurance that it shall cost him nothing. These and a hundred more contrarieties evidence the truth of our Saviour's general speech, "that no man can serve two masters," brought home to this conclusion, "you cannot serve God and mammon," and from thence enforce the prohibition of "not laying up our treasures upon earth," or setting our heart on worldly riches; which is the main importance of those six verses. But beside, there is a positive exhortation in these verses to charity and liberality, which is meant by "laying up our treasure in heaven," i. e. so laying out our wealth as that it may bring us in those everlasting returns, as Christ explains the phrase by the like in another place, "give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven;" and, "make you friends of the unrighteous," or transitory, or unstable, mammon, contrary to the true durable riches, that "when you fail, they may receive you" (i. e. by an Hebraism, 'you may be received,' as, 'this night they shall require thy soul,' is all one with, 'thy soul shall be required') "into everlasting habitations." And besides other benefits of

Jam. iv. 2.

[Prov. iv. 23.]

[Prov. xxviii. 1.]

[Matt. xix. 21.]

[Luke xvi. 9.]

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your liberality, this will be one, that when you thus lay up your wealth by giving it to God and His poor children, your heart, which duly follows that treasure, will have no temptation to fasten on the earth, but on heaven; where our treasure dwells our hopes are laid up, our joy is to be expected, and so "there will our hearts be also."

S. I shall not trouble you longer with this matter, it being so obvious and plain, only methinks two verses there are in the midst of these which sound not to this matter, and are somewhat obscure; I beseech your help to direct me to the meaning of them: they are verses 22, 23. "The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thy eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light; but if thy eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

C. These words, as they are mostly interpreted concerning the goodness or illness of intentions, are not indeed very pertinent to the business in hand, of liberality, and of love of money; you may therefore give me your patience, while I give you the natural genuine interpretation of them, and then you will discern how pertinent they are to the present matter. To which purpose I shall first tell you what is meant by a single and an evil eye; secondly, by light and darkness; thirdly, by the similitude here used; and then, fourthly, how all belongs to the point in hand.

S. What is meant by the single and evil eye?

Liberality.

C. The word 'single[j]' signifieth in the New Testament, 'liberal;' the 'single eye,' 'liberality, bounty, distribution' of our wealth to the poor. So 'he that giveth in singleness[k],' or, as our margin readeth, 'liberally:' 'the riches of their singleness[l],' we read, 'liberality:' 'to all singleness[m],' we read, 'to all bountifulness:' 'singleness of distribution[n],' we read, 'liberality of distribution,' or 'liberal distribution:' 'that giveth to all men singly[o],' we read, 'liberally.' Contrary to this, the 'evil eye' signifies 'envy, covetousness, unsatisfiedness, niggardliness,' and all the contraries of 'liberality.' So "Is thy eye evil, because I am good[p]?" i. e. Art thou unsatisfied therefore,

Rom. xii. 8.
2 Cor. viii. 2.
chap. ix. 11.
ver. 13.
Jam. i. 5.
Matt. xx. 15.

[j] ἁπλοῦς.
[k] ἐν ἁπλότητι.
[l] πλοῦτος ἁπλότητος.
[m] εἰς πᾶσαν ἁπλότητα.
[n] ἁπλότητι κοινωνίας.
[o] πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς.
[p] ἢ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρός ἐστι;

because I have been more liberal to another? thou hast thy due, why art thou discontent, or unsatisfied? So "out of the heart cometh the evil eye," i.e. envy, covetousness, unsatisfiedness. For this is observable, that envy is generally set as the opposite to all liberality, and God by the fathers is said to be 'without envy[q],' meaning most liberal and bountiful. The word which is here rendered 'evil[r],' equivalent to a Hebrew word[s] which signifies the greatest degree of illiberality or uncharitableness; and the word 'eye' being added proverbially, perhaps because that part hath most to do in covetousness, which is called "the lust of the eye." SECT. IV. Mark vii. 21, 22. 1John ii.16.

S. What is meant by light and darkness?

C. By 'light,' Christianity, or the state of the gospel. We "are of the light," and "walk like children of light." And 'darkness,' contrary to that, unchristian, heathenish affections, or actions.

S. What is meant by the similitude here used?

C. That as in the body of a man the eye is the director, shews it what it should do, and if it be as it ought, directeth it the right way; but if not, leadeth into most dangerous errors: so in the man the heart, mentioned immediately before, if it be liberally affected, having "laid up its treasure in heaven," and fastened itself on it, will direct the man to all manner of good Christian actions; but if it be covetous, unsatisfied, worldly, hard, illiberal, it brings forth all manner of unchristian, heathenish actions. And then "if the light that be in thee be darkness," if the heart in thee be unchristian, heathenish, "how great is that darkness!" what an unchristian condition is this.

S. I shall now ask you how all this belongs to the point in hand.

C. It is indeed plain enough already, that it belongs perfectly to the business. And this is the sum of all. 1. That liberality and charity in the heart is a special part of Christianity, hath a notable influence toward the production of all Christian virtues, and a main argument and evidence it is of

The influence of it on all Christian virtues.

[q] ἄφθονος.—[ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ὁ Θεὸς παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ πρακτικός ἐστιν, οὐ φθόνῳ οὐδὲ πάθει τινὶ ὑποκείμενος· μακρὰν γὰρ ἧς θείας φύσεως φθόνος, τῆς γε ἀπαθοῦς καὶ μόνης ἀγαθῆς.—S. Jo. Damascen. Orth. Fid. lib. i. c. i. p. 1.] So ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα. [Pind. Ol. ii. 172.]

[r] πονηρός.

[s] רשע

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a Christian to have this grace in him. 2. That uncharitableness, worldly-mindedness, unsatisfiedness, uncontentedness, envy, covetousness, is a sin of a very ill effect and consequence; betrays a man to all most unchristian sins, fills him "full of iniquity," according to that of St. Paul, "for the love of money is the root of all evil," &c. and is a sad symptom, wherever we find it, of a great deal of ill besides. All which comes in very pertinently on occasion of those words, "where the treasure is, there will the heart be also;" and is a foundation for that appendent affirmation, "You cannot serve God and mammon."

1 Tim. vi. 10.

S. You have fully cleared this difficulty, and passed through the first of the two things contained in the remainder of this chapter, that which pertains to the mortifying all desire and love of wealth. God make it successful in my heart, to work all covetous earthly affections out of it, and plant all contrary graces of liberality and mercifulness in their stead.

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You will please now to proceed to the other thing, the moderating of our worldly care and providence in the following words, "Take no thought for your life," &c., and that taking its rise from the former, "Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought," &c. Being come unto this, I cannot but remember myself, and put you in mind that you formerly told me, that I might reserve my expectation of this, as of an improvement of the tenth commandment of the decalogue. How may that be cleared?

Of the tenth commandment.

C. By observing the importance of the negative part of that precept of the law, which is directly the prohibition of all covetous thoughts, and desires of other men's possessions, expressed after the manner of the Hebrews by enumeration of particulars, 'the house,' 'the wife,' &c., and by way of analogy the honours as well as wealth, all considered as the possessions of other men. This prohibition immediately contains a positive command of contentedness with our present estate, whatever it is, without any desire of change, murmuring, repining, disquieting of others: and so thus much is contained in that old commandment; a greater and superior degree in which matter is this of 'not taking thought for the morrow:' for that prohibition doth not only restrain our

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appetites from roving to that which is other men's, from disquieting and disturbing of others, and, as the last commandment is described, Mark x. 19, the depriving in thought, endeavour, and wish, the labouring to get away from another man that which may by his loss, and not otherwise, accrue to me; but this of 'not caring for the morrow,' is the not disturbing or disquieting myself, the turning out all worldly thoughtfulness out of my breast, and not only those which are terminated in another's loss or damage.

S. Will you then be pleased to proceed to that Christian pitch which is here set down?

C. I shall now proceed to that point, which takes up all the verses to the end of this chapter, and in it only detain you with two things; 1. the precept or doctrine of worldly thoughtfulness; 2. the enforcements of it, shewing how reasonable it is to be observed and practised, though it seem a strange doctrine. Of worldly care.

S. To begin with the first, what care and solicitude is it that is here forbidden?

C. It is set down in these three several phrases; first, "Take no thought[t] for your life, what you shall eat, or what you shall drink; nor yet for your body, what you shall put on;" ver. 25. secondly, "Take no thought[t], saying, What shall we eat," &c.; ver. 31. and thirdly, "Take no thought[t] for the morrow." ver. 34. From all which it appears that the thing here forbidden is that, whatever it is, which is the full importance of the Greek word, rendered 'taking thought[u],' which being derived by grammarians from a phrase which signifies in English 'to divide the mind[x],' doth then signify 'a dubiousness of mind,' or 'anxiety;' and that a want, or littleness, a defect of faith, ver. 30. a not believing as we ought, that God that gives us life and bodies, will allow us means to sustain one, and array the other. St. Luke expresses it by a word which we render 'doubtful mind[y],' or careful suspense, but signifies 'hanging betwixt two,' as not knowing how to resolve whether God will do this for us or no; or perhaps it is a figurative speech for a word signifying 'a watch-tower[z],' or 'high place,' whither [Luke xii. 29.] Eccles. xxxvii. 14.

[t] μὴ μεριμνᾶτε.
[u] μέριμνα.
[x] μερίζειν νοῦν.
[y] μετεωρίζεσθε.
[z] μετεώρου ἐπισκοπῆς.

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men get up to see what is coming, which is an argument of great fear and care in them. Now that I may give you the clear evidence of the Christian doctrine in this matter, I will deliver it distinctly in these few propositions. First, that this is a truth, infallible truth, of God's, that God will for the future provide for every servant of His, food and raiment, a competence of the necessaries of life. This truth may appear by the promises to this purpose in the Scripture. Two there are of this nature, that the margins of our Bibles in this place refer to: "Cast thy burden on the Lord, and He shall sustain thee:" "Casting all care on the Lord, for He careth for you." To which you may add Christ's promise, that "if we ask we shall have, if we ask not amiss," saith St. James; which sure we do not, if we ask but what He taught us to ask, "this day our daily bread," i. e. as in the explication of the Lord's Prayer was shewed, 'day by day those things that are necessary for the remainder of our life.' Many other promises you will observe to the same purpose, and particularly this in this place by way of expostulation, "Shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" intimating strongly a promise that He shall, and requiring faith or belief of this promise at our hands. Secondly, that want of faith or trust in this promise, not believing this truth, is a piece of the damning sin of infidelity so charged here upon them that believe it not. Thirdly, that any carking solicitude for the future is an argument of this distrust, this not daring to rely on God's providence and God's promise, and so an unchristian sin.

Ps. lv. 22. 1 Pet. v. 7. [Matt. vii. 7; Jam. iv. 3.] ver. 30.

S. But is not every man commanded by the Apostle to "provide for his own, especially those of his own house or kindred?" And if he doth not, defined to have "denied the faith, and to be worse than an infidel?" Sure then this want of thoughtfulness and secular providence will rather be infidelity.

1 Tim. v. 8.

Providing for our own.

C. Because you lay such weight upon that one place of St. Paul to Timothy, and seem to think it so contrary to this present doctrine of our Saviour, which if it were, it would yet be more reasonable to bring St. Paul to our Saviour by some commodious interpretation, than to evacuate the force of all our Saviour's discourse on this matter by this one place of

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St. Paul; and because the Apostle's caution, being rightly rendered, "make not provision for the flesh to coveting," or 'turn not the care or providence for the flesh into coveting or getting away other men's goods,' (forbidden in the tenth commandment,) supposes that this provision for the flesh is apt to be so abused, I shall therefore first endeavour to give you a clear view of that place, for there is some mistake in it, and you will discern it by this view of some few verses in a brief paraphrase. "Let those widows, which are widows indeed, i. e. which have neither husbands nor children to relieve them, be respected and relieved by the Church." "If any widow having no husband, hath yet (as it follows) children or grandchildren, let them, i. e. those children, learn first to shew pity or kindness to their own house, i. e. to their parents, and so repay[a] or requite them for their paternal care, do what their parents had done to them:" (see ver. 16.) "But the widow that is perfectly such, i. e. hath no children to relieve her[b], she doth in that solitude and widowhood hope on God, and continue in supplications and prayers, at constant times, night and day." "But she that lives luxuriously is dead while she lives." "And do you give such rules as these, that they may be blameless." "But if any man or woman do not provide for, or relieve those that belong to them, especially those that are of their family, (as the parents must be resolved to be,) he or she hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." "Let none be chosen to be a widow which is less than sixty years old," &c. You see this whole discourse is to shew what kind of person might be fit to be chosen to be a widow in the Church, one to be maintained out of the Church's stock; and among the rest of the qualities required of her this is one, that she must be one that hath no child able to maintain her, to provide for her: the word signifies, more generally, 'to take care of[c],' as a father of a child, or as a child here of a forlorn destitute parent. And then still that differs much from the notion

Rom. xiii. 14.

1 Tim. v. 3.

ver. 4.

ver. 5.

ver. 6.

ver. 7.

ver. 8

ver. 9.

[a] *ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδιδόναι*, vices referre.

[b] *μεμονωμένη*. So *μόνη*, Esth. xiv. 14, signifies one that is perfectly alone, which we render 'desolate;' and so Bar. iv. 16, *μόνη* is she that having her daughters carried away captive, is left quite alone.

[c] *προνοεῖ, ἐπιμελεῖται. πρόνοια, προενθύμησις, ἐπιμέλεια, φροντίς.* Hesych. [in verb. p. 790.] So children that are exposed by their parents are *ἀπρονόητοι* in Harmenopulus.

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that worldly fancies affix to this place, thinking themselves obliged to provide estates and riches for them, whereas the words cannot be extended to command any more than this, that every master or mistress of a family must take care of and relieve their parents, and those of their family, or which remain in their house or family[d]; and then that will not come home to that thoughtfulness or secular forecasting, to which in your objection it was applied. The short is, the place refers to the duty of the rich, not to let the Church be burdened with relieving their poor kindred, especially their parents, which are of their family, have a right to live in their house, and a propriety to be maintained by them, or that they do take care for and relieve them, (still supposing they are able to do it:) and so this belongs nothing to saving of wealth for them, but spending it on them when we have it, and not laying it on the charge of the Church to do it; and that will sufficiently weaken your argument. But then supposing this of secular forecasting and providing for necessaries of life to be the thing here spoken of, (as it is apparent it is not, but only relieving[e] the parents out of what we have,) then, to take away all scruple, and to reconcile this prohibition of Christ's with this precept of St. Paul's, it will be necessary to add a fourth proposition, that for present supplies, a Christian not only may, but must, use those lawful and proper means that are ordinarily in his power to use, to the attaining that end: and this is so far from distrusting of God or not depending and believing on Him, that it is indeed a special act of this faith, the doing of what He requires us to do, and without our doing of which He hath not promised to supply us. His promises, which are the object of our faith, are not absolute, but conditional promises; they require and suppose a condition to be performed on our part, and then give us a right to the thing promised, and not before. Every man therefore must do somewhat himself to provide for his own, (and not to do so is infidelity in St. Paul's style; just as the disciples are called faithless,

[d] *οἰκείων.*

[e] As Alex. Aphrodis. saith, *πᾶν τὸ προνοοῦν τινος, ἀγαθόν τι τῷ προνοουμένῳ περιποιεῖ.—ἀπορ. λύσ. βίβ. α'. ζητ. ιδ'.* and Ammonius in Schol. on the *εὐφωναὶ*, having resolved, that one of God's operations is, *προνοητικὴ τῶν καταδεεστέρων*, "providing for those that want," applies that of the poet to it, *Θεοὶ δωτῆρες, κ. τ. λ.*, "God's giving them what they want," making His 'providing' and His 'giving' all one.

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for not casting out of the devil, "that would not be cast out but by prayer and fasting," i. e. for not using that means to cast him out,) must endeavour to be instrumental to God's providence, and not fly to His extraordinary protection, when His ordinary is afforded us. God doth not use to multiply miracles unprofitably, nor at all, but for the begetting or confirming of our faith: which cannot be the case when we neglect those means of making good God's truths, which are already by Him afforded us: but only when all lawful means have been tried improsperously, then it will be God's season to shew forth His extraordinary power. In the mean time it is sufficient that He offer us means to bring us to that end which He promiseth; and if we neglect those means, and so fail in our performance of the condition required of us, we thereby discharge Him of all obligation to make good the promise to us; which was not absolute for Him to do without us, but conditional, for Him to do if we failed not in our parts.

Mark ix. 29.

S. But what are those means required on our parts, as subservient to God's providence in feeding and clothing us?

C. I shall first name you some that are such means, and then others that are mistaken for such, and are not. The true means you may know in general by this mark, that all means perfectly lawful, i. e. all things that are proper to that end, and are no way prohibited by God, are such, and all unlawful are not. But then particularly, first, labour and diligence in one's calling is such a lawful means: as in spiritual, so in temporal things, if we labour[f], or work, God will co-operate[g]. As in the war with Amalek, when Israel fights, God will fight with them: poverty is the Amalek, our honest labour is our fighting against it, and therefore the idle person is called a disorderly walker[h]; the word, being military, signifying one out of his rank, one that is not in file to fight against his enemy, and when we are thus employed, God our Captain hath sworn that He will have war, will fight against that enemy, with us, for ever; and that, as the Seventy read in that place, with a secret hand[i] assisting him that is thus busied, prospering him

Means subservient to God's providence in sustaining us.

Labour.

[Exod. xvii. 11.]

2 Thess. iii. 6, 7, 11.

[Exod. xvii. 16.]

[f] ἐργάζειν.
[g] συνεργεῖν.
[h] ἀτάκτως περιπατῶν, ἀτακτῶν.
[i] ἐν κρυφαίᾳ χειρί.

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insensibly that is thus employed: a sure blessing on the laborious, "The hand of the diligent maketh rich;" and on the other side, "he that will not labour," saith the Apostle, "let him not eat;" which is there a piece of apostolical discipline, to besiege idleness and starve it up; and that an image on earth of what is done in heaven, it being the rule of God's ordinary providence, that they that neglect the means shall not obtain the end. This promise being conditional, as all others, not to the idle, profane fiduciary, but to the faithful labourer; the absolute stoical depender on fate may starve for want of industry, die for want of physic, and be damned for want of repentance; and all this not through too much, but too little faith, the not taking the means along with him, which were predestined by God to bring him to a better end.

Prov. x. 4.

[2 Thess. iii. 10.]

S. What other sort of means is there required of us by God to this end?

Prayer.

C. Prayer to Him for "our daily bread:" the condition without which there is no one thing which we have promise to receive from Him: "Ask, and you shall have," &c., but not otherwise. So elsewhere the worshipping of God is joined with the "doing of His will," to make us capable of God's hearing.

S. What other means?

Thrift.

C. Honest thrift; the not spending upon our lusts, our vanities, those good things of this world that our labour and prayers have by God's blessing brought in to us. For the prodigal may starve as well as the sluggard; he that drinks out his bread, as he that doth not earn it. God hath not undertaken for any sin, that it shall not ruin us: His protection is like that of the law, for them only that travel in the day and in the road; not for the disorderly walkers in any kind, that have any by-path, or night-work to exhaust that treasure that His providence hath or is ready to bestow. And the same that I say of luxury, may be said of other harpies and vultures, that leave men ofttimes as bare as the highway robbers; that sly sin of close adultery, that eats out so many estates; yea, and that other of strife and contention, that pestilence, as it were, that walketh in darkness, and devours the wealth as well as the soul.

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And there are no reparations to be expected from God for such losses. One means more there is to which God's promise of temporal plenty being annexed, we may well add it to the former. The exercise of acts of justice and mercy; "Bring you all the tithes," saith God by Malachi, "into My storehouse," i. e. both the priest's and the poor man's tithe, "and prove Me now herewith, if I will not open the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing," &c. To which purpose the Jews had a proverbial speech[k], "Pay tithes on purpose that thou mayest be rich." And there are many places of Scripture to the same purpose, which before were mentioned; and threatenings on the contrary, that the "withholding more than is meet shall tend to want." To these may perhaps be added another means, having also the promises of long and prosperous life annexed to it, that of meekness and obedience; of which saith the law, their "days shall be long in the land," flowing with milk and honey; and the gospel, that they "shall possess the earth:" as also it is affirmed of godliness in general, that it "hath the promises of this life," i. e. of so much of the prosperity of this world as shall be matter of contentment to them. Now these being by God designed as fit and proper means to the qualifying us for the performance of His promise, His providing of secular sufficient wealth for us, and the condition required on our parts, it will be but the believing of a lie for any man to neglect these several means required on his part, and yet to claim or challenge the end promised on God's part: in the same manner and degree as it is for the impenitent sinner remaining such, to believe and challenge the pardon of his sins and salvation.

Acts of mercy. Mal. iii. 10.

[Prov. xi. 24.]

[Exod. xx. 12.]

[Matt. v. 5.]

[1 Tim. iv. 8.]

S. I cannot but consent to this truth, and acknowledge the fitness of the means, which you have mentioned as truly subservient to that end. But you told me there were also some, were mistaken for such means, but are not: what are those?

False means.

C. 1. Secular wisdom, policy, contrivance; for though this seem sometimes to obtain that end, yet first there is no promise made to it; secondly, it many times faileth of the design; nay, thirdly, it hath ofttimes a most remarkable

[k] Da decimas in hoc ut ditescas.

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curse upon it. 2. Hoarding up all that comes, pinching the back and belly to fill the bag. 3. Going to law, and contentiousness. 4. Tenacity, not giving or lending to those that truly want; the griping illiberal hand; "Give, and it shall be given unto you," not else. 5. Immoderate care and solicitude: loving and courting of the world. 6. Deceit and injustice; and especially, sacrilege and perjury. Each of these in the esteem of the world are the fairest way to wealth, yet in the event prove the straight road to curses and poverty. It is "a snare to devour that that is holy," saith Solomon, and "after vows to make enquiry;" and that snare meaning treachery to the wealth as well as the soul. See the flying roll, which was formerly mentioned, and the curse that is brought with it. And that "entering into the house of the thief, and of him that sweareth falsely," i. e. on his family also, "and it shall remain in the midst of his house," and never leave haunting it, till it "consume it with the timber and stones:" that which a man thinks would be best able to endure, the firmest part of an estate, moulders and crumbles away between the fingers of the perjured person; noting this to be a consuming sin; and a consumption is an hereditary disease, an emblem of which is to be seen in the perjured woman, "The water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh rot," those two parts of the body that have relation to the posterity. 7. Distrust of God's promise, for sure never any man got any thing of God by not trusting Him: he that will not take His word, must find out some other paymaster. 8. Oppression, violence, spoiling of others, (though that seem a sure present course to bring in wealth,) for the threat of the prophet belongs to such, "Woe unto thee that spoilest; when thou ceasest to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled." Men are seldom suffered to taste any of the fruit of those sins, lest they or others should fall in love with them.

[Luke vi. 38.]

[Prov. xx. 25.]

Zech. v. 2. ver. 3. ver. 4.

Numb. v. 27.

Is. xxxiii. 1.

S. You have now abundantly discharged your promise, in setting down the true and the pretending means. Have you any more propositions now to add to the four already mentioned in this business?

C. Only these two. 5. That he that useth these true means appointed by God, and discards the false ones sug-

gested by the world, by Satan, or by his own ravening stomach, is more sure of not wanting for the future, is better provided for a comfortable old age, and a thriving prosperous posterity, than all the worldling's arts can possibly provide him. He that gives over all anxious thought for himself enters into God's tuition, and then shall surely be never the poorer for not caring. 6. That the using of unlawful, though never so specious or seemingly necessary, means to the getting or preserving of worldly wealth, or the necessities of life, is a most direct piece of infidelity, most clearly forbidden in the phrase of 'taking thought:' this being the distrusting of God and His authorized means, and flying to the witch with Saul, or rather the devil, to help us to it; the dividing our minds[l], or hanging betwixt two[m]; or rather indeed forsaking of one, and cleaving to the other; disclaiming God and His providence, and trusting to ourselves and our own artifices. And this sure will be granted to be the greatest fury, the greatest perturbation and anxiety of mind imaginable, which thus drives us out of our reason, our Christianity, to those courses which are most contrary to both. SECT. V.

S. I conceive the sum of your whole discourse on this matter is this, That for the good things of the world, God having made promise to give them to His servants, and His promise being conditional, requiring at our hands the use of means to obtain the thing promised, it is our duty to use those means, labour and prayer, &c., and then so fully to trust God for the performing His promise, as never to have anxious or dubious thought about it; never to fly to any unlawful means to provide for ourselves. And by this way of stating, I acknowledge our Saviour's speech here fully reconciled with St. Paul's command of providence, whatsoever that might be thought to signify, and so with Christ's praying for temporal blessings, &c. I have only one scruple wherein I shall desire your satisfaction; whether God doth not sometimes leave men destitute of food and raiment, and how then it can be infidelity to be anxious in that point. Or how can God's promise of caring for us be said to be performed? Anxiety.

[l] μέριμνα. [m] μετεωρισμός.

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Destitution.

C. I answer, 1. That it is not ordinary for men to be left destitute of food and raiment; and though sometimes it cannot be had but by begging of it, yet God having in His providence designed the rich man to be His steward, the wealthy man's barn to be the poor man's storehouse, no man is left destitute that is afforded this means. 2. There being so many other means, forenamed, required of us to be instrumental to God's providence, it will hardly be found that any man is left thus destitute who hath not first been wanting to himself; and so the whole matter will be imputable to his default and not to God's. 3. That if the utmost be supposed which is imaginable, that some one be left so far destitute as to come to starve, yet may the promise of God remain true and firm; for that promise obligeth Him not to eternize the life of any: which being supposed, that he should die by famine is as reasonable and reconcileable with this promise (which can extend no farther than that He will sustain us as long as He sees it fit for us to live, but no longer) as that he should die by sword or pestilence: and that death will be as supportable as many other diseases and deaths, of the stone, strangury, dysentery, &c. 4. That suppose God do thus destitute us, yet our anxiety or solicitude, our using of unlawful means, can never be able to relieve or secure us; whatsoever we can in this case call to our relief, God can curse and blast also, and make it as unable to help us as the reed of Egypt; and though sometimes God permits unlawful means to offer us help when lawful fail us, to make trial of us, whether we will use them, and distrust God (who ought to be trusted and relied on, "though He kill us") or no; yet is it far more ordinary for those who have fled to all manner of dishonest means of increasing wealth, to come to absolute beggary and distress and contumelious ends, than in any man's observation it will be found for the trusters in God to do. 5. Why may it not be thought and found true upon every man's self-examination, that such destitution, whenever it befalls a child of God, is a punishment of some sin, which God in mercy sees fit to punish here, and not in another world? as particularly that of littleness of faith in this matter; as Peter's sinking was a punishment of his fear and doubting and "little faith," which some good men are very subject

[2 Kings xviii. 21.]

Matt. xiv. 30.

to, and wheresoever it is found, may expect to be punished, as being itself a sin, and containing in it so many other sins: i. the sin of disobedience to Christ's command here, in His "take no thought[n]:" ii. the sin of infidelity, not trusting, and so denying, in actions at least, God's veracity, the attribute wherein He chiefly glories; giving Him the lie, as it were, an affront and contumely to the Almighty: iii. the sin of worldly-mindedness, placing our care and affection on such base and inferior objects, incurvation of the immortal soul to a thing so much below it, and robbing God of His due, that peculiar creature of His, the heart so naturally His, and moreover so importunately begged for by Him: not to mention many other sins, which constantly follow this solicitude, where it is once entertained, not as a transient passion but a chronical disease, though not constantly the same as indevotion, impatience, unmercifulness, cowardice, worldly sorrow, maligning of others, &c. SECT. V. ver. 31.

S. Having thus largely explained the prohibition, you may please to add in one word what is the contrary Christian duty that is here commanded by Christ.

C. Praising God for our present wealth, and trusting Him for the future.

S. What do you mean by the former?

C. Praising Him four ways. 1. By acknowledging the receipt; 2. using it, and rejoicing in it; 3. ministering, or communicating to them that have not; and 4. if any thing still remain, keeping it as instrumental to God's providence for the future, laying up what God gives us to lay up. Praising God.

S. What do you mean by the latter?

C. 1. Believing His promise; 2. obeying His directions in the use of His authorized means, and none else; and 3. referring the success cheerfully to Him, and praying to Him for it without doubting. Trusting Him.

S. I conceive you have done with the precept or doctrine, which now I see how fitly it is annexed to the former matter of not serving of mammon, 1. as an answer to the mammonist's reason or motive to his serving of mammon, "that he may not be destitute on the morrow:" 2. as an improvement of that former exhortation, to which it may be seasonably super-

[n] μὴ μεριμνήσατε.

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added, but would never have entered or have been admitted without that harbinger, I beseech God to sink it down into my heart. To which end, I presume you will give me your assistance by proceeding to the second thing proposed from our Saviour's words here, the enforcements of this duty, shewing how reasonable it is to be observed by a Christian.

Seven enforcements of it.

C. I shall proceed to that, and give you the enforcements as they lie. A first enforcement is the consideration of what God hath done to us already. 1. He hath given us life itself, which is much more, and a far greater act of power, and mercy, than to give food for the continuing of that life. 2. He hath given us the very body we take such care of, and that is much more again than the raiment that must clothe it. And those He hath given without any aid of ours, without our use of direct or indirect means, and therefore, no doubt, can provide sufficiently for the sustaining of both. And for His willingness to do it, if we trust and rely on Him, those very former mercies of His are pawns and pledges of it. "God," saith a father, "by giving, becomes our debtor[o]." Every mercy from so good a Father, comes forth twins; a gift and a bond together; a present payment, and a future pawn; a sum paid down, and an annuity made over; the having bestowed favours, being His greatest obligation to continue them. When we can begin with the Psalmist, "It is He that made us," then we may confidently go on, "we are His people, and sheep" &c. And then, "O go your ways into His gates with thanksgiving," not only for past mercies, but in confidence of future also, "His mercy is for everlasting," &c. A second enforcement is taken from the example of God's providence toward other creatures: first, for food, from the fowls of the air; secondly, for raiment, from the lilies of the field. For food, in that those birds, without any trade of husbandry, of sowing or reaping, &c., are by the providence of God sufficiently sustained; nay, of many birds it is observed, they are fattest still in coldest and sharpest weather: nay, that sort of birds that St. Luke mentions, the ravens, are a creature, that, if Job or the Psalmist may be believed, hath more of the providence of God illustrious in it than any other. Naturalists have observed of that creature,

Ps. c. [3—5.]

Luke xii. 24. Job xxxviii. 41. Ps. cxlvii. 9.

[o] Deus donando debet.—[Vide S. Cyprian. de Op. et El. p. 303—310.]

that it exposeth the young ones as soon as they are hatched[p], leaves them meatless and featherless, to struggle with hunger, as soon as they are gotten into the world; and whether by dew from heaven, a kind of manna rained into their mouths, when they gape, and, as the Psalmist saith, "call upon God," or whether by flies flying into their mouths, or whether by worms bred in their nests, as some think[q], or by what other means, God knows, "God feedeth them." And therefore perhaps it was, that that creature to make its return of gratitude to God, flies presently on His errand to feed the prophet Elias in the wilderness: in which this was sure very observable, that that creature which is so unnatural as not to feed its own young ones, did yet at God's command feed the prophet: as sometimes those bags of the miser are opened liberally to God's children, at their death, in building hospitals, &c., which had been shut to their own all their life. This example signifies, and, being used by our Saviour, proves, that God can and will do the same to us much more[r], and accordingly our Saviour shuts us up with an expostulation, "Are not you much better than they?" Man is a much more considerable creature than those birds, man is the monarch of all them, and 'the life of my lord the king is worth ten thousand of theirs;' and therefore surely a far greater part of God's providence than they, and so more sure to be competently provided for, though no thoughtfulness of his contribute to it. But then this must be taken with some caution along with it: not that we should neither sow nor reap, because the fowls do neither; but that we should take no anxious thought[s], as they neither sow nor reap; that it is as unreasonable for a Christian to distrust God's providence, to bury his soul in an anxious care for earthly things, though the very necessaries of life, as for the raven to be set to husbandry. Had men acquired but as much religion, dependence, trust, reliance on God by all the preaching of the gospel, by all the cultivation of so many hundred years, as nature teacheth the young ravens as soon as they are hatched, viz. to gape

[Job xxxviii. 41. Ps. cxlvii. 9.]

[1 Kings xvii. 6.]

[p] ἐκβάλλει τοὺς νεοττοὺς ὁ κόραξ.

[q] Valesius.

[r] φιλεῖ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς οὔτε ἀγχίνοις, οὔτε τι οἴκοθεν μηχανᾶσθαι οἷοις τε οὖσιν, ἢν μὴ πονηροὶ εἶεν, ἀπορουμένοις τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπικουρεῖν τε καὶ συλλαμβάνεσθαι.—Procop. [de bell. Vandal., lib. i. c. 2. p. 181 B.]

[s] μὴ μεριμνᾷν.

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towards heaven, and so in a plain downright, natural, inarticulate way, to call on God, the mammonist idol would soon be driven out of the world, and a cheerful, comfortable dependence on Heaven, in despite of all our jealous, traitorous fears, that worldly hearts betray us to, taken in stead of it, an obedient submission to God's direction in using those means that He directeth us to, and then resigning all up into His hands to dispose of, with an "if I perish, I perish," and "I will wait upon the Lord which hideth His face, and I will look for Him," and "though He kill me, yet will I trust in Him." The other example, concerning raiment, from the lilies of the field, lies thus; God, in His forming of the world, hath bestowed a strange proportion of natural beauty and ornament upon the lilies, that grow in every field or garden, though those are of a very short duration, and being not sensitive, do contribute nothing to their own beauty, but most evidently the whole work is wrought by God only; and all the care and solicitude and temporal advantages of gold, and the like artificial bravery, cannot equal or compare with that natural beauty which God hath endued them with. Which consideration, as it may well lessen our desire of the gallantry in clothes, and mortify our pride which they feed in us, the utmost that we can attain to in this kind being not comparable with that which is in the vegetable, i. e. meanest living creatures; so may it give us a fiducial reliance on God for all things of this nature, who sure can clothe us as well as those, and will certainly provide for us such raiment as is convenient for us, by our use of ordinary means, without our anxious care and solicitude for the future.

S. What is the next enforcement of this duty?

ver. 27.

C. An argument taken from our own experience in things of somewhat a like nature. For the stature of one's body, or the age of one's life, (the same word[t] signifies both, but is thought in this place to denote the former only,) every of us know and confess that our care and solicitude can do nothing to make any considerable addition to it. Now certainly, the lengthening of the life for a few days or hours is not so great a matter as life itself; nor the tallness or stature of the body, as the body itself, for what matters it how tall a man is? And therefore it being so confessedly the work of God

[t] ἡλικία.

only to dispose of these less things, our stature, &c., how much more reasonable is it to believe that the same God, without any anxious solicitude of ours, can and will conserve our life and body, by giving us those things which are necessary to their conservation? SECT. V.

S. What is the next enforcement?

C. The contrary practice of the Gentiles. The heathen indeed, who either acknowledge no God at all, or deny His providence over particular things, do use this kind of solicitude, seeking vehemently[u] and importunately for all these things, i e. for food and drink and clothing for the remainder of their lives, or for such a proportion of wealth as will be able thus to furnish them till their lives' end. And this may be allowed or pardoned them, that have no better principles to build on, but would be a shame for Christians to have gotten no higher, by the acknowledgment of the true God, and His particular providence and care over all creatures, but especially over us men, for whose use all other creatures were created, and by the doctrine of Christianity, which teacheth us faith or dependence on Christ for all, and desires to mortify all love of the gains and pleasures of this world in us, by promising us a richer inheritance than this earthly Canaan, and to work in us an indifference and untroubledness of mind for all outward things, and many other graces in order to this, which no heathen could ever arrive to. ver. 32.

S. What is the fifth enforcement?

C. It is set down in these words, "For your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things," i. e. these things that are necessary for you, and others you need not seek after, God knows you have need of, as well as you; and that God is your Father, and cannot be so unkind to you, as not to be willing to bestow them on you; and that Father a heavenly Father, and consequently is perfectly able to bestow them. ver. 32.

S. What is the sixth enforcement?

C. This, that there is a far more easy Christian and compendious way to all these necessaries of life, than our solicitude or anxious care; to wit, the setting our minds upon our higher interests, minding and intending of those joys in

[u] ἐπιζητοῦντες.

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another life, and that way of Christian obedience which will lead us to them: which if we do thus intend, God hath promised to give us these necessaries of life, as an appendage or addition over and above; piety having the promise of this life as well as of another.

[1 Tim. iv. 8.]

S. What is the seventh enforcement?

C. Because the time to come, for which we desire to lay in beforehand, and by that means lay a double burden on that part of our life which is present, to provide for itself, and that other also, will, when it cometh, be able to take care and make provision for itself. The manna that came down from heaven to the Israelites, fell every day, and therefore there was no need of laying up in store, (and if it were done, it putrefied,) of reserving any part of the present portion; for, for the time to come, they were sure to be as plentifully provided as for the present they were: and so the providence of God, that hath brought us in a present store, will be able and ready to do the like for the remainder of our lives when it comes; and therefore all that we shall acquire by this solicitude beforehand, is only to accumulate trouble and disquiet upon ourselves, viz. besides that due labour, and industry which we owe to God, as subservient to His providence, and to ourselves for our present subsistence, so much more also as will secure us for the future; which what is it but to multiply toil upon ourselves, above the proportion that God hath designed to us? Whereas the trouble that belongs to every day for the maintaining of itself, i. e. the labour and sweat that we eat our bread in, is sufficient for that day, without our artifices to increase it, and requires too much, rather than takes up too little time of diversion from the duties of piety, to these so vile inferior offices. The duty being thus largely enforced, and our hearts by so many engines and pulleys raised from this earth of ours to that principal care of celestial joys, it may now be thought reasonable to hearken to Christ in a prohibition which was never given to men before, and so this hard saying will be softened; this circumcision of the heart, amputation of all those superfluous burdensome cares of the worldling or mammonist, will be found supportable to the Christian. I shall need add nothing to so plentiful a discourse of this subject but my prayers, that

[Exod. xvi. 21.]

we all be in this the true disciples of Christ, scholars and practisers of this heavenly lesson. SECT. V.

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S. I SEE there is yet, after all the trouble that your charity to me hath cost you, another occasion and opportunity still behind, ready to tempt you farther to continue your favour to me, in leading me through the seventh chapter, wherein this sermon on the mount is concluded. You may please therefore to enter upon that, and tell me what you find especially considerable in it.

C. One strict particular Christian precept I find in that chapter, which before I told you will do well to be added to those many that the former chapters have afforded, as an improvement of the ninth commandment of the law; and then four general ones; with a conclusion of the whole sermon.

S. What is the particular precept you speak of?

C. It is set down positively in the five first verses; and then a limitation, or explication, or caution added to it. The precept is negative, not to judge other men. SECT. I. ver. 6. ver. 1.

S. Why do you make that an improvement of the ninth commandment?

C. The ninth commandment is, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." That primarily forbiddeth those false testimonies in judicature which are borne against, i. e. are borne, and are harmful to any of our neighbours, i. e. any other man. Then, secondly, all perverting the course of judgment, by bribes, &c. Thirdly, all kinds of detraction, backbiting, whispering, wronging or defaming any, open contumely, or wounding with that sword of the tongue most secretly; all kind of lying or false speaking, which may any way hurt any other. As for those untruths which, although they are such, are yet so far from being designed to the hurt of any, that they are perhaps truly gainful to all that are concerned in them, as in that known case when a raging furious person pursues another to kill him, and asks a by-stander which way he went, and that by-stander, knowing what he will do, if he either say nothing, Of the ninth commandment.

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or do not directly misguide him, shall thereupon, to save one from the sin of killing, and the other from being killed, say that which is not true, I cannot tell how to reduce this, or the like, to this ninth commandment, because this untruth is no sin against my neighbour, the pursuer, or pursued, or hurtful to him, but on purpose designed to their greatest good. Whatever is amiss in it must be reduced to some other prohibition, either as a variation from that attribute of God's, who is truth itself, and who must be imitated in that, as in justice of our actions, &c. (and accordingly when it is set down as a damnable sin, to "do evil that good may come," the Apostle instances in a lie, when by occasion thereof God's glory is more set out,) or else as a breach of that contract which is betwixt all men, that our words shall be agreeable to truth. Now these which I have named being the chief, if not only things forbidden in this commandment, it will easily appear that the prohibition of judging my brother is a yet higher pitch than what is thus forbidden in or readily reduced to this commandment, as you will grant when you see what judging is.

Rom. iii. [8.]

S. What is meant by judging?

Ofjudging.

C. 1. All rash and temerarious, 2. all severe, unmerciful censures of other men.

S. What mean you by rash censures?

The sorts of rash censures.

C. Such as are not grounded in any manifest clear evidence of the fact, but proceed from my jealous and censorious humour; being still forward to conclude and collect more evil of other men than doth appear to me. As 1. when by some indifferent actions done by my fellow Christian, and appearing to me, I surmise some other evil thing not far distant from that, and which may possibly be signified by it, but is not so necessarily; or, 2, when another man's action being capable of two interpretations, the one fastening evil upon it, the other not, I take it on the evil side, and censure him for that action, for which perhaps God the searcher of hearts will never judge him; or in case God sees it to be evil, but I do not, then however thus to judge is in me temerarious judgment; or 3. when any other man hath done any thing apparently evil, yet from thence to infer a greater guilt in him than to that action necessarily belongs,

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as the action being perhaps capable of extenuation by circumstances, for me to deprive it of those extenuations, and pass the judgment which would belong to it absolutely considered; or 4, upon the commission of one or more single actions, not sufficient to build up a habit, or argue a malignity in the agent, to censure him as guilty of that habit or that malignity, this is still temerarious judgment: which commonly proceedeth, wheresoever it is, from pride, ambition, vainglory, or from envy, malice, uncharitableness, and self-love, from one or more of these, and falls under the judgment due to the suspicious, contumelious, whisperer, busy-body, &c.; quite contrary to that charity that "hopeth all things, believeth all things, thinketh none evil;" to that humility that thinketh better of others than ourselves; that peaceableness which Christ commendeth to us; that kindness and pitifulness in bearing one another's burdens, and so lessening them, and not making them heavier by our censures. [1 Cor. xiii. 5, 7.]

S. What mean you by unmerciful censures?

Unmerciful censures. Jam. ii. 13.

C. Those which have no mixture of mercy in them. The precept of forgiving those who have wronged me is by Christ improved in some kind, and extended even to those offences which are done against God, so far as that I be obliged by it to look upon them, in others, in the most favourable manner, (as on the other side I should be most severe in the examining and judging myself,) and always remit of that rigour and severity which the matter is capable of, as knowing that my own best actions must be looked on favourably by God, and not strictly weighed by Him, or otherwise they will never be accepted by Him.

S. To what purpose is all that which in this matter is added to this prohibition in the rest of this period?

Determent from them.

Direction how to avoid them.

C. It is, first, a determent from this sin, secondly, a direction how to avoid it. The determent this; to consider how fearful a thing it were, if God should judge us without mercy; and how reasonable it is, that He should so do, if we be so unmerciful to other men. The direction, to reflect our eyes and censures, every man upon his own sins, and there to busy them in aggravating every one into the size that justly belongs to it; by this means to pull down my own plumes, to abate my proud censorious humours, and then

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those will appear but motes in another man, which now do pass for beams with me. He that is truly humbled with a sense of his own sins will be willing to wink at faults in another; at least not to improve and enlarge them, not to censure and triumph over them.

S. What is the limitation or caution, or explication of this precept added in the sixth verse?

A limitation of this prohibition.

C. The sum of it is this, that this precept of not judging is not so unlimited, that it should be unlawful for me to censure or think evil of any man; as in case he be an open profane person, expressed by a 'dog' or 'swine,' the one a creature so accursed, that the price of him was not to be consecrated; the other so unclean, that it was forbidden to be eaten by the Jewish law; and both of them emblems of an habitual impenitent sinner. The first, again, intimating such as bark and rave at all good exhortations, contradicting and blaspheming; the second those that, though they blaspheme not, yet by the impurity of their lives shew the secret contempt of their heart. This sacred exhortation of not judging or censuring is such, as they are not to expect any benefit from; this act of Christian charity is too holy and sacred a thing to be cast away on such swine and dogs, who are first incapable of it, and then will make such ill use of it: and if instead of judging the offender, you go about to exhort with never so much mildness, which is the wisest and most charitable Christian way in this matter, they will contemn your exhortations, and repay them with contumelies instead of thanks.

[Deut. xxiii. 18. Lev. xi. 7.]

2 Pet. ii. 22.

Acts xiii. 45.

The dogs and swine are not concerned in it.

S. But what, may I never pass judgment on another man, unless it be such a notorious offender?

Censures which are not unmerciful.

C. Yes; 1. If that which you judge in him be, though neither habitual nor incorrigible, yet notorious, and evidence of fact make it subject to no mistake of yours. 2. If you extend that censure no farther than that fact, or no farther than what may from that fact be necessarily inferred. 3. If you express your judgment or censure in words no farther than may agree with rules of charity: as first, charity to him, either in telling it him yourself, and seasonably[x] reproving

[x] Vide [the author's tract on] Fraternal [Admonition or] Correption, [vol. i. p. 280—298.]

him, or telling it somebody else, to that end that he may reprove him: or secondly, charity to others, that they may be warned and armed, not to be deceived and ensnared by him: or thirdly, charity to the community, that he may not by concealment of some great faults, get into such place of judicature, &c. where that ravenous humour of his, entering in a disguise of sheep's clothing, may be armed with power to do more mischief. In all which yet I must be very wary, that under this cloak of charity I do not carry along a malicious, or proud, or wanton, petulant humour of my own, or even a habit of defaming, and flatter myself that charity is the only mover in me all this while.

S. But can my judgment be forced? My assent or belief follows, and is proportioned to the motives that induce it: as knowledge cannot choose but follow demonstrative premises, so belief cannot choose but follow those that appear most probable; and if I see that by a man, by which my discourse leads me to conclude him drunk, &c. can I offend in judging him?

Many other cases of judging.

C. If my conclusion be rightly inferred by due premises, and offend not against rules of discourse, I do not offend in so concluding, or in so judging, so that I keep it within my own breast, and do mix mercy with judgment, i. e. take the more favourable part in judging; for no man is bound not to know what he sees, or not to believe what seems to him, judging in simplicity, strongly probable. Nay, secondly, if he express his judgment to him whom he thus judgeth, on purpose to be satisfied of the truth of his judgment, or, in case it shall prove true, to admonish, it is still not only lawful, but commendable. Nay, to tell it another to either of these purposes, it will be so also.

S. But what if I tell it another, not on either of these purposes, and yet not on any defamatory malicious design neither?

C. Though it be not out of any malicious design, or flowing from any stitch or grudge which I have to that man, yet it may be a defamatory design; for I may have that general habitual humour of pride or vainglory, that for the illustrating and setting out myself in more grandeur, I may think fit to blast and defame every man I meet with; and then that will

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be sin enough, though I have no particular malice to that person. But if it be not from any such design neither, yet some of this may mingle with it in the action. Or if neither, then still some other evil may; as that of whispering, curiosity, meddling with other men's matters[y], wantonness, vain desire of tattling, telling news, &c.; and if any of these be it, then will it be so far sinful as the motive or cause of it is.

S. But if still it be separated from all such sinful motive or adherent, and be only produced by somewhat neither good nor evil, as I conceive it possible that many words of my mouth, as well as thoughts of my heart, and motions of my body, may be neither morally nor Christianly good nor evil; and that it is not necessary for them to be designed to any particular Christian end, if only this general care be had, that they be not against charity or edification: what is to be said of such judging?

C. Though some other words may perhaps be of this nature, as indifferent as motions, or turns, or gestures of the body, and therefore it is not without reason thought, that by "every idle word[z]," is meant only every false word, as hath been said, yet perhaps this of judging another will not be of that nature, being subject to more defaults and taints than most other things, and that which is here indefinitely forbidden, and if it break forth into words, it is yet more subject to evil. But if still it be mentioned only as a relation (entire and simple) of what I saw, leaving the conclusion to others' judgments, and not interposing mine, or only so far interposing it as to relate truly what conclusion I did then make of it, and what moved me to that conclusion, abstaining still most strictly from adding or concealing ought, or doing or saying any thing that hath any tincture from my own pride, censoriousness, &c., it may still be as harmless and blameless in me as writing of the honestest history, or if not, will yet hardly appear to be prohibited under this, of "not judging," in this place. But however, because this is the most that can be lawful, and still is no more than lawful, or not sinful, not arrived to any degree of moral goodness, and because it is very apt to fall into evil, and withal, because of the scandal that others may

Matt. xii. 36.

[y] περιεργία, ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπία.

[z] πᾶν ἀργὸν ῥῆμα.

take, who by seeing a godly man take this liberty, may mistake it, and go farther, and fall into sin; and yet farther, because it may be a breach, although not of this, yet of another prohibition, viz. that "of not doing to others what I would not have others do to me," it being presumed of all men, that they would not willingly have every fault of theirs made matter of discourse to other men, it will therefore, I say, for these considerations, concern him to deny himself that liberty, if it be but by way of revenge for the unlawful liberty which he hath so often taken: and though this he should not be too forward to judge a sin in others, lest he thus fall into the fool's snare, censure others of censoriousness, yet ought he in this matter to be very watchful over himself, that he "offend not with his tongue." SECT. I. [Matt. vii. 12.]

S. This precept of not judging I cannot without tears and hearty confession of mine own great guilt in this kind, bear home with me; and I fear there are few in this last and most uncharitable age of ours who have not had their part in it. I beseech God to reform it in all our hearts, and join this last act of prudence which this sixth verse hath mentioned, with that simplicity which in the former five was required of us. You told me that after one particular precept which you have now explained, there followed some general precepts. What is the subject of the first of them? SECT. II. Of the power of prayer.

C. It is concerning that great business of prayer, in the five next verses, 7—11, considered now not as a duty of ours toward God, or an act of worship, as it was considered, chap. vi., but as an engine or artifice to fetch down from heaven the greatest treasures that are there, even that of grace itself, or the Holy Spirit, as appeareth by the comparing this place with Luke xi. 13, and the sum of it is this; that prayer is the key of entrance into the Father's house; that no man shall ever fail of finding and "receiving good things," particularly grace, the greatest good, that "asks," and "seeks," and "knocks," i. e. useth importunity in prayer, as a child to a father, depending wholly on Him, and if he be once or twice repelled, returning unto Him with humility, and submission, and dependence, and confidence again, and never giving over petitioning till he obtains.

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S. What is the next general precept?

C. It is that famous one that I told you was the improving of the eighth commandment of the law, and which the heathen emperor[a] is said to have reverenced Christ and Christianity for, and which all the wisest men of the nations have admired for the best and highest rule of justice and charity to our neighbours, in these words, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, which," saith He, "is the law and the prophets," i. e. on which all my duty towards my neighbour depends, or wherein the whole law concerning that is fulfilled.

Matt. vii. 12.

S. How is that the improving of the eighth commandment?

Of the eighth commandment.

C. The eighth commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," doth first forbid all kind of robbery, piracy, burglary, stealth, pilfering, and in a word, all invading of any other man's possession or propriety, whatsoever most specious colour or cause can be pretended for so doing. Of these colours I have formerly touched on one, that of those who found all propriety in, or right to the good things of this world, not in the laws of nations and of men, but in the favour of God: by so doing, offer all men, that are so presumptuous as to think well of themselves and ill of others, a justification for all their rapines, and invading of those whom they malign, or will but pretend to think ill of, that they may devour them. Contrary to which vile and diabolical pretence is not only the professed truth of Scripture in this sermon, that God bestows the rain and the sunshine, and under those emblems the possessions of the earth, upon the wicked and ungodly; but that other known maxim also, that Christ's "kingdom is not of this world," that He came not to interpose in secular affairs, (such are the proprieties of men), but disclaimed having any thing to do to be a judge or divider among men, and Himself pays tribute to Cæsar, though a heathen, and commands that those things that are Cæsar's shall be 'given,' or 'rendered,' unto him, supposing that some things there were, and particularly the tribute there, which that heathen prince did duly possess and enjoy. And it is a sad omen to see this doctrine, which is so directly

Dominion founded in God's favour.

[Matt. v. 45.]

[John xviii. 36.]

[Mat. xxii. 21.]

[a] Severus.

contrary to the teaching and practice of Christ, to be entertained among Christians, and owned by those, and never by any but by those, who take themselves to be the dearest children and friends of God. To this commandment is reducible also the prohibition of all oppression and injustice, all withholding the hire of the poor labourer, or generally, the borrowing and not paying again. But the higher pitches of this kind are reserved for this higher precept of Christ, of "doing as we would be done to," which you will perceive when we proceed to the opening of that.

Oppression, injustice.

S. What then is the meaning of this precept?

C. To "love my neighbour as myself;" or not to suffer my self-love to interpose or make me partial in judging of my duty to others; but thus to cast whensoever I do any thing to my brother. Would I be well pleased to be so dealt with by any other? or, if I might have mine own choice, would not I desire to be otherwise used by other men? or yet farther, that whatsoever usage I desire to meet with at God's hands, which is certainly undeserved mercy, pardon of trespasses, and doing good to enemies or trespassers, the same I must perform to others; for so this phrase, "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you," doth by a Hebraism import "whatsoever you would have done unto you," which is the style that this precept is ordinarily read in[b], and then extends to whatever I desire that God or Christ Jesus should do to me, i. e. not only all the justice, but all the mercy and goodness and bounty in the world.

Of doing as we would be done to.

S. I acknowledge the reasonableness of your collection and interpretation, and shall from thence suppose that this great rule of "doing as we would be done to" is the foundation of all justice and mercy towards men. Now the latter of these you have insisted on already in the beatitudes, and therefore I shall not importune you again in that matter: but for the first, though that be supposed and pre-required by Christ in His precepts of mercifulness and almsgiving, and consequently hath been supposed in your handling them, yet have you not as yet spoken so distinctly of it, but that your more

[b] Quod tibi fieri vis, &c. [Perhaps the earliest near approximation to the Christian precept is the following, ἃ πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἑτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ ποιεῖτε. — Isocr. in Nicoc. p. 39 c.]

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particular descending to it may be useful to me. Please you therefore to satisfy me in these few questions: first, whether I may make this advantage of this rule, that whatever I shall resolve to bear contentedly from others, I may lawfully do to them; and so that if I would resolve to be content to stand to the injuries another man can do to me, I may then lawfully injure him.

Submitting to injuries, that one may do injuries, unlawful.

C. No man in his right mind can be supposed simply to be willing that injury should be done unto him, and therefore no man is to do any injury to another: and if any man be as you suppose him, it is then to be resolved, that it is for some advantage or gain which he designs to himself thereby; as for example, that which you seem to intimate, that by living by rapine and injustice he hopes to get more than he fears to lose: and then that treacherous contentment is but an artifice of eluding, not of obeying this rule, an invention of sinning securely, and will be far from being accepted by God or by any reasonable man for an excuse of his injustice. And therefore, secondly, the interpretation of the rule must be, without any such deceit, that I do nothing to any man, but what I or any honest-minded man would be content to have done to him, if it were put to his choice or option; or if you please to take it more intelligibly, you must never do that to another, which, if you were that other, you would think to be injustice; or again, you must never seek to advance any gain of your own by the loss or lessening of another man's.

S. I receive your answer as satisfactory to my first question, which shews me that this rule is not too loose: but then my next and more serious question will be, whether it be not too strict. I demand, therefore, may I not endeavour to gain to myself by another's loss?

Gaining by another's loss unlawful.

C. I answer positively, you may not; for that is the thing forbidden in the last commandment of the decalogue, as it is explicated in the New Testament, sometimes by "not defrauding," (where the word in the original signifies the 'depriving[c]' of another, the lessening of his possessions,)

Mark x. 19.

Rom. xiii. 9.

sometimes by "not desiring[d]," or "not lusting," i. e. not desiring to get from any other man that which is his, sometimes by "not coveting," "abstaining from covetousness[e]"

2 Cor. xii. 17; Luke xii. 15.

[c] μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς. [d] οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. [e] οὐκ ἐπλεονέκτησα.

(where the word signifies a 'desire of getting' that which is above my portion[f],) but especially, as will appear by comparing the two parallel places, Matt. xix. 19, with Mark x. 19, by "loving thy neighbour as thyself," which is there clearly set, not as the great precept to contain all the other under it, as in other places it is the sum of the second table, but as the particular importance of the last commandment. From whence it follows, that it is not lawful to design the gaining of any thing to myself by the diminution or loss of another, for that is clearly to covet his, contrary to the duty of contentment with my own, and to love myself, and to do good to myself by the hurting of him, and that which is called in Ecclesiasticus, "deceit in giving and taking[g]," i. e. in bargaining. SECT. 11. Ecclus. xli. 19.

S. But if I may not thus gain by another, this will take away all buying and selling, especially all trading, wherein the tradesman sells dearer than he bought, and whose every living is by what he gains.

C. It will take away all unjust dealing in buying and selling, all extortion, monopolies, forestalling, enhancing of merchandise, lying, falsifying, &c., and it is very fit it should do so: but for honest ordinary lawful gains, such as a man may plentifully and comfortably live by, and such as all men will be well content that all others should make by their trades, as a fit proportionable reward both for their present pains and charge, and for their industry and expenses in acquiring such a skill or craft, and for the hazard they are subject to, it will not at all lessen them. For it is among all men resolved, that every man's art and his pains, and the charges and the hazards he is put to, are rateable, and may be sold, and that it is profitable to each single man, and to commonwealths, that some men of skill and honesty should traffic, and provide those things which are commonly wanted, and make a moderate gain by the selling of them, and the rule which we are now upon hath nothing contrary to that: for any man would be content, that he that brings him home to his door those things which he wants, and Of just dealing in buying and selling.

[f] As the word is opposed to *ἰσότης* 'equality,' and *εὐσύμβολον ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι*, 'just proportion in bargains.'—Simp. in Ar. Phys., lib. i.

[g] *σκορακισμὸς λήψεως καὶ δόσεως.*

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which would cost him much more to provide for himself, should gain one penny in twelve, or the like proportion, which the masters of every trade know to be moderate on both sides, neither too little nor too much. But if this moderation be not observed, if the gain be any thing considerably either less or more, then it is that the rule is broken.

S. I conceive that the gaining too little will not break the rule, and for the too much, I must yet desire more punctual directions.

Selling too low.

C. It is possible you may be mistaken in the former, not only because he that sells too low may offend against himself and his own family, and a man is to love himself, and not his neighbour only, but especially because a man may by selling at too low a price get away the custom from, and consequently defraud and injure, all others of the same trade with him: as for example, if ten men in a city may all of them live by their (some way of) merchandise, by the gaining of one penny in every twelve pence which they lay out, it will be possible for one of these men by taking but one halfpenny in a shilling to get all the custom from the other nine, and so to sell ten times as much as would otherwise be his share, and by that means to get far more by that under-selling than otherwise he could do; which though it be no injury but advantage to the buyers, is yet the defrauding of all those other merchants in that city.

S. I perceive my error, but still conceive that the most ordinary way of offending is in the excess, and indeed that other way was but an artifice tending to the same end by a different way, by gaining too little to gain too much, by losing one penny to get nine, and so an excess in another kind also; but, I say, the ordinary way of offending is in the direct excess, in the gaining too much, or exceeding the rule of moderation; will you now give me some rules to know my duty in that?

Rules to regulate gains.

C. This one rule will serve your turn, never to endeavour to enhance the price of any commodity above the value of it.

S. What way is there to know the value of any thing?

C. That known one, that every thing is valuable for as much as it may be sold[h].

[h] Tanti valet quanti vendi potest.

S. If that be the rule, the merchant will be safe enough, for if he sell a thing at never so dear a rate, it seems it is worth it, because it was (which supposes that it can be) sold for it, and therefore hath not done amiss. SECT. II.

C. You mistake the rule: for unless he that bought it can sell it at that price again which he was made to pay, or unless he that sold it him could have sold it to other prudent men at that rate, or unless that be the ordinary rate of the commodity, that rule was not observed; for the meaning of it was not, that any thing is valuable according as any one subtle merchant can have sold it to any one weak or passionate chapman, but according to what is the ordinary rate of it when it is sold.

S. But if a man will give me such a sum for a commodity, do I do him wrong to take it?

C. If you are a tradesman, whose calling is to furnish those that want with such commodities, you are not to demand more than those moderate gains: and if you demand no more, it cannot be imagined that he will give you more for it; or if voluntarily he will on his own free motion, not only without any art of yours to raise him to it, but even when you tell him it is worth no more, and you are ready and willing to afford it thus, if, I say, he will then in bounty, or voluntarily upon any other fit consideration, give you more, it will in that case be perfectly lawful for you to take it.

S. But what if it be a thing which my calling doth not so engage me to sell; if it be my house, or land, or the like, which I may most lawfully keep? may I not sell that for as great a sum as I can possibly get for it?

C. Though I am not obliged to sell these at any rate, yet if I do sell them, I must set a moderate rate upon them, and if I sell them to one at a higher rate than either any man will give him again, or than I could have had of others, I shall for the present suppose that it was by one or more of these means that I was enabled to do it; either first, that the buyer was unskilful and weak; or secondly, that there was some undiscovered fault or weakness in that which I sold, I mean, which the buyer discerned not, which moved him to be willing to pay that for it, which if he had known those faults he would not have done. And then that concealment again Moderate rates of all things.

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might be wrought, either first, by some positive falsity of mine in downright denying it, when I knew it was so; or secondly, by my denying it again, when I thought really that it was not so, though it were; or thirdly, by my refusing to answer to any such question about it; or fourthly, by his not making any such question to me. Or else thirdly, that the buyer had some special liking or fancy, or vehement desire to that possession of mine; or fourthly, that it was more convenient and beneficial to him than to any man else. And every one of these circumstances will somewhat vary the case, perhaps it may be worth your pains to see how.

Imposing on the weakness of another.

S. I shall therefore call upon you for your resolution to the several cases. And first, what is it, if his weakness and unskilfulness were made use of to get from him a higher price?

C. It is acknowledged by all that this is cheating, or circumventing, taking advantage of another man's weakness, and very near the guilt of robbing on the highway, which is but the making use of another man's weakness to deprive him of his goods, nay, of that grand piracy so common unto many abroad in the world, when the stronger devour the weaker, upon no other title of right but because they are so, and every man thinks he may lawfully do whatever he is able to do, saying with the atheist, "Our strength is the law of justice, and that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth:" and this is most directly contrary to the first fundamental rule, for no man would be willing to be so overreached, it being beside the injury, a most contumelious thing to be outwitted, as to be overpowered, and nothing is counted more insupportable than such a contumely.

Wisd. ii. [11.]

Concealment of faults in a commodity.

S. For the second, if there were in the buyer some particular deception proceeding from some concealment of some fault in the commodity: and first, if that concealment were wrought by some falsity of the seller in downright denying it, then if that were knowingly done, I conceive at first thought of it, that that must needs be a double sin in the seller, 1. of lying, 2. of robbing or cheating the other man of so much of the price as the consideration of that fault would have taken off from it. And this is the greatest meanness in the world, to sacrifice any of my truth to so base a thing as a little gain

of money is. But what if his denying it was upon an error in himself, the fault being unknown to him, which was the second case of concealment?

C. Though they may have excused him from the first guilt, that of a lie, because he spake as much as he knew, and went not against his conscience; yet it is clear that by this means he hath made an immoderate gain, though perhaps against his will, and the other hath lost, having not that for his money which he thought he had bought, and might reasonably be allowed to think so, because he might in prudence think the seller knew; and yet if there were any imprudence in it, the seller ought not to gain that, the folly of the other being not an ingredient valuable in his commodity, nor giving him any title to the other's goods, as before: and therefore I shall conclude, that in that case, so much of the price must be paid back again as came in through that, though involuntary falsity; and he that doth not think fit to do so, may well be presumed to have falsified wittingly; for he that hath once erred will be sorry for his error, and he that is so, will be desirous to redeem it even with some loss, but will never think fit to gain by it, to be the richer for his sin, which yet he must be, if he restore not. And if in either of these two cases it be interposed, that it is an old rule, that the "buyer must stand to hazards[i]," and consequently must look to himself, which would conclude that the seller is safe in such cases, I answer, that that is a rule of human law, and accordingly that he may be safe from the penalties of the law, which looks not any farther than the outside of the action, as it is a contract legally passed, and cannot possibly dive into the secrets of conscience, nor consequently punish what it is not presumed able to see; but then he shall not therefore be safe from God, who looks to the heart: and besides, if all other laws should allow such liberty, and free men not only in the court, but from obligation of conscience as far as concerns that law, i. e. not command such strictness to the buyer, yet Christ may be allowed to improve laws, even the civil, imperial, and the municipal English, as well as the natural and Mosaical law; and I shall here suppose Him to have done it, by this rule of "doing as I would be done to," which certainly comes home

Human law no security to conscience in this matter.

[i] Caveat emptor.

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to these cases, no man being supposed willing to be cheated by another's falsity, whether voluntary or involuntary, or if he be content to forgive it, when he knows it was involuntary, yet will not he be pleased that he should suffer or pay for the other's error. This same answer may also be given to (that which is the only second thing which I conceive may make this resolution of the case to be thought too severe, viz.) the common, if not universal, custom of men to do otherwise. For sure there is no prescribing against Christ's rule. If former laws might be heightened by Christ, and so former permissions evacuated, then sure former customs, be they never so universal or popular, may well be superseded by so great a presence as of Christ, who among other things came to redeem us from this error, and to stir us up on the other side to oppose it the more, because it was a popular one, being, by that very consideration, evidenced to be a part of the world, which in our baptism we abjured, and to shew us that abundance was not so precious a thing, but that a little well gotten were as great, nay, a far greater, wealth, a richer matter of content in this life than all the vastest treasures or revenues. And I pray mark how powerfully Christ hath delivered this, as an aphorism, to persuade any prudent man "to abstain from covetousness[k]," (the word signifies 'desire' or 'endeavour' to get more than what belongs to one, the contrary to contentment with the present estate whatever it is,) "because," saith He, "the life that any man hath by his possessions[l]," be it life itself, or cheerfulness and felicity in life, "consists not in having superfluity[m];" he that hath enough, and that may be had without coveting, without gaining by another man's loss, by ordinary moderate gains, is as happy even for this world, if there were never another, as he that hath the greatest abundance or superfluity: for the very nature of those words tells us, that that is needless, (so 'abundant' and 'superfluous' signifies,) and then what is it but burden that we gain by it?

Nor universal custom.

Luke xii. 15.

C. You have by this superaddition to your answer made that doctrine, which did begin to seem a little strict, appear now most perfectly reasonable, and I hope it shall render me

[k] ἀπὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας. αὐτοῦ.
[l] ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων [m] οὐκ ἐν τῷ περισσεύειν τινί ἐστιν.

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the more capable of what you shall farther add to the other cases. To proceed then, what if that deception proceeding still from concealment, that concealment were by the seller's refusing to answer to such question concerning any such fault or defect in the commodity?

Two sorts of concealment: the first.

C. That refusing to answer must in all likelihood be insidious, and on design to gain more than was due, and that is very gross; though there be not the lie, there is every thing else that was in either part of the last case, and must be condemned accordingly.

S. But what if it was by the buyer's not making any such question?

the second.

C. Even then the laws of justice, as they were known even to natural men, would decry it as unjust in him that sells, in case he knew ought by the commodity which he could believe did really, or would in the buyer's opinion (if it were known) lessen the value of it: for then it is clear, that man means to make advantage of that concealment, and receives somewhat for that which is really nothing, and by him known to be so, though for covetousness he conceal it. This case to this purpose hath been put by a natural man[n] before Christ's

[n] [Sed incidunt, ut supra dixi, sæpe causæ cum repugnare utilitas honestati videatur, ut animadvertendum sit, repugnetne plane, an possit cum honestate conjungi. Ejus generis hæ sunt quæstiones: si, exempli gratia, vir bonus Alexandria Rhodum magnum frumenti numerum advexerit in Rhodiorum inopia et fame, summaque annonæ caritate: si idem sciat, complures mercatores Alexandria solvisse, navesque in cursu frumento onustas, petentes Rhodum, viderit; dicturusne sit id Rhodiis, an silentio suum quam plurimo venditurus? Sapientem et bonum virum fingimus: de ejus deliberatione et consultatione quærimus, qui celaturus Rhodios non sit, si id turpe judicet; sed dubitet, turpe sit, an non sit. In hujusmodi causis aliud Diogeni Babylonio videri solet, magno et gravi Stoico; aliud Antipatro discipulo ejus, homini acutissimo. Antipatro omnia patefacienda, ut ne quid omnino, quod venditor norit, emtor ignoret: Diogeni venditorem, quatenus jure civili constitutum sit, dicere vitia oportere, cetera sine insidiis agere, et quoniam vendat, velle quam optime vendere: Advexi, exposui, vendo meum non pluris, quam ceteri; fortasse etiam minoris, cum major est copia: cui sit injuria? Exoritur Antipatri ratio ex altera parte: Quid ais? tu cum omnibus hominibus consulere debeas, et servire humanæ societati, eaque lege natus sis, et ea habeas principia naturæ, quibus parere et quæ sequi debeas, ut utilitas tua communis utilitas sit, vicissimque communis utilitas tua sit; celabis homines, quid iis adsit commoditatis et copiæ? Respondebit Diogenes fortasse sic: aliud est celare, aliud tacere: neque ego nunc te celo, si tibi non dico, quæ natura deorum sit, quis sit finis bonorum, quæ tibi plus prodessent cognita quam tritici vilitas: sed non, quidquid tibi audire utile est, id mihi dicere necesse est. Immo vero, inquiet ille, necesse est, si quidem meministi esse inter homines natura conjunctam societatem. Memini, inquiet ille; sed num ista societas talis est, ut nihil suum cujusque sit? quod si ita est, ne vendendum quidem quidquam est, sed donandum. Vides in hac tota disceptatione, non illud dici, quamvis hoc turpe sit, tamen

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time in this form: There was a famine in one city built on the sea-side, whereupon the inhabitants of another hearing of it, provided to send out a fleet laden with corn to relieve them; which consisting of ten or eleven ships, and being all prepared, one ship gets out a day before the rest, and comes to the haven, and straight sells the burden of corn at what rate was demanded; and that being done, the whole fleet comes in, and so fully furnishes the city, that it was sold at an ordinary price, perhaps but the third part of the rate for which the first ship had sold. The case being argued in behalf of the owner of that ship, and all the fairer circumstances being considered, as that they of the city never asked him whether there were more ships a coming, nor stayed to beat the price with him, but gave willingly what he demanded, the resolution is at last, that this was an indirect action, and that this artifice of his was merely designed to gain from the citizens that which he had no right to, and which they would not have given had they known that which he knew, and none but he could tell them. And what, saith he, did

quoniam expedit, faciam: sed, ita expedire, ut turpe non sit; ex altera autem parte, ea re, quia turpe sit, non esse faciendum. Vendat ædes vir bonus propter aliqua vitia, quæ ipse norit, ceteri ignorent: pestilentes sint, et habeantur salubres; ignoretur in omnibus cubiculis apparere serpentes; male materiatæ, ruinosæ; sed hoc præter dominum nemo sciat: quæro, si hoc emtoribus venditor non dixerit, ædesque vendiderit pluris multo, quam se venditurum putarit, num id injuste aut improbe fecerit? Ille vero, inquit Antipater: Quid enim est aliud, erranti viam non monstrare, quod Athenis exsecrationibus publicis sancitum est, si hoc non est, emtorem pati ruere, et per errorem in maximam fraudem incurrere? Plus etiam est, quam viam non monstrare: nam est scientem in errorem alterum inducere. Diogenes contra: Num te emere coegit, qui ne hortatus quidem est? ille, quod non placebat, proscripsit: tu, quod placebat, emisti. Quod si qui proscribunt, *villam bonam, beneque ædificatam*, non existimantur fefellisse, etiam si illa nec bona est, nec ædificata ratione; multo minus, qui domum non laudarunt: ubi enim judicium emtoris est, ibi fraus venditoris quæ potest esse? Sin autem dictum non omne præstandum est: quod dictum non est, id præstandum putas? Quid vero est stultius, quam venditorem, ejus rei, quam vendat, vitia narrare? Quid autem tam absurdum, quam si domini jussu ita præco prædicet, *Domum pestilentem vendo?* Sic ergo in quibusdam causis dubiis, ex altera parte defenditur honestas; ex altera ita de utilitate dicitur, ut id, quod utile videatur, non modo facere honestum sit, sed etiam non facere turpe. Hæc est illa, quæ videtur utilium fieri cum honestis sæpe dissensio. Quæ dijudicanda sunt: non enim, ut quæreremus, exposuimus, sed ut explicaremus. Non igitur videtur nec frumentarius ille Rhodius, nec hic ædium venditor celare emtores debuisse: neque enim id est celare, quidquid reticeas; sed cum, quod tu scias, id ignorare emolumenti tui causa velis eos, quorum intersit id scire. Hoc autem celandi genus quale sit, et cujus hominis, quis non videt? certe non aperti, non simplicis, non ingenui, non justi, non boni viri; versuti potius, obscuri, astuti, fallacis, malitiosi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri: hæc tot, et alia plura nonne inutile est vitiorum subire nomina?]—Cic. de Offic. [lib. iii. c. 12, 13. vol. iv. p. 917.]

that man get by this? Forsooth a little money, and was counted a knave; increased his treasure and lost his reputation: and that he conceives sufficient to fright any from the like. And sure, if Christ's command may not prevail with us as much as sense of honour among them, or if that be counted honourable now which was infamous and reproachful then, if now it be a creditable thing to circumvent and cheat my fellow Christian, to grow rich by tricks and artifices, when Socrates an honest heathen would venture a martyrdom in Athens to beat down these and the like vicious customs among his countrymen, and resolve that such a death was better than any kind of life; then sure Christianity is ill bestowed on us: we have little considered that He came to make us more like doves, not more like serpents, more just, not more cunning, more upright, sincere, unconcerned, despisers of the world, not more shrewd deceitful adorers of it, than Jews or heathens had been before.

The buyer's fancy valuable in some cases,

S. Will you proceed then to the third case? Suppose the buyer have a great liking to my commodity, a vehement desire to buy it, may I not then make him pay dearer for it than otherwise it was worth?

C. His fancy adds no real worth to the thing, only it is true, that it may be more grateful to him than otherwise it would be; and that I confess is a benefit to him, and if I have really the same fancy to it, or some degree of it, I may value that: and upon these two conditions, 1. that for my fancy I do really prize it at that rate that I demand, and I would not to any other man part with it under; 2. that I deal openly with the buyer, tell him what I conceive is the real worth, and what my fancy or special liking hath set more upon it, I doubt not but I may demand, and receive a valuable price for it, rating my fancy at so much as I really value it, wherein I must be very careful that I do not deceive myself, and pretend fancy when I mean covetousness. But then secondly, if I cannot truly say this, if it be only that the buyer is delighted with it, fancies it, not I, then sure it will be worth remembering, that Christian charity, of which Christian justice must be always thought to have some mixture, requires me to do that kindness, be it that which is profitable, or only that which is grateful, to any fellow Chris-

in some cases not.

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tian, which I can do without any detriment to myself, and so do good to all men without hoping to receive any advantage to myself by so doing, according to the notion which our English translation hath of Luke vi. 35, which yet if the buyer's gratitude make him acknowledge, and repay with some other good turn, the seller may lawfully receive it.

The convenience of the buyer truly valuable.

S. The last case is, if it be more convenient to him that buys than to any man else, and so more beneficial also; what think you of that?

C. I doubt not but convenience is a valuable thing, and that a possession may be far more convenient to one than to another, and that there is no reason but that he to whom it is more convenient should value it higher than any other; and if it be rated by the seller but according to this proportion, so much dearer to him than to another as it will be more beneficial to him, and this be made clear to him, and openly professed, if he upon that reason of the real benefit which the convenience brings him, and not only upon fancy again, be truly content to give so much for it, it is lawful for the seller so to rate it to him. And yet because that convenience was not the same to him that it is to the buyer, (by which means it falls out, that he shall be paid as much as to him it was worth, though he receive nothing for that casual advantage to that other,) it may very well become the seller to shew kindness and friendliness in this matter also, as before, though I cannot say he is unjust if he do not: there being this difference betwixt this and the former case, that there the fancy of another's was not so reasonably valuable as here the supposed convenience is, because this will bring him in some real gain, that only an imaginary one. All that I shall bind you to in this particular, (because to make the buyer pay more for the convenience than otherwise I would have sold it for, is the nicest case, and that, which if it be not, is yet the nearest being unlawful,) is to deal as openly and clearly as you can with the buyer, and by reasonable arguments satisfy his reason that it is reasonable for him to pay more for this than another, because it will be more advantageous really to him than to any: and that you may be sure that your covetousness deceive you not in this matter of some scruple and difficulty, (as it is easiest to slip

and fall for him that stands on a narrow place, and easier yet for him that hath a weight on one side, and such is covetousness,) you may do well to put that, whatever it is, that that man gives more than another would give into the Corban or poor man's purse, that so what is gained by that happy bargain°, having more of God's blessing in it than ordinary, should yield God this acknowledgment by enriching His poor children. 1Cor.xvi.2.

S. But can you allow me no greater liberty than this in buying and selling? And if you do not, will this be agreeable with public weal? Besides, if you impose these strict rules of indifference on the seller, you must do the like on the buyer too; and if he by any indirect means have overreached me, he is bound to as much restitution as I should have been.

The objections against this strictness answered.

C. I make no question but the same exactness is required of one as of the other; and I shall think it very necessary that all the rules that have here been set the seller shall be matter of obligation also to the buyer, so far as belongs to him, i. e. as far as the rule of doing as he would be done to doth belong to him: but for any farther liberty to either, you must not expect it from Christ, who will think you rich enough and happy enough, (even beyond the most laden worldling, that mule under a burden, a treasure of gold, to gall, but not to bless him,) if you have good food and raiment, and contentment with it. And for the concernments of the commonwealth in this matter; first, it is clear that if the practice of these rules should prove inconvenient to any commonwealth as now it stands, this might rather be imputed to the generality of the contrary custom, which will not without some difficulty, and perhaps present incommodation, be changed: and the same might also be observed of most other sins, which have had the luck to become customary. But then secondly, for the new constituting of a commonwealth, and so likewise for the prudent well-weighed reforming of any vice in the old, it will be found most true, that the rules that Christ hath set, if they were embraced, would be universally most gainful; or if they did hinder some particular advantages, either of some men, or society of

° εὐοδία.

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men, this would be repaired by other more valuable benefits. More especially these rules would keep the world most quiet, and so most worth living in; and on the contrary the desiring more than this, is it that makes the world such a stage or theatre of none but wrestlers and fencers, each labouring to supplant and wound the other, till at last the world is become but a kind of hospital of poor and maimed, every man undoing himself and his neighbour too by desiring to be richer than he. And beside, you may consider that the wealth of this world being God's (only God's) peculiar, in His hand to dispose and preserve and bless to whom He pleases, and His blessing more gainful to us than our own crafts, it is not likely that He will deny it to them that use and depend on His rules in acquiring it, or give and continue it to those that set themselves against Him, that 'will be rich[p]' in spite of Him[q]: or if He do, this is an infallible argument that riches are not the greatest blessings, for then those whom God best loves would have most of them.

S. But the reason why I said these rules were inconvenient to commonwealths, was, because they would hinder merchandise, and the reason for that again somewhat else, viz. because the hazards peculiar to merchants are so great that if they have not leave to make use of such advantages as you have spoken of, and seemed to deny them, they will not be able to subsist at all.

Merchandise and the hazards thereof considerable.

C. You must know that all merchants are, in passing a judgment what is moderate and lawful gain, supposed to take into consideration those hazards that you speak of, those, I mean, that are universally annexed to their trade, and so are all men of all other callings also; and therefore, when I speak of a lawful moderate gain, you must know that I count that but a moderate gain which sufficiently provides for hazards, nay, which takes in farther the consideration of all other things which before I named to you, and which are fit to be considered, the charges and pains they are at, and the rate that may be set upon their craft or skill, and that heightened more and more according to the difficulty of

[p] *οἱ βουλόμενοι πλουτεῖν.*

[q] [*ἀδίκως δὲ μὴ κτῶ κτήματ', ἢν βούλῃ πολὺν*
χρόνον μελάθροις ἐμμένειν·] *τὰ γὰρ κακῶς*
κτώμενα ἐσελθόντ' οὐκ ἔχει σωτηρίαν.
Eurip. [Erecth. fr. xx. v. 11. p. 895.]

acquiring it, and the usefulness when it is acquired. Nay, when the skill is in such matters, or in that kind, that it brings in some real commodity to others without their doing or paying any thing toward it, it will be more reasonable for those men in these respects to value their trades or crafts very high, and to expect great gains by them, because what comes into them is supposed to be taken away from nobody, but withal to bring some advantage to others, without any detriment or hazard to them. But then all this being supposed to be already provided for in the several rules that the honest intelligent men of every trade set themselves, it will not be reason that the same considerations of hazards, &c., shall be taken in again to heighten the gains yet higher, nor indeed may particular extraordinary losses be excuses to any man for so doing: for those, whatsoever they are, were contained in the former mentioned hazards, and every man must resolve to bear his lot, be it worse or better, with patience; or if he be impoverished by such heavy accidents, it will be fitter to seek a subsistence by a brief, or demand of men's charity, than by enhancing the price of what is left, no misadventure being excuse for me to be unjust. And because I now have mentioned men's charity, as a lawful relief for him who cannot thrive by lawful trading, I shall also add, that if upon helping any man to a good pennyworth, or selling upon bare moderate gains, the buyer think fit to reward my justice and diligence with some reward above the price he pays, which may be very Christian for him to do in this case, if it were but to encourage upright dealing, there will be no need to make scruple of receiving what is so freely given; but to grow rich by that which is fetched out of another's throat, extorted and forced from him, will never tend much to the comfort or reputation of any man, nor have much reason to hope for any blessing from Heaven upon it.

S. You have now been sufficiently detained by a view of this rule as it looks on acts of justice betwixt men; and for the other branch, the extent of it to acts of mercy, I told you I should not expect that to be again repeated to me. Only instead of it, I shall take leave to put you in mind of one thing which may perhaps cost you some time, and yet belonging directly to this matter of just dealing betwixt man

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and man, I cannot but think it seasonable for me to demand, and for you to give your judgment of it.

C. What is that?

Of usury.

S. The known famous business of usury, of which there are various and distinct opinions, and perhaps the reasons given for any of them not very satisfactory: I shall expect your opinion of it.

C. You shall have it as clearly and briefly as I can: and first, I must tell you, that the business of usury is not so clearly stated in the New Testament (and for that among the Jews in the Old, it is both obscure, and only to a fellow Jew, and so belongs not unto Christians, who are not obliged by their judicial laws any further than the equity of them is imitable by us), as that I can set strict and certain laws to all any man's actions from thence, which you will believe with me, when I tell you the one only ground of objection I have against usury from the New Testament. It is from an observation which I made in comparing the Hebrew with the Septuagint's interpretation of the book of Nehemiah: in which generally the phrase which we render 'to exact usury[r]' is rendered by the Greek 'to exact[s]' simply, without any substantive added to it; and so the Greek noun for 'requiring' or 'exacting[t]' signifies there 'requiring of use:' and so 2 Mac. iv. 27, that which is rendered 'required it[t],' most probably signifies this 'receiving of use;' the period being best rendered thus, "As for the money, &c., he put it not into any good course, but Sostratus, &c. took the use of it; for unto him belonged the managing of the moneys." From whence, knowing what sympathy or consent there is between the Greek of the New Testament and of the Old, I presently thought that that place of the Gospel, Luke vi. 30, might be explained; where Christ speaking of acts of mercy, "giving to every one that asketh," addeth in our translating, "and from him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again[u]:" where I conceive the most proper and commodious sense, and that which will be most agreeable to the context concerning giving, will be this, "from him that receiveth[x]"

The one Christian precept against it considered. [Nehem. v. 7. 10.]

[r] נשא מושא, Usuram exigentes.
[s] ἀπαιτεῖν.
[t] ἀπαίτησις.
[u] καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σὰ, μὴ ἀπαίτει.
[x] αἴροντος, not ἀφαιροῦντος.

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(not 'taketh by force,' but all one with the word which we render 'receiving[y]') "by way of loan any of thy goods, require no usury[z]" (according to that notion in Nehemiah, of 'requiring' for 'exacting of usury') "of him." Which being, as I said, joined with "giving to them that ask," denoteth a work of mercy, as indeed lending is a prime way of mercy; "the good man is merciful and lendeth," and, "he that is merciful will lend to his neighbour," and many the like. And I remember a most excellent obliging Roman[a] exercised himself especially in this kind of mercy, lending and strictly requiring the payment on the day. And Cornelius Nepos[b] saith, he did more good that way, than by giving he could have done; teaching men to be thrifty and laborious, whereas giving or suffering them not to repay would have made them sluggish and beggars. Which being supposed, it will follow, that this of not requiring of use, being an act of mercy, must, I conceive, be extended no farther than the former precept of giving was to be extended. Now though the words are in an unlimited latitude, "give to every one that asketh," yet ordinary prudence will interpret them so, that if a covetous rich man ask of me, I am not bound to give to him, but only to him whose wants set him on asking. And so consequently in like manner the prohibition or forbidding to exact, take, or require use of him that borrows, belongs not again to the poor or mean creditor, when a rich man borrows of him, but only when the rich lends to the poor man, to whom a free loan is a seasonable mercy. From whence as I should conclude without any demur, that when I lend a poor man, I must not require use, any more than I must deny alms to him that wants it, when I have it to spare; so I cannot conclude it unlawful from hence to receive from a rich man, (I mean, who wants not that alms,) what interest or increase he is willing to give me, which is, I suppose, the question resolved. All I conceive necessary to be added by way of

Lending an act of mercy. [Ps. xxxvii. 26; cxii. 5.] Ecclus. xxix. 1.

Usury from a rich man not unlawful universally.

[y] λαβόντος.

[z] μὴ ἀπαίτει.

[a] Pomponius Atticus.

[b] [Præter gratiam quæ jam adolescentulo magna erat, sæpe suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit. Cum enim versuram facere publice necesse esset, neque ejus conditionem æquam haberent, semper se interposuit, atque ita ut neque usuram unquam ab iis acceperit, neque longius quam dictum esset, eos debere passus sit. Quod utrumque erat iis salutare. Nam neque indulgendo inveterascere eorum æs alienum patiebatur, neque multiplicandis usuris crescere.—Corn. Nep. in vit. Att. c. 2. p. 154.]

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caution is, first, that I take care, that such lending to the rich do not disable me from assisting the poor. Secondly, that I am, as far as morally I can be, sure, that he who pays me this use is able to do it without eating out or hurting himself, but that he makes greater gain of it by trading, or the like. Thirdly, that it be not so done as that it may bring reproach or censure of worldly-mindedness or illiberality upon me, especially if I be a clergyman; for by the canons of ancient councils they are forbidden many things of this nature which were permitted others; much more that it be not an act of a covetous mind, but only a way of subsisting on that small portion my friends have left me.

S. But what must I do in case the person to whom I thus lent upon use, (and in so doing observed, as well as I could, the second caution,—conceived him very probable to make gain by that loan,) either by misadventure, or by his own neglects, lose by my loan, or be eaten out by paying me interest?

A caution to this.

C. I answer, that in that case it is the safest course to forbear the interest, and in matters of this nature I conceive it is my duty to take the safest course; and the thinking myself obliged to do so, will make me more circumspect than perhaps otherwise I should be, in examining the condition of the person, of whom I adventure to take use, and being as sure as I can, that I take it not from any that could need my charity, i. e. my lending without use. In all this you must not think that I am so positive as in other things I have been, but only that I set you down my opinion, and the grounds on which I build it, and shall expect your assent no farther than my grounds convince you. For the truth is, after all this which I have said upon that ground, from that passage of St. Luke so interpreted, I must confess that the word which I render 'requiring of use,' may signify somewhat else, viz. to exact or require back the loan, when it is lent without use, for so the word to 'require back that which is lent' (contrary to release) is rendered Deut. xv. 2, and 3; and so Wisd. xv. 8, and Ecclus. xx. 15, the Greek word is used for calling back a loan, and so indeed the word more usual, is 'to lend[c]' simply, as well as 'to lend upon use.' And then

[c] Δανείζειν.

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the meaning of the verse in Luke will be; that as I must "give to him that asketh," so of him that borroweth of me, I must not exact repayment, when he is not, through poverty, able to do it, for that were an act of oppression, or very contrary to charity; and therefore Isa. ix. 4, the word signifies 'oppressors[d],' and Ecclus. xx. 15, it is set down as the character of an illiberal fool, "to-day he lendeth, and to-morrow he asketh again." And if this be the sense, then it will be still pertinent to the business of liberality or charity in giving and lending, and so no farther belong to the matter of usury than by analogy may be inferred from thence, viz. that if from a poor man I must not hasten or exact the repayment of his debt, but continue the loan to him as long as his distress requires, then surely I must not sell that loan, i. e. take use of him. But this still must belong only to the rich man lending to the poor. As for the case of the rich man's lending to the rich, there hath appeared nothing in either of these interpretations which will oblige to it, or, if he do, which will prohibit the taking interest of him: and there is as little to that purpose in a third possible interpretation of the words, according to the sound of our English, of not requiring the legal fourfold of him that hath robbed me; which though it be not the importance of the word 'taketh,' which notes only 'receiving,' not 'rapine,' yet is no very improbable rendering of the word 'require,' if we compare it with a place in an ancient human author[e]. But, as this still belongs not to usury at all by any analogy, but only concludes that the not requiring the legal fourfold of the thief, will by analogy with the former part of the verse be restrained only to the case of the poor (not rich) thief, that by necessity is enforced to take away ought from thee; so do I not know any other so much as colour of text in the New Testament which forbids it, nor indeed reason nor analogy, either from that great rule in hand, of "doing as I would be done to," (for if I were a rich man, I would, in case of convenience or advantage that a loan would probably bring into me, be willing to pay use for it,) or of "loving my neighbour as myself;"

[d] ἀπαιτοῦντες.

[e] Vid. Anon. Scholiast. in Arist. Rhet., lib. i. fol. 26. li. 20. ὁ νόμος διορίζεται, τὸν κλέπτην ἁλόντα ἀπαιτεῖν εἰς τὸ τετραπλάσιον· ὁ δὲ ἐπιεικὴς διορίζεται, ἀπαιτεῖν εἰς τὸ διπλοῦν.

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nor consequently can I yet affirm it unlawful, still supposing that the cautions which I mentioned be observed uprightly.

S. I shall rest in your present directions, and draw you on no farther in this business of justice, because I conceive the prime thing designed in the rule on which we have built these discourses, is indeed that duty of mercifulness.

C. It is so, for in this sense it will best agree with the precept of liberality to enemies, with which it is joined, and the promise of God here to give to every asker, (of which bounty of God's we that are partakers, ought to do the like for our brethren,) and be a fit introduction to the exhortation that follows, of Christian strictness, which seems to be built on this, and to be but a branch of this great precept, and not a several from it.

Luke vi. 31.

S. What is that exhortation you mean?

Of strictness.

C. That of a great superlative strictness in the ways of godliness; not being content to walk in the broad road that Jews and heathens have contented themselves with, (not willing to undertake any thing of difficulty for Christ's sake, and so by that means falling into destruction,) but "entering in at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life," that way which these elevated precepts have chalked out to us; and which here, it seems, are not proposed as counsels of perfection, but as commands of duty, without which there is no entering into life, no avoiding destruction.

[Matt. vii. 13, 14.]

S. What now is the third general precept?

Of wariness and prudence.

C. It is a precept of wariness and prudence to beware of errors, and those whose trade it is to seduce us to them, and this in the six next verses, 15—20; and it belongs not to all deceivers of any kind, but particularly to such as profess to follow Christ, and yet teach false and damnable doctrines; which that they may put off to their auditors or followers the better, they pretend a great deal of holiness in some other particulars. And the sum of that which he here saith to this purpose may be reduced to this, whensoever any false teacher comes to disseminate his doctrine, the surest way to discern him will be to observe the effects and actions discernible in him, or which are the fruits of his doctrine. If all his actions and all the designs and consequents of his doctrine be the advancing of piety and charity of all kinds,

Marks of false teachers.

then you may resolve that he is no such false, at least dangerous false teacher. For first, the devil will never assist him or put him upon false doctrines to such an end, to bring more holiness and Christian practice into the world. Secondly, such holy Christian practice is not easily built upon any false doctrine. Thirdly, if the doctrine should chance to be false that bringeth forth such wholesome effects, then to him that receiveth it for those effects' sake, and otherwise discerneth not the doctrine to be false, it may be hoped, through God's mercy in Christ to our infirmities, it shall not prove dangerous or destructive. But if the consequents or effects that flow naturally from the doctrines which he brings, be either against rules of piety or Christian virtue; as 1. if they tend to the lessening of our love of God, or, under that head, to the aliening our hearts from Him, by giving us mean and unworthy notions of Him, contrary to those attributes of infinite power, justice, and goodness which we ought to believe of Him; if they tend to the begetting of presumption and security in our hearts, by giving us any ground of hope without purifying and amending our wicked lives, by leaving no place for fear, whatsoever we do, by making us conceit highly of ourselves, rely and trust on, and boast of our own merits; if they lead us to idolatry, to the worship of somewhat else beside the only true God, or to a bare formal outside worship of Him; if they open the door to false or needless swearing, or to profaneness, and neglect of God's service: or, 2, if they tend to injustice or uncharitableness toward men, or, under that head, to disobedience, sedition, rebellion, faction, speaking evil of dignities, acts of Jewish zealots, &c., to the favouring or authorizing of any kind of lust, of divorces forbidden by Christ, &c., to the nourishing of rash anger, uncharitable (either temerarious or unmerciful) censuring, envy, emulation, variance, strife, malice, revenge, contumelious speaking, whispering, backbiting, &c., to the excusing or justifying of piracy, rapine, oppression, fraud, violence, any kind of injustice, &c., to the spreading of lies, slanders, defamations, &c., to covetousness, unsatisfiedness, uncontentedness in our present condition, desire of change, casting the cross on other men's shoulders that we may free our own from it, to dealing

Fruits of their doctrine.

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with others as we would not be well pleased to be dealt with ourselves; or, in a word, if they tend to the discouraging or discountenancing any Christian virtue set down in this or any other sermon of Christ, or by His Apostles, or to the granting any dispensation or liberty from that Christian strictness in these duties, or in those other of repentance, self-denial, meekness, mercifulness, peaceableness, &c.; then by these marks and characters you may know this to be a false teacher. Yet not so far this, as that whosoever is guilty himself of any of these sins, shall be, if he be a teacher, a false one; for it is possible his doctrine and actions may be contrary: but that, if these be the fruits and natural effects of his doctrine, then shall his doctrine be thus condemned; otherwise an ill man he may be, and yet a teacher of truth; a wicked person, but not a false prophet.

S. But is it not said of these false prophets, that they come in sheep's clothing? which sure signifies their outward actions to be innocent; how then can they be discerned by their fruits?

C. I answer first, that the fruits of their doctrine may be discerned, though their own evil actions be disguised and varnished over. Secondly, that though their actions most conspicuous and apparent be good, yet their closer actions, which may also be discerned by a strict observer, are of the making of the wolf, ravenous and evil. Thirdly, that though they begin with some good shows to get authority, though they enter as sheep, do some specious acts of piety at first, yet they continue not constant in so doing, within a while they put off the disguise and are discernible.

S. What now is the fourth or last general precept?

C. The sum of it is, that it is not the outer profession of Christianity or discipleship, though that set off by prophesying, doing miracles, &c., in Christ's name, i. e. professing whatsoever they do to be done by Christ's power, which will avail any man toward his account at that great day, without the real, faithful, sincere, universal, impartial performing of obedience to the laws of Christ.

S. But can, or doth God permit any wicked man to do such miracles, &c.?

C. Yes, He may: for the end of miracles and preaching, &c.

being to convince men of the truth of the doctrine of Christ, that may well enough be done by those that acknowledge that truth, though they live not accordingly: the miracles done by them being not designed by God to the commendation of the instruments, but to the persuading of the spectators. SECT. II.

S. Having received from you the full tale of the precepts you proposed, there now remains only the conclusion of the whole sermon to be discharged, and then you have paid me all that your promise hath yet obliged you to. SECT. III.

C. It is this, (occasioned by the last precept of doing as well as professing God's will,) that the profession of Christianity, lending a patient ear to those doctrines, will, if it be, as oft it is, trusted to and depended on, to render us acceptable to Christ, prove a very fallacious and deceitful hope. Whensoever any storm comes, any shaking disease or affliction, which gives us occasion to awake throughly, and examine ourselves to the bottom, we are not then able to retain any hope or comfortable opinion of ourselves, although in time of quiet and tranquillity, before we were thus shaken, we could entertain ourselves with such flattering glosses. Hearing of sermons, and professing of love to and zeal for Christ, may pass for piety a while; but in the end it will not be so. It is true Christian practice that will hold out in time of trial, and that hope of ours which is thus grounded will stand firm and stable in time of affliction and temptation, at the hour of death and the day of judgment. This doctrine of Christian duty and obedience is such as can never deceive any man that is content to build upon it. Nor infirmity, nor sin, (committed, but repented of, and forsaken,) nor devil, shall ever shake any man's hold that is thus built, endanger any man's salvation that lives according to the rule of this sermon; nor shall all the flattering deceitful comforters of the world bring in any true gain or advantage or substantial ground of hope to any other. Of profession of Christianity without action.

"And it came to pass when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at His doctrine. For He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes." [Matt. vii. 28, 29.]

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SECT. I.

Of the creed.

S. HAVING profited somewhat by your advertisements in that part of knowledge which is most useful to me, I shall endeavour now to give you some account of my proficiency, though it be but in taking notice of my farther wants, (which till you thus opened my eyes I discerned not,) and in desiring your help to assist me yet farther, to discern what influence on my life or practice may be had from those very articles of my creed which you supposed me to have learnt in my catechism: but having no otherwise learnt than to say by rote, and perhaps to understand the words and meaning of them, though I had formerly contented myself with that superficial knowledge, and thought that to be all that was required of me, yet I have now altered my opinion, and by the tastes you have given me, I find my appetite raised to receive what, in order to practice, you shall please to teach me from thence, being strongly persuaded that the bare speculative knowledge of these doctrines, sunk no farther than into my brain, will avail but little to my salvation.

C. You have made a right conjecture, and will be confirmed in it, when in your conversing with holy writings, especially those of the Apostles in their epistles, you observe how the articles of our creed are seldom or never mentioned but as obligations and pledges of our amendment of life; Christ's death, of our mortification, His resurrection, of our new life, &c. I shall therefore be persuaded by you to proceed a while on this theme, insisting only, unless it be in passage, on that which is practical.

S. Be pleased then to set out on this journey, and first to tell me once for all, what is the full importance of the word 'believe.'

Of belief.

C. 'To believe' is, as many other in Scripture, a pregnant word, and contains under it all that is or should be consequent to it. 'To know,' signifies in Scripture, not only what the word sounds, but also 'to love,' and 'to do;' 'knowing of God' is the whole service of God: and so proportionably 'to believe.' And in brief, it hath two parts, a speculative and a practical; the one but of a piece, the other of the whole heart: or if you will, the one in the brain, the other in the

heart; and this latter superadded to the former, it seems, is it that alone is likely to stand us in stead. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." SECT. I. Rom. x. 9.

S. What do you mean by a speculative belief?

C. An assent or acknowledgment of the truth of any thing affirmed in the word of God; as to acknowledge and assent to this truth, that there is a God, that He is our Father, &c., that He sent His only eternal Son into the world to be born of a Virgin, &c. Speculative belief.

S. What is the practical belief, or that of the heart?

C. The heart is the principle of practice, as appears Deut. xxx. 14, "My word is in thy heart, that thou mayest do it," and verse 16, "to keep His commandments," &c., and that by analogy with a ground in nature, the heart being there the principle of life and motion, moving always, to which Solomon oft alludeth, and digesting and applying every thing that comes into it, to that end; the principle, I say, of action, of ordering and directing our wills, and so our lives accordingly; and so the belief in the heart contains in it, in general, all kind of practical Christian virtues, peculiarly those that according to the nature of the object believed, and the several considerations of it, are most proper to be produced or exercised. Thus to believe there is a God, is to live and behave myself in a godly manner, and so signifies piety; to believe He is Maker of all things, is to commit our souls to Him in well-doing, as to a faithful Creator; to believe He is a Father, is to love Him with a filial love, to fear Him with a filial fear, to honour Him as a son his father, to obey Him with a filial obedience, to trust in Him, to depend on Him, as children on fathers, for all things needful to our souls or bodies. And this you are proportionably to apply to all the severals in our creed, or objects of our belief. Practical. 1 Pet. iv. 19. Mal. i. 6.

S. But is there not some peculiar notation in the phrase 'believe in?' is not that more than 'to believe?'

C. Some subtle wits have observed such a distinction between 'believing God[f],' 'believing in God,' and 'believing on God;' but it is not sure that the word of God hath owned Believing in.

[f] τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν.

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any such distinction or constant difference between them, taking indeed all these promiscuously, and meaning ofttimes the same thing by all of them. The distinction which I gave you will, I conceive, do the same work, for which the schoolmen designed this other, and the several notions of believing in Scripture will be most properly referred to the severals mentioned; either a speculative believing, as in the devil and wicked professors, or a practical, in all saints; and that differenced again according to the notion wherein the object is considered, as even now was specified; sometimes a terrifying assent, or an assent accompanied with fear, when it looks on the threats, "By faith Noah, moved with fear," &c.; sometimes an obedientiall assent, when it looks on the commands, "I have believed Thy commandments;" sometimes a fiducial assent, when on the promises of the gospel, "Thy word, wherein Thou hast caused me to put my trust."

Heb. xi. 7.

Ps. cxix. 66.

Ps. cxix. 49.

S. I conceive myself to understand the notion you have given me of believing, and shall labour to apply it carefully to all that follows. You may now please to proceed to the several parts or objects of our belief. What then is the speculative belief of God?

Of believing in God.

C. The firm undoubted acknowledgment, 1. that there is a God; 2. that there is but one God.

S. What is it to acknowledge Him to be God?

His Essence.

C. To acknowledge Him in His Essence and in His attributes. In His Essence, that He is the eternal, immortal, immutable, invisible, incomprehensible, glorious Being, giving being to all, but Himself receiving from none, the Being of beings, the "Which was, and is, and shall be," the Lord God Jehovah. In His attributes, of infinite goodness and mercy, and veracity, and wisdom, and providence, and power, and all-sufficiency, His creating, preserving, and just governing and dispensing of all things. All which together make up the severals contained in that which follows in the creed, "In God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth."

[Rev. i. 4.]

His attributes.

S. I shall not trouble you to prove all or any of these particulars to me, because you say they are matter of belief; which although they have grounds in nature, which also would be means of proving every of them, yet shall they by

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me be received without that kind of argument, being more willing to believe than dispute what from the Scripture, the Apostles and the ensuing universal Church of God have thought fit to comprise in those articles: all that I shall now demand of you is, your direction how these severals which you have now named may be reduced to those words of the creed.

C. Those of His Essence, to the word 'God,' whose name, proper to Him from all others, is "Jehovah," which includes being and giving of being, immortal, immutable, and, by consequence from them, invisible, incomprehensible, and glorious. All which being inexpressible by any positive definition, is best described by those which I gave you, which are most of them negative, epithets. Those of His attributes to the word 'God,' and to the following words. That of His infinite goodness, and mercy, and providence, to His title of Father. That of His veracity, both to His being God, who in His nature hath by all men, even heathens, been conceived free from lying, "Let God be true, and every man a liar," absolute veracity belonging to no creature, but only to God,—and to His name Jehovah, which is set in Exodus to note His constancy in performing of promises, His "establishing His covenant;"—and also to the word 'believe,' which supposes God the great object of our belief, and so true in all His affirmations. That of His wisdom, and power, and all-sufficiency, His creating and preserving of all, to His title of "Maker of heaven and earth," in which all those severals are expressed: the word 'Maker' containing under it not only the beginning but continuance of all being; and so first, the disposal, wherein the wisdom was shewed; secondly, the strangeness of the composure first, and since, of daily productions both ordinary and extraordinary, wherein the power; thirdly, the sustaining, wherein the all-sufficiency; and in all together the creating and preserving. As for that of His just governing and dispensing of all things, that belongs most peculiarly to the word which we render 'Almighty[g],' but signifies peculiarly His being

[Rom. iii. 4.]

Exod. vi. 3.

[g] *παντοκράτωρ*, [*ὁ Θεὸς·*] *πάντων κρατῶν*, "that hath dominion of all."—Hesych. [in verb. p. 727.] *παντοκρατορία*, *πανταρχία*.—Phavor. [in verb. p. 407. l. 80.]

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governor, ruler of all things; which being added to the word 'Father,' signifies that eminent natural right that belongs to all fathers, paternal dominion, the root of all power and government among men, and being in a transcendent manner applied to God, the transcendent Father, contains under it all manner of dominion over the creature. This title indeed contains His almightiness and infinity of power over all His subjects, but withal superadds that other relation of a King and Lord over them. To all which may be added His omnipresence and omniscience, of which His very Deity and infinity are a ground, His creating and governing all things a proof, and the evident daily footsteps of the former in the whole creation are sure and manifest evidences and testimonies of it; and of the latter His delivering and the exact fulfilling of prophecies, wherein God hath oft foretold future contingent words and actions of men, which being many times evil and sinful, (as particularly the words of the

Ps. xxii. 8.

by-standers at the cross against Christ, punctually foretold,) He could not be the author or designer of them, or consequently foretell or foresee them in His decree of producing or causing them, but only by virtue of His omniscience.

The practical belief in God.

S. What now is the practical part of this belief of God?

C. The influence that each of these assents is apt to have upon our lives, (there being a practical as well as speculative atheism,) the living like those that in earnest believe all this; and that is in effect the practice of all those duties which the Church catechism told you were contained in the first commandment, which you will remember to have been faith, hope, love, fear, trust, honour, worship, prayer, and thanksgiving to Him. That all these are the uses and duties of the first article of the creed, will be easily discerned, if you but apply them to the severals in God's Essence and attributes before mentioned. His veracity is the ground of our faith, and he that cordially is persuaded

Heb. xi. 11.

of that, cannot choose but believe in Him. The same again, when His promise hath intervened, being backed with His omnipotence, is the ground of our hope; and he that knows God hath promised, and resolves that He can neither lie, nor be overpowered with difficulties, will hope on Him even in the midst of all temptations to the contrary. And so again,

the word 'Father' implying His preparing for us an inheritance, His glorious excellence, and after that His paternal goodness and mercy to us, in feeding us and disposing all, even the saddest, accidents to our greatest good, is a sufficient motive and ground of love. His omnipotence, and His justice, and again paternal relation to us, is our ground of fear: His all-sufficiency, and the eternity that is peculiar to Him, when all other things are so frail and mutable, of our trust and dependence on Him, and Him only: His regal power, of our honouring Him: His very Deity, of our worship: and His goodness, and all-sufficiency, and providence, and wisdom, of our prayer and praises, of all our petitions and thanksgivings. SECT. I. 1 Pet. i. 4.

S. The good God of heaven and earth so fill my heart with a sense of His infinite attributes, and the short fading temporary emptiness and nothingness of all creatures, that I may with a sincere heart and ardent affections, love, fear, obey, worship, and depend on Him. I perceive you have by this means taught me one most useful truth of practical divinity, which may well have an influence on all my life after, and fortify me against the dangerous mistakes either of the solifidian, or the fiduciary, that I must not be thought to say the first article of my creed in earnest, unless my heart be possessed sincerely with the power, and my life go on uniformly in the practice of all these Christian virtues. Will you now proceed to the next articles?

C. I will.

S. That of 'Jesus Christ,' which is next, so far as those pregnant rich titles of the Son of God do import, you have formerly opened to me, and in effect, what it is to believe in Jesus Christ, both to acknowledge the truth of what the New Testament saith of His designation to those three great offices which denominated Him 'Christ' or 'anointed,' and were the means by which He wrought our salvation, and so became Jesus; and also to make our vital acknowledgments of all these, depending and relying on this alone Saviour, and by repentance and new life making ourselves capable of the salvation wrought conditionally by Him, loving, and hoping on Him; so again receiving His kingdom into our hearts, and making those other particular returns mentioned in that SECT. II. Of believing in Jesus Christ.

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former discourse[h] to which I am content to be referred. The other passages and articles concerning Christ are so plain and intelligible, that I will not trouble you to interpret them one after another, but content myself with what in general you will observe to me of them.

C. This I shall wish you to observe, that all those articles of Christ are by our catechism brought into this one summary, that Jesus Christ "redeemed me and all mankind;" and that not only from the guilt of sin, but, in St. Peter's interpretation, "from our vain conversation," i. e. heathenish wicked living: which is, in effect,—The one great necessary to be known of Him, is, that He was "born, crucified, continued under the power of death, rose again, ascended to, and now sits at the right hand of God, and shall again come to judge the world;" all, and each of this on purpose to work redemption for mankind: which if it be faithfully believed, and applied to the regulating and reforming of our lives, this belief will doubtless be sufficient to the salvation of any who is not able to attain to the understanding of many other difficulties. Thus doth St. Paul resolve to know nothing among his Corinthians but "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified," (under which head it seems the reprehending of all their carnal sins, of incest, contentiousness, comes in very pertinently, each of those being oppositions to the crucified Saviour, who died for us, that He might purify us, and that we might die unto sin,) and pronounces, "that he that believes in the heart that God hath raised Jesus from the dead,"—and that, we told you, contains our rising from dead works by the power of that same Spirit,—"shall be saved." So "every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ," and piously submits to those offices of His, "is born of God:" and "every spirit that confesses Jesus to be come in the flesh is of God," if that place be taken in the full extent of the words, and not, as indeed the context restrains it, to the spirit of prophecy, because all Christianity depends on that one belief, if it be cordial; which, beside the great practical doctrines which the several articles will furnish us with, will in the gross read us a lecture of a most sovereign charity, not to condemn or remove from our communion any Christian that shall join

[1 Pet. i. 18.]

1 Cor. ii. 2.

chap. iii. 1.

chap. v. 1; vi. 1.

Rom. x. 9.

1 John v. 1.

chap. iv. 2.

[h] Lib. i. [sect. 2.] Of the offices of Christ. [pp. 15 sqq.]

with us in the acknowledgment of these, and those other few necessaries, and live in all manner of duty toward God and man peaceably, and piously, and conscionably, according to this profession; all other less necessary truths, though precious in their kind, being not so valuable as Christian charity and peace, and communion with all who are fellow-members of our Christ.

S. I shall labour to possess my heart with this charitable lesson: but you mentioned some great practical doctrines which the several articles would furnish us with: which be they?

Of the practical doctrines from thence.

C. First, from the birth of Christ, to recount the infinite dignation and bounty of our God, that, to redeem us from the thraldom which our own sins had brought upon us, not only submitted Himself to all diminutions and meannesses, and at last mortality of our flesh, but came into the world on no other errand but for this very purpose, "that He might die for us." Secondly, from the same again and the necessity of it to our redemption, to consider the justice first, then necessity of our new birth or regeneration: justice, by way of retribution, that if He would for our salvation be born in our flesh of a woman, we should in any reason be born anew in the Spirit, or of God: and then the necessity also, resolving that, as if He had not been thus born, so "if we be not born again, we shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." Thirdly, from the manner of His conception and birth, to learn the manner of His second birth in our hearts: 1. that as our human flesh could no way deserve or by so much as any congruity expect, that Christ should assume it, or be born in it; so could not our souls deserve or expect that Christ should thus spiritually be born in us: 2. as His conception was wrought by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, so no conception of Christ in our hearts is to be had without it: 3. we must prepare virgin hearts for Christ to be born in, and for that Holy Ghost to overshadow: by virgin hearts, meaning no absolute sinless purity and innocence, which only paradise could yield; but that renewed purity and recovered virginity of true repentance, and sincere resolutions of amendment, which with the humility of that blessed Virgin, expressed by the "lowliness of the

From the birth of Christ. Heb. ii. 14; Joh. xii. 27.

[Joh. iii. 3, 5.]

From the manner of it.

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handmaid" in her Magnificat, and typified in the temper of the new-born babes, which are of all others fittest for Christ to be born in, both for innocence and humility, and also with the faith so remarkable in her, is the only temper which can fit the soul to be over-shadowed by the Spirit, and for Christ to be formed in it.

Luke i. 38.

From His suffering under Pilate.

S. What from the suffering under Pontius Pilate?

C. A passive obedience even to death, without any kind of hostile resistance (though, as Christ was, so we should be never so well furnished with armies and legions) against the powers that are by God set over us.

From His death.

Col. ii. 11.

Rom. vi. 6.

S. What from the death of Christ?

C. First, that great doctrine of mortification, "putting off the body of the sins of the flesh," and "destroying the body of sin," and putting our sinful habits to a contumelious death, or "crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts," most strictly required by God to our salvation. And in this you may take in, if you please, a parallel through all the gradations that brought Him to His death, that so we may, as the Apostle saith, "be planted with Him in the likeness of His death." For you see in the story, there was first a consultation held, then He was apprehended, examined, accused, condemned, shamed, and crucified. Thus must we deal with our old man, our whole body of sin; first, deliberate and consult about the execution, and to that end choose our soberest senate-like seasons, when the heat and passions of youth and sin are over, and in the cool of the day, in the calmest temper of our souls, take this weighty business into our most serious consideration: then secondly, as soon as we have consulted, proceed to act, presently apprehend, stop in the career, every course or habit of sin: thirdly, examine it by the word of God, the commands of Christ, in all the variations from and oppositions to them: fourthly, accuse, and therein aggravate it with all the heightening circumstances of guilt and danger: then fifthly, by a solemn full consent of all the faculties, condemn this so dangerous a malefactor: then sixthly, spit upon it with all contempt and scorn: and at last give it up to be crucified, never to recover again to any vital actions. And all this, as for any one single habit of sin, so for the whole body, which contains all

[Rom. vi. 5.]

limbs and severals under it. Besides this, a second practice that Christ's death obliges us to is, our voluntary cheerful taking up of our cross and following Him, readily conforming ourselves to the image of the crucified Saviour, and resolving, that if we suffer with Him, we shall also be glorified with Him. Thirdly, the putting our sinful habits like dead bodies out of the way, lest they offend or infect others, which will be answerable to the burial. Fourthly, the reality and continuance of our mortified state, (answerable to the adjuncts of Christ's crucifixion, death, burial, descent,) not only once for all to repent and mortify, but to continue in the soul that death unto sin, sincere and unfeigned, till we in soul rise again to that other diviner life, never to die any more, i. e. never to relapse to our sinful habits, but to persevere in that mortified estate. SECT. II.

S. But before you part with these articles concerning Christ's death, I must take leave to put you in mind of one difficulty, which though it may seem to be a speculative difficulty, yet because the explicit belief, or faith itself, of those few things that are contained in this creed may seem to be a Christian's duty, and so a piece of necessary Christian practice, it may perhaps be my duty to enquire, and a culpable omission if I neglect to ask instruction in it, now that I may hope to receive it from you; and that is, what is meant by Christ's descending into hell?

Of Christ's descent into hell.

C. Though it be a Christian's duty to believe every part and article of this creed delivered down to us by the Church from the Apostles, as a form or summary of sound doctrine, and either the first copy, or an extract and transcript, as it were, of that tradition, or oral doctrine, "that faith which was once delivered unto the saints," which the Apostles agreed on at the time of their parting from one another to preach the gospel to all nations; yet I conceive the agreeing on some one sense, wherein to interpret every article of it, is not so absolutely necessary, but that some one of them, as this of Christ's descent, may be taken in a latitude, and either not determined to any one interpretation, or resolved to be capable of more; and so the words be received, the particular sense, one way or other, will be indifferent to them that sincerely follow that light which is offered to them: and

Jude 3.

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therefore I conceive it is, that the article of our Church sets it down in that large indefinite form, "We believe that Christ descended into hell," adding no other words of binding interpretation to it.

S. But what is your opinion of the sense of that article?

Two opinions.

C. Among divers others I shall pitch on two opinions, and either of them may be piously believed, having good grounds whereon each of them may be built; the one taken from the opinion and interpretation of many ancient and

The first.

modern worthies of the Church. That Christ in the space betwixt His death and resurrection went down locally into hell, as that signifies the place of the damned, not to suffer there, for all was finished upon the cross, but to triumph over Satan in his own quarters, and openly to shew him the victory that by death Christ had gotten over him, over death itself, and over all the powers of darkness. This sense being

The second.

sufficiently explicated, I shall not enlarge on. The second opinion I shall more at large shew you, and leave you to judge of the truth of it.

S. I shall patiently attend while you do so.

C. These words, "He descended into hell[i]," being affirmed of Christ in the creed, but not found in words in the New Testament, will not necessarily signify any farther than either, first, the places of the New Testament, from whence the compilers of the creed may seem to have collected it, will import; or secondly, the use of the phrase among either profane or Scripture writers will require; or thirdly, the context, or circumstances in the creed will enforce. And all these will not necessarily extend its sense any farther than this, that for the space of three days He was, and truly continued to be, deprived of His natural life. For the first, the Scriptures from whence this article seems to have been taken

[Acts ii. 31; xiii. 35; Ps. xvi. 10.]

are not many, indeed but one, that in the Acts, out of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell, nor suffer

Eph. iv. 9.

Thy Holy One to see corruption." As for "He descended into the lower parts of the earth," it belongs clearly either to the incarnation, or descent to the mother's womb, which is ex-

Ps. cxxxix. 15.

pressed by that phrase, "when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth;" or else

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possibly to the grave, (called the mother's womb also,) so styled, Ps. lxiii. 9. Now in that place the word which we render 'hell' may signify the common state of the dead; the word 'soul[k]' the living soul[l], or that faculty by which we live; and the not leaving this in that, is the not suffering Him so long to continue deprived of life, as that His body, as it follows, should see corruption, i. e. above the space of three days: which term, consisting of seventy-two hours, is the space required for the revolution of humours, after which physicians observe, that the body that continues so long dead, naturally putrefies, which is implied by that speech concerning Lazarus, "by this time he stinketh, for he hath been dead four days[m]." So that that place distinctly affirms, that He should not be deprived of His natural life above the space of three days, that death should no longer have dominion over Him. Which if it be not the importance of that prophecy in the Psalmist, I conceive it will be hard to find any convincing prophecy concerning Christ's rising again the third day; for that of Jonah related in the gospel, and others which by the fathers are applied to that purpose, were but types, not prophecies; and yet it is said, that Jesus began to shew His disciples, which sure is more than to tell, to shew[n], demonstrate out of Scripture, that it behoveth Him[o], i. e. that He must for the fulfilling of the prophecies, rise the third day. If this be not necessarily the meaning of those words in the Acts and the Psalm, yet I conceive no man can shew convincingly that any other is. Now secondly, for the use of the phrase among writers of the first sort[p], it is clear that the word[q] signifies not with them the place of the damned, no not any peculiar place of happy souls neither, but the common state of the dead. I will give you in the margin some instances, by which, when you are skilled in those authors, you may be able to judge[r]. Many other places might be added, but the writers

Job i. 21.

John xi. 39.

[Matt. xii. 40.]

Lev. vii. 17. Gen. xxii. 4. Matt. xvi. 21.

[k] ψυχή.

[l] נפש חיה

[m] τεταρταῖος γάρ ἐστι.

[n] δεικνύειν.

[o] ὅτι δεῖ αὐτόν.

[p] Attic, or profane.

[q] ᾅδης.

[r] Take this of Phurnutus, in his book called De Natura Deorum. [ἀδελφὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ ᾅδης εἶναι λέγεται, οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ παχυμερέστατος καὶ προσγειότατος ἀήρ· ὁμοῦ γὰρ γίνεται· καὶ ἄρχεται κραίνειν καὶ ῥεῖν τὰ ὄντα κατὰ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ λόγους τῆς φύσεως· καλεῖται δὲ ᾅδης ἢ ὅτι καθ' αὑτὸν ἀόρατός ἐστιν, ὅθεν καὶ διαιροῦντες ἄϊδα αὐτὸν ὀνομάζομεν ἢ κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, ὡσανεὶ ὁ ἀνδάνων ἡμῖν τὸν θάνατον· καὶ Πλούτων δὲ ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ πάντων ὄντων φθαρτῶν, μηδὲν εἶναι ὃ μὴ τελευταῖον εἰς αὐτὸν

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which conduce most to the explaining of the New Testament are the Greek translators of the Old Testament, and therefore among them it will be more pertinent to enquire. Look on Gen. xxxvii. 35. We render it out of the Hebrew literally, "I will go down to the grave to my son mourning[s]," save only that the word which we render 'to the grave[t]' cannot in that place be properly so rendered; because Jacob believed that his son was torn in pieces with wild beasts, and not buried: and therefore the addition of those words 'to my son,' make it necessary to render it in that place thus, "I

κατάγεται καὶ αὐτοῦ κτῆμα γίνεται.—Phurn. de Nat. Deor., c. 5. p. 144.] 'Hades with him goes for a god, and, saith he, is called Pluto, because there is nothing but at last comes to him, and becomes his possession:' and again, towards the end of his book, [τελευταῖον δὲ τὸν δεχόμενον τὰς ψυχὰς ἀέρα ᾅδην ὡς ἔφησαν διὰ τὸ ἀειδὲς προσηγόρευσαν· μὴ φαινομένων δ' ἡμῖν τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν ἐκεῖσε χωρούντων διαλλάττοντα ἐβόησαν· κλύμενος ὁ αὐτὸς λέγεται τῷ αἴτιος εἶναι τοῦ κλύειν, ἀὴρ γὰρ πεπληγμένος ἡ φωνή· εὔβουλον δὲ καὶ εὐβουλέα κατὰ ἀποδυσπέτησιν ὠνόμασαν αὐτὸν ὡς καλῶς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βουλευόμενον διὰ τὸ παύειν αὐτούς ποτε τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν φροντίδων.—Ib., c. 35. p. 233.] 'Hades is the last region of the air which receives souls,' and is called, saith he, 'a good friend or counsellor, because it befriends men, in giving them cessation from labours and cares;' which is the very thing that the Spirit affirms of the "dead that die in the Lord," "they are blessed, for they rest from their labours," Rev. xiv. 13. So ἐν ᾅδῃ οἰκεῖν, he interprets by ἐν ἀσαφεῖ κεῖσθαι, 'to be nobody knows where,' according to the etymology of ᾅδης quasi ἀειδής, 'an invisible state,' agreeable to which it is that in the ancient Rhetors, Severus Sophista, &c. it is called not ᾅδης but ἀΐδης, ἠθοπ. α'. and γ'. And again, shewing the original of that fable, that Hades stole away Ceres' daughter, It is, saith he, διὰ τὸν γενόμενον ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ τῶν σπερμάτων κατὰ γῆς ἀφανισμὸν, where again Hades it seems signifies ἀφανισμὸς, which is used absolutely for death, 2 Mac. v. 13, and is the very description of death that the Psalmist useth, "Before I go hence and be no more seen," Ps. xxxix. 13. [This is the Prayer-book version. The Bible translation is "Before I go hence and be no more," which is more literal. The Septuagint has πρὸ τοῦ με ἀπελθεῖν καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ ὑπάρξω.] And Heb. viii. 13, τὸ δὲ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ, 'that which is old is near to vanishing,' or 'disappearing:' and so Heraclitus, speaking of the helmet of Hades which makes men invisible, saith, 'it is the end or death of every one, to which he that comes, i. e. he that is dead, becomes invisible.' [ὅτι ὁ τὴν ἄϊδος κυνῆν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς περιθέμενος ἀόρατος ἐγίνετο· ἔστι δὲ κυνῆ ἄϊδος τὸ τέλος, εἰς ὃ ἀπελθὼν ὁ τετελευτηκὼς ἀόρατος γίνεται.—Heraclit. de Incred., c. 27. ap. Opusc. Myth., p. 78.] And the author of the book of Wisdom hath a like phrase, "Our spirit shall vanish as the soft air;" [Wisdom ii. 3.] where speaking in the person of the atheist, who acknowledged not the immortality of the soul, the word 'spirit' is taken for ψυχὴ, 'living soul.' [τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν διαχυθήσεται ὡς χαῦνος ἀήρ.] So in Baruch, iii. 19, κατέβησαν εἰς ᾅδου is joined with ἠφανίσθησαν.

[s] καταβήσομαι πρὸς τὸν υἱόν μου πενθῶν εἰς ᾅδου. Gen. xxxvii. 35. So Esther xiii. 7, [xiii. 4. LXX.] εἰς τὸν ᾅδην κατελθόντες, signifies only 'to die,' 'to be killed,' being spoken by a heathen king, which we are not sure imagined any hell. So clearly κατέβησαν εἰς ᾅδου, Bar. iii. 19, cannot be imagined to belong to hell, but only to the vanishing, transitory estate of men, who die, and are succeeded by others; and [so] Mac. iii. [παρὰ πόδας ἤδη τὸν ᾅδην ὁρῶντες κείμενον, and πέμψειν εἰς ᾅδην, and ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις ᾅδου καθεστῶτας, and] πλησίον ᾅδου, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ βεβηκότες.

[t] שְׁאֹלָה

will go mourning out of this life, I will live no longer, seeing my son is dead;" and the phrase, "I will go down to Hades[u]," is meant exactly parallel to this in the creed, "He went down to Hades[v]," and may very well be thought the fittest to interpret it, being the nearest to it of any in the Scripture. For as to the word which is rendered 'to go down,' it signifies in the original sometimes 'to go up,' Judges xv. 11, (where yet the Greek translators use the very word which in Greek is rendered 'go down,') sometimes to go neither up nor down, as in that place of Genesis it is clear, Jacob knowing that he was not buried, but devoured by wild beasts. Now for the context in the creed, compare it with the story of Christ's death in the gospel, and you will see how well it will bear this sense. To which purpose I must premise this one thing, that a man consists of three parts, a body, a living soul, an immortal spirit. St. Paul divides the whole man into those three parts[x], and in the creation of man there is mention of all of these. The body is called "the dust of the earth[y]," of which he was formed; the soul[z] is called "the living soul[a];" the spirit[b] is called "the breath of life[c]," and in other places "breath and life[d]." Of these three parts Christ as man consisted, and at His death all these three are severally disposed of. His Spirit, that immortal soul, which I conceive to be mentioned Luke ii. 40, He commended into the hands of His Father, in respect of which He is said to be 'that day in paradise[e],' for sure paradise and God's hands are all one. His body, that was put in the grave; and so all of Him disposed of but 'the living soul[f],' and in respect of that, saith the creed, "He went into Hades:" perhaps not into the place of hell, as Bp. Bilson, nor into paradise, as Broughton[g], nor into the grave, for that was said before in the word buried, (though some[h] would have the Greek word[i] which is

Gen. xxxvii. 33.

1 Thess. v. 23.

Luke xxiii. 46.

[u] καταβήσομαι εἰς ᾅδου.
[v] κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδου.
[x] ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν, integrum vestri.
[y] עפר מן האדמה
[z] ψυχή.
[a] נפש חיה
[b] πνεῦμα.
[c] חיום נשמת
[d] πνεῦμα καὶ ζωὴ, 2 Mac. vii. 22. ζωὴ καὶ πνοὴ, Acts xvii. 4, 5.
[e] σήμερον.
[f] ψυχή.

[g] [Vide Master Broughton's Letters, &c., answered in their kind, 4to. London, 1560; Two little works defensive of our redemption, &c., by Hugh Broughton, 4to. London, 1604; A Require of Agreement, &c., by H. B. 4to. London, 1611; Declaration of General Corruption of Religion, &c., wrought by D. Bilson. By Hugh Broughton, 1604, 4to., and Broughton's Works, folio, 1662, pp. 727—840.]

[h] [*Descendit* autem *ad inferos*, pro se-

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so rendered, refer only to His embalming,) but He was three days deprived of His natural life, (which is properly His 'living soul[k],') He continued really without exercise, or power of exercising His vital faculty, tasted that common state[l] of the

pulchro impositus est. Sic enim inferi Hebræis Seol sepulchrum sæpe significat ut Gen. xxxvii. 35, item Gen. xlii. 38, item Ps. ix. 18, et 1 Reg. [ii. 6, 9.] Et sic Christi descensus talis ad inferos, id est ad sepulchrum evangelistarum eodem loco intelligitur. Nicodemus in vicinis hortis monumentum novum exciderat in petra in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat, ubi Christi corpus propter parasceuen paschatis locique viciniam deposuit et saxo magno ad ostium advoluto abiit. Deinde Pharisæi, tanquam resurrectionem sic impedire possent, munierunt sepulchrum præsidio, lapideque obsignarunt. Atque ita Christi descensus ad inferos intelligitur in monumentum illatio, ut tam insignis in evangelio et luculenta historia testificatur. Christus igitur sic descendit ad inferos, sic in monumentum impositus est, nec est inhumatus, humore seu terra tectus sed sepultus et in monumentum impositus lapideque involutus. Judæorum autem communi consuetudine cum mortui corpus (ut ibidem Tremellius ait) sic lotum, unctum fasciis, linteis, sudariis involutum, id est sepultum esset, efferebatur et inhumabatur: tumque a majoribus prodita quædam recitabantur, non solum ad lugentes consolandum sed ad divinam justitiam celebrandum et hominum peccata detestandum. Itaque quamvis in isto sepulturæ ritu verbum Græcum Latinumve involutionem atque inhumationem confuse forsan comprehendat, attamen res duæ in evangelio diversæ sunt. Sic Francica lingua res duæ distinctæ duobus distinctis verbis *Ensevelir, enterrer.* Quapropter ex evangelica historia (cujus summa in symbolo imprimis colligitur) symboli caput hoc a superiore ita perspicue distinguetur. *Sepultusque* inunctionem et involutionem: *Descendit ad inferos* impositionem in monumentum comprehendet et quinque diversis, quinque rerum diversarum gradibus, *passus crucifixus mortuus sepultus descendit ad inferos* absolutus et confirmatus mortis obitus et status exprimetur.]—Peter Ramus, [de Rel. Christ. De fide, lib. i. c. 14. p. 55.]

[i] *τάφῃ.*

[k] ψυχὴ, or נפש

[l] To which purpose it will be observable what Heraclitus in Clem. Alex. Str. i. [p. 304 D.] sets down out of Sarapion, an ancient poet, speaking of Sibylla, and undertaking to shew how she prophesied even after her death. For, says he, Σαραπίων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι μηδὲ ἀποθανοῦσαν, λῆξαι μαντικῆς φησὶ τὴν Σίβυλλαν· καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀέρα χωρῆσαν αὐτῆς, μετὰ τελευτὴν, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἐν φήμαις καὶ κληδόσι μαντευόμενον· τοῦ δὲ εἰς γῆν μεταβαλόντος σώματος, πόας ὡς εἰκὸς ἀναφυείσης, ὅσα ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπινεμηθῇ θρέμματα, κατ' ἐκεῖνον δήπουθεν γενόμενα τὸν τόπον, ἀκριβῆ τὴν διὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προφαίνειν τοῦ μέλλοντος δήλωσιν γράφει, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτῆς εἶναι, τὸ ἐν τῇ Σελήνῃ φαινόμενον πρόσωπον οἴεται. That part of her body which went into the air did prophesy by voices heard in the air, for so *φήμη* is defined by Phavorinus, λόγος δηλωτικὸς μέλλοντός τινος ἐξ αὐτομάτου λαλουμένη, [p. 522. l. 85.] and κληδόνος, μαντείας ἢ θείας φήμης [p. 307. l. 12. and οὐ τὴν ἁπλῶς ἀνθρωπίνην δηλοῖ λαλιὰν ἀλλά τινα θειοτέραν δηλωτικὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος, p. 422. l. 92.] such as was that voice which Plutarch mentions to have been heard by the mariners, Πὰν μέγας τέθνηκε.—Plutarch. [de Orac. Defect., tom. ii. p. 419.] The body, or that part which was changed into the earth, bringeth forth herb or grass, and the beasts that fed exactly on that place, did, by their bowels or entrails, when they were killed, declare to men what was to come. As for her soul, he conceived that to be that face that appears in the moon, and that helped the astrologers to divine also. Three parts you see of a woman, according to that so ancient philosophy. Of which three, by death, one, saith he, was sent to the earth, another to heaven, a third went into the air; that third, I conceive the same that the atheist in the book of Wisdom, ii. 3, affirms, that it shall vanish at death, shall be dissolved or poured abroad, as the soft or moist air, which is there *πνεῦμα*, the breath or spirit, viz. that mortal spirit in the atheist's philosophy, all one with the breath in the nostrils,

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dead for us; but then, before He was putrefied, i. e. "The third day, He rose again from the dead," &c.

Thus Rev. vi. 8, after the mention of "death," is added in our translation, "and hell" (but it signifies this state of separation, or invisible state, or continuance in death), "was a follower of it," and a companion with it[m]. And that it refers not to that which we call hell, much less to paradise, but only to that temporal separation of soul and body, may farther appear by the effects there mentioned of it, "There was given them power to kill, &c., with the sword, with famine, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth." And so "Death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire[n];" and "gave up those that were in it." So 'He that raiseth the dead from death and from Hades[o],' sure raises not out of hell; and in the Song of the Three Children, God's delivering them from Hades will not be extended to hell, but only to death, as follows in the next words. And sure Eleazar, that desires his friend to 'bring him on his way to Hades[p],' doth not desire to be dispatched to hell. And that the ancient writers of the Church (some of them at least, of the most ancient) meant no other than this by the article of "Christ's descent to Hades[q]," may be guessed by two ancient passages, the one in Thaddeus' creed[r], affirmed to be given by him unto the king of Edessa; the other in the primitive martyr Ignatius[s]; both agreeing in this, that "Christ ascended with many, but descended alone:" where though the descent were, in their

Rev. xx. 14. ver. 13. Ecclus. xlviii. 5. ver. 66. 2 Macc. vi. 23.

ver. 2, but much differing from the immortal spirit among Christians. [ὅτι αὐτοσχεδίως ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσόμεθα ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρξαντες· ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πνοὴν ἐν ῥισὶν ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ λόγος σπινθὴρ ἐν κινήσει καρδίας ἡμῶν· οὗ σβεσθέντος, τέφρα ἀποβήσεται τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν διαχυθήσεται ὡς χαῦνος ἀήρ.—Sap. ii. 2, 3.] And that which, he thus saith, went into the air, is it which in Christ is said κατελθεῖν εἰς ᾅδου, to have gone, or descended, though not locally, yet from a superior to an inferior state, to Hades, that state of separation of soul from body, which doth not by any necessity imply or import the place of the damned in hell. So in Nicodemus' Gospel there is mention of the saints that are in ᾅδης, and rejoice there.

["When all the multitude of saints that were in hell heard this they were wondrous joyful and merry."—Nicodemus' Gospel, by John Cousturier, p. 50.]

[m] ὁ θάνατος· καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτοῦ.

[n] ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης.

[o] ἐκ θανάτου καὶ ἐξ ᾅδου.

[p] προπέμπειν εἰς ᾅδην.

[q] εἰς ᾅδου.

[r] [καὶ ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀνήγαγεν νεκρούς· καταβὰς γὰρ μόνος, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ συνήγειρεν πολλούς, εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνέβη.]—Euseb. Hist. Eccles., lib. i. [c. 13. ad fin. p. 41.]

[s] καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδην μόνος, ἀνῆλθε δὲ μετὰ πλήθους.—[S. Ignat. Ep. Interp. ad Trall., tom. ii. p. 67.]

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words, to Hades, yet Hades cannot there be thought to signify the place of the damned, unless Christ shall be conceived to have returned from thence also with a great multitude; which though it were perhaps agreeable with some men's fancies[t], yet cannot easily be resolved to be the meaning of those ancient writers, or of that text to which they refer, "that the bodies of many that had slept arose," &c., for I conceive out of hell[u] there was not in their opinion any such possibility of rising.

[Matt. xxvii. 52.]

So in the second book of Esdras, iv. 41, "In the grave, the chambers of souls are like the womb of a woman[x]:" where though we render 'in the grave,' yet without question the Greek was *ἐν ᾅδῃ*, 'in Hades;' and so Hades is that state of souls in the separation, wherein he conceived there were divers cells, which all desired to return, and pour back, the souls which were in them to the bodies again, as a woman when she comes to time of childbirth, desires to bring forth. I have now wearied you sufficiently with an account of this second interpretation and the grounds of it; and I shall add but this, that as it may piously be believed, that Christ did in the space of those three days locally de-

[t] As of those that teach that Christ going to hell, was met and believed on by the heathen philosophers there, and particularly by Plato in the front, and brought them out along with Him.

[u] Some books there are called the Sibylline Oracles, in all probability written by some Christian, and that an ancient one, about the emperor Commodus's time, it is by many circumstances most probable. [For an account of the Sibylline oracles, see Prideaux's Connection, vol. ii. p. 671, sqq. and the authors referred to by him.] In the first book of these, after the creation and fall of man, there is mention of his death and mortal state; and upon occasion of this close, *τοὺς δ' αὖ ὑπεδέξατο ᾅδης*, 'Hades received them all,' this account is given of the word *ᾅδης*:

ᾅδην δ' αὖτε κάλεσσαν, ἐπεὶ πρῶτος μόλεν Ἀδὰμ,
γευσάμενος θανάτου, γαία δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε·
τοὔνεκα δὴ πάντες οἱ ἐπιχθόνιοι γεγαῶτες
ἀνέρες εἰν ἀΐδαο δόμοις ἰέναι καλέονται.
[ἀλλ' οὗτοι πάντες καὶ εἰν ἀΐδαο μολοῦντες,
τιμὴν ἔσχηκαν καὶ ἐπὶ πρῶτον μένος ἦσαν.—Sib. Or. i. 88. p. 82.]

Where it is clear what is meant by that word *ᾅδης*, 'the common state of the dead,' when their bodies are laid in the grave, the condition not only of the wicked, nor only of the godly, but of all mortal men, who, as follows there, 'when they were gone to Hades, were honoured by us:' whereas the giants had their *ταρτάρεον δόμον γέενναν*, which is hell indeed, there being no so proper notion of hell in the Old Testament, as the place of the Rephaim or giants, Prov. xxi. 16, ix. 18, ii. 18, in the Hebrew and Greek reading.

[——ἔμολον δ' ὑπὸ ταρτάρεον δόμον, αἰνὸν
δεσμοῖς ἀῤῥήκτοις πεφυλαγμένοι, ἐξαποτίσαι
εἰς γέεναν μαλεροῦ λάβρου πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο.—Sib. Or. i. 108. p. 90.]

So in Diphilus [ap. Clem. Al. Str. lib. v.]

καὶ γὰρ καθ' ᾅδην δυὸ τρίβους νομίζομεν·
μιὰν δικαίων· χἀτέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδόν.

Vide Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 205. note q. on p. 282.

[x] In inferno promptuaria animarum matrici assimilata sunt. [Vulg.]

scend, to shew Himself triumphantly to the devils: so they that on the premised grounds resolve it possible, that there may be no more concluded from this article but only that Christ being "crucified, dead, and buried," continued in the state of the dead, His soul really separated from the body for some space, but not so long till His body should putrefy in the grave, (to which it follows aptly, that "the third day He rose again," or was restored from that state,) may be pious believers also, and offend nothing against the creeds or doctrine of our, or of the ancient, Church, so they do not condemn those others that are contrary-minded. I meant not to have insisted on any such speculative difficulty, yet upon your demand I have given you an account of it. SECT. II.

S. I acknowledge it somewhat distant from your designed method, yet conceive myself to have profited by it, if in nothing else, yet in knowing my duty to myself and others in matters of this nature, which may piously be believed on either side. The Lord grant me the spirit of meekness and charity in all things. You will now proceed to that which follows after the articles of Christ's death, to wit, that of His resurrection.

C. The practical belief of Christ's resurrection is, 1. Our actual rising to new life, as necessary as that of mortification premised. 2. Our appearing, as He did, to men, and walking exemplarily before them in all heavenly living. 3. Our continuing in a sanctified state of perseverance, (noted, as I conceive, by "we shall live with Him," i. e. live this new life, if we do not treacherously ruin ourselves, again,) as Christ did,—"Who being raised from the dead, died no more, death had no more dominion over Him,"—till by God's mercy we be taken up to bliss. 4. Our depending upon Christ for our justification, which as well as our sanctification is an effect of His rising. 5. Our hastening this resurrection, (parallel to Christ's rising the third day,) not so wholly immersing ourselves with sorrow and humiliation (that grave, as it were, of the mortified soul) as to hinder action and vital performances, but by the power of that "Spirit that raised Jesus from the grave," immediately to rise to new life. The practical belief of Christ's resurrection. Rom. vi. 8. ver. 9. Col. iii. 1; Rom. iv. 25; viii. 33, 34. [Rom. viii. 11.]

S. What is the practical belief of His ascension? Of His ascension.

C. Ascending after, and dwelling with Him in divine medi-

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tation, being heavenly-minded, seeking, and minding, and favouring of those "things that are above," the duty of all those that are "risen with Christ."

Col. iii. 1.

S. What of His sitting at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty?

Of His sitting at the right hand of God.

C. That phrase of "sitting," &c. signifies Christ's reigning, His having all power given to Him: you may see it by comparing Psalm cx. 1, with 1 Cor. xv. 25. In one place it is, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at My right hand until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool;" in the other, "He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet." This you have formerly learned to be a union of His regal and priestly office; His giving commands to His Church, and His interceding with God for His Church, and that so powerfully, as actually to bestow that grace, that pardon which He intercedes for. And this is farther noted by those titles there repeated of "God the Father Almighty," that intercession of His to God being as to a Father (both of Him and us) who will, and to a "Father Almighty," who is able to grant whatsoever He prays for. And then the practical belief of this article will be, first, to give myself up obediently to be ruled by Him, in all His institutions and commands, and by all those that He hath set in the Church under Him to rule over me. Secondly, to depend on His intercession, to offer up all our prayers to God in and through Him. Thirdly, to receive, and make the holiest use and advantages of, all grace that shall flow from Him. And fourthly, when He is so ready at hand to our relief, to resolve to look to Him in all temptations, and count it our wretchless abuse of His goodness, if we do not persevere in despite of all assaults to the contrary.

Of His coming to judge.

S. What of His coming from that right hand in heaven, "to judge both the quick and the dead?"

C. Our constant making up our accounts against His coming, as daily expecting a righteous, though a gracious, Judge to sit upon us, according to those many titles we have of Him in holy writ: as Isa. xxxiii. 22, "The Lord," i. e. Christ, as appears ver. 17, 18, "is our Judge, our Lawgiver, our King," and then our Saviour; "the Lord Jesus taking vengeance in flaming fire;" so "the wrath of the Lamb," and the "searcher of the reins and heart," the expression of

2 Thess. i. 8.
Rev. vi. 16.
Rev. ii. 23.

a Judge. A notion which of all others will bring us to a pious awe of Him, as of one which will not suffer any one sin to be carried along under the disguise of religion, or on confidence of His favour, but, against all provokers, shall come from His throne (though it be of mercy) in heaven, to judge us here: one that is not to be moved with passions, with bribes, with flatteries, to punish or reward according to any other method or rule, but only that of "every man according to his works." [Rev. xx. 13.] SECT. II.

S. Will you now proceed to those other articles, and first, that of the "Holy Ghost?" SECT. III.

C. The word 'Ghost' signifies 'Spirit;' which being by way of excellence a title of God's, "God is a Spirit," and so here attributed to Him, and denoting the third Person in the Trinity, which is also the fountain and spring of all spiritual life in us, is here called Holy: not so principally, because He is holy in Himself, i. e. pure without all mixture or composition, either of sin, or corruption, or pollution, or hypocrisy, or partiality, and all this in a most eminent degree, nothing in the world being thus beside: but more punctually, because He is the author of all holiness and purity in us; that little weak degree of sanctity that the most regenerate among us do attain to, being a ray and effusion of that sanctifying Spirit, which worketh in us by His preventing, sanctifying and assisting grace, "both to will and to do of His good pleasure." This the Holy Ghost doth by two ways of dispensation, 1. outward, 2. inward. The outward way was His visible descending upon the Apostles, and fitting them with graces, and instating them with powers to plant and preserve and govern the Church of Christ over the world. Of the Holy Ghost. [John iv. 24.] [Phil. ii. 13.] His way of sanctifying. The outward.

S. What were those powers?

C. 1. To preach, and baptize those that received their doctrine, and so to plant a Christian Church. 2. To confirm those whom they had baptized, and to administer the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, and so to preserve or establish those whom they had planted. 3. To exercise the power of the keys in censures, punishing the pertinacious, casting them out of the Church, that they may be ashamed, and so think fit to reform their wicked lives, and upon approbation of their repentance and reformation, absolving, and receiving The powers instated on the Apostles.

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them into the Church again; and all this to govern those whom they had planted and confirmed in the faith. And 4. to ordain others, and commit the same power to those which the Holy Ghost had settled in themselves, and so to provide a ministry of His holy celestial calling, sent by Joh. xx. 21. Christ, as He was by His Father, to continue by succession from one to the other, to the end of the world. All which donations and instatings were the acts of the Holy Ghost's descent, beside the extraordinary gifts of tongues and miracles, &c., needful for those first times, to "preach to all nations" intelligibly, and to gain belief to their preaching, but not so necessary after: and in respect of these He is styled the Paraclete, which is a word of a larger significancy than any one English word can express, and therefore is thought fit not to be translated, but retained in other languages, Syriac and Latin, and will best be rendered by these three severals, according to the notation of that word in Greek[y], first, Advocate, secondly, Comforter, yea, and thirdly, Exhorter too.

His office of advocate to Christ.

S. What do you mean by the Holy Ghost being an advocate?

C. Two things; He came to be an advocate both of Christ, and of us: of Christ, in pleading His cause against the incredulous world, which is set down John xvi. 8, and expressed by a threefold conviction, (it being the advocate's part to Tit. i. 9. convince[z] and confute, shame and silence the adversary,) 1. 'of sin,' 2. 'of righteousness,' 3. 'of judgment.'

S. What is the meaning of those three convictions?

The three convictions.

C. Among the Jews there were three sorts of causes or actions: first, in criminal matters, which here word for word is rendered 'of sin[a].' Secondly, for the defending and vindicating of the just and innocent, called in Hebrew by a phrase which is again literally rendered 'of righteousness[b].' Thirdly, for the condemning of the wicked, which is as literally that which we there read 'of judgment[c].' Now these three actions the Holy Ghost was to manage on Christ's

[y] ὁ παράκλητος.
[z] ἐλέγχειν.
[a] לחטא, περὶ ἁμαρτίας.
[b] לצדקה, περὶ δικαιοσύνης.
[c] למשפט, περὶ κρίσεως. Of these two last, vid. Schindleri Lexicon Pentaglotton, p. 1521 C.

behalf, as an advocate for a client, against the incredulous gainsaying world. First, He should convince the world of that great crime committed in not believing, but rejecting of Christ, and that by legal evidence of that law, which was on purpose to discriminate the true Messias from all false pretenders, where it is resolved, that if the prophecies of a prophet come not to pass, then he is a false prophet; but if they do, he is a true one. And therefore the very coming of the Spirit, after the ascension of Christ, being the thing prophesied by Christ in this place, and so His prophecy fulfilled, shall be a legal proof of this crime of theirs, in not receiving Christ thus testified and demonstrated to be a true prophet; which sure was the reason why it was not, as Christ saith, so dangerous or irremissible to oppose Christ at His presence on the earth, as it would be to blaspheme or oppose the Holy Ghost. Secondly, He should convince the world that Christ was a most righteous Person, and most unjustly crucified, and so vindicate and defend His innocent client, by His assumption to heaven, and participation of His Father's glory, (which assumption of His is expressed by that phrase, "you see Me no more [d]," both here and elsewhere, because at His ascension it is said, "a cloud received Him out of their sight,") which was a certain argument of His righteousness or innocence. Under which also may be contained that imputed righteousness of His to us by way of satisfaction, together with those imperfect beginnings of sanctification wrought in our hearts by the power of His resurrection, and a most proper effect of His ascension, intercession, and exercise of His kingly power in heaven. Thirdly, He should use a third argument to convince the world, to wit, that taken from the judging, condemning, sentencing, and executing His adversary, even the prince of this world, the devil, who being the first contriver of Christ's death, is now repaid in his kind by way of retaliation, in a manner destroyed and slain, turned out of his kingdom, (which is a kind of civil death to him, and so called by the voice in Plutarch [e],) by the silencing of his oracles, turning out of idolatry and heathenish vices, which before without control had reigned in the world.

SECT. III.

Deut. xviii. 22.

ver. 18.

Matt. xii. 31.

Acts i. 9.

[d] οὐκ ἔτι θεωρεῖτέ με.

[e] Πὰν μέγας τέθνηκε.—Plutarch. de Orac. defect. [tom. ii. p. 419.]

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To which it was also consequent, that all Satan's instruments should pay very dear for their infidel rebellious actions, in like manner as Satan himself was used for his riotous behaviour against our Christ.

S. You have shewed me how He was Christ's advocate, you said also that He was ours: how is He so?

To us.

C. In settling a ministry to pray and intercede for their several congregations, (and enabling them in the very Apostles' time to form a liturgy, of which several passages remain unto us at this day, to continue in the Church to that end,) and thereby helping our infirmities, and teaching us to pray as we ought.

S. How is He a comforter?

His office of comforter.

C. In divulging that excellent comfortable news of the gospel, the promises of pardon and grace to them that want comfort.

Exhorter.

S. How is He an exhorter?

C. In the doctrine of repentance, and of flying from the wrath to come, and walking worthy of that great calling. And in the exercise of all these titles and offices, as by a first external means, the Holy Ghost is said to work all manner of sanctity in our hearts. Besides this, there is an inward means, the secret preventions, excitations, overshadowings, and assistances of that Spirit, all absolutely necessary to beget and continue holiness in the heart; and all these attending those outward administrations just now mentioned, and constantly going along with them, as breath goes along with words, and hallowing them to the worthy receiver, the obedient disciple.

Belief in the Holy Ghost.

S. What is it now to believe in this Holy Ghost?

C. 1. To acknowledge the truth of all this, that it is, as from the word of God it might more particularly appear, as here hath been explained. 2. To accommodate our practice accordingly, to conform it to this faith. As first, to submit to those spiritual pastors, &c., whom the Holy Ghost hath set over us, and for them again to be careful of that flock of which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers. Secondly, not to intrude upon or usurp that holy calling without a lawful vocation, and such as may justify itself to be from heaven. Thirdly, to obey all those several powers, to come

in to the preaching of the word, to fit myself for the sacrament or initiation, and bring others to it; so again, for confirmation, and the Sacrament of Christ's body, to examine and shrive ourselves, and so eat of that bread, &c., to fear the censures, and, if we are under them, by confession, contrition, works of mercy, and all kind of reformation, to labour for absolution. And in all these, fourthly, humbly to invoke God's special grace, that it may go along with these outward ordinances, and to watch and observe, and receive it in the use of them, and lay it up in an honest heart, and bring forth fruit with patience, and neither to resist, repel, nor grieve, nor "quench that Holy Spirit of God, whereby we are sealed," if we do not betray ourselves, "unto the day of redemption." [Eph. iv. 30; 1 Thess. v. 19.]

SECT. III.

S. What is the meaning of "the holy catholic Church?"

SECT. IV. Of the holy catholic Church. Catholic.

C. The word 'catholic' signifies 'universal,' dispersed or extended all the world over; in opposition to the former state of the Jewish Church, which was an inclosure divided from all the world beside, in time of the law; whereas now the gospel is preached to all the world, and, by those powers of the Holy Ghost forementioned, a Church with all those ministrations in it is constituted over all the world. This Church is a society of believers, ruled and continued according to those ordinances, with the use of the Sacraments, preaching of the word, censures, &c., under bishops or pastors, succeeding those on whom the Holy Ghost came down, and (by receiving ordination of those that had that power before them, i. e. of the bishops of the Church, the continued successors of the Apostles) lawfully called to those offices. And in respect, first, of these holy powers and offices; and secondly, of the Holy Ghost, the author and founder of them; thirdly, of the sanctity of life that ought to be in these, and all Christian professors; and fourthly, of the end, the beginning and increase of holiness, to which the very constituting of a Church was designed; in these four respects, I say, it is that this catholic Church is called 'holy.'

Holy.

S. What is it to believe "the holy catholic Church?"

Believing the holy catholic Church.

C. To acknowledge that all the world over, by the ministry of the Apostles such a Church was gathered, and by the

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Holy Ghost endued with those foresaid powers, (and so shall in some measure continue unto the end of the world, the [Matt. xvi. 18.] "gates of hell," i. e. the most fatal dangers, destruction, and death itself, "being not able to prevail against it,") within which whosoever lives and dies, a faithful obedient son of it, shall be eternally rewarded by the great Husband of His Church, our Saviour in heaven.

S. What is the practical part of this belief?

The practical part of it.

C. The living peaceably, charitably, faithfully, and obediently within this fold of the universal Church, yielding all reverence to the decrees and doctrines of it; and in [Heb. xiii. 17.] every particular or national Church, "obeying them that have the rule over us," labouring to preserve both unity of faith and charity with all our fellow-brethren, both in that and all other particular Churches; and not breaking into factions, parties, divisions, subdivisions; but labouring our utmost to approve ourselves holy members of that holy catholic Church, by unity, charity, brotherly love, ensuing and contending for peace, and all other branches of Christian purity.

Of the communion of saints.

S. Now follows "the communion of saints;" what do you mean by that?

C. I conceive that the word rendered 'communion,' doth most properly and usually signify 'communication,' (in that sense as to communicate[f] signifies to give[g], to impart or distribute to others, to make others partakers of any spiritual or corporal gift,) 'beneficence and liberality:' and that either to the bodily indigencies of the poor saints, as many times in the New Testament[h] the word signifies; or else by any other way of charity and mercy, which you know is then greatest when it is expressed to men's souls, by advice,

[f] *κοινωνεῖν.*

[g] *τίς γὰρ ἂν φθονήσειε τῷ κοινωνοῦντι καὶ διδόντι τῶν μετρίων*; Lucian. Epist. Saturn. [tom. iii. p. 413.] *Εὐποιεῖν καὶ κοινωνεῖν*, Heb. xiii. 16.

[h] So *κοινωνίαν ποιήσασθαι*, Rom. xv. 26, "to make a contribution or gathering for the poor:" *τὴν χάριν, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους*, "charity and liberality of administering toward the saints," 2 Cor. viii. 4: *ἁπλότης τῆς κοινωνίας*, "liberal distribution," 2 Cor. ix. 13: *κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, "liberality toward the Gospel," i. e. "toward the ministers and propagation of it," Phil. i. 5: *κοινωνία τῆς πίστεως*, Philem. 6, "liberality to the poor saints," proceeding from his faith, expressed ver. 5, "by love and faith to the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints;" "faith to the Lord Jesus, and love or charity toward all saints, by which their bowels were refreshed," ver. 7: *εὐμετάδοτοι, κοινωνικοί*, 1 Tim. vi. 18.

counsel, reprehension, spiritual conference betwixt man and man, and in any kind of effusion of grace from God to us. Thus in St. Paul's solemn form of benediction, after the mention of "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," i. e. His bounty and goodness, "and the love of God," i. e. the same again in another word, is added, "the communication of the Holy Ghost[i]," i. e. the liberal distribution of all those gifts which flow from Him, the conduit of all grace, "be with you all evermore." SECT. IV. [2 Cor. xiii. 14.]

S. But how do you apply this notion of the word to the matter in hand, I mean to the interpreting of this article of the creed?

C. Thus, that it shall contain in it two things especially, according to the two kinds of liberality mentioned, corporal and spiritual. For the first, we find in many passages of the Acts, that at the first preaching of the Apostles, many came in and believed, and they that did so, "sold their goods and possessions, and distributed them to all, as every one had need," and "had all things common," "and exercised liberality[k]," or charity, "toward all the people." And this is called by this very word which we render 'communion[l],' but signifies 'communication.' And then the most literal importance of the phrase, 'communication of saints[m],' or 'of the saints,' will be this matter of fact, set down in that apostolical story, viz. the general practice of all believers in the first age of Christianity, to live together in that most liberal, charitable manner, every man communicating what he had to the others' wants, and to that purpose, "bringing the price of their estates, and laying it at the Apostles' feet," and making them the stewards of their liberality. This was so eminent an act of Christian charity, so lively a character of primitive saints, so immediately and remarkably consequent to the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, that it may well deserve to be put into our creed[n], next after the

Two parts of it. Liberality. Acts ii. 45. ver. 44. ver. 47. ver. 42. [Acts iv. 34, 35.]

[i] κοινωνία πνεύματος ἁγίου.

[k] ἔχοντες χάριν.

[l] κοινωνία.

[m] κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων.

[n] This interpretation I now see to have been accepted by the learned Hugo Grotius on 2 Cor. viii. 15, where speaking of the rich men's liberality, qua sustentabantur pauperiores, he saith, spectat et huc ea quam in symbolo profitemur sanctorum communio, "the communion of saints in the creed belongs to this matter." [Op. tom. ii. vol. ii. p. 849.] I only wonder, why having fallen upon this notion, he did not in those notes apply it to Acts ii. 42, where the very word κοινωνία in this

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article of the Holy Ghost, and as a branch of that of the holy catholic Church, meaning that of the Apostles' age; and accordingly the Nicene Creed joineth them both in one, "the holy catholic and Apostolic Church:" and then you will presently know what it is to believe this article, viz. to assent to that relation of Scripture, and from those examples to learn that most excellent Christian grace of charity and liberality to all the fellow-members of our Christ, and at least to retain some considerable degree of it in the actions of our future lives, remembering that it is the part of the faith of Christ to loosen the miser's hand, to enlarge his heart, to melt him into that soft temper, and incline him to make others partakers of that plenty which he hath received from God, to practise that bounty toward all, which we see so hugely exemplified by Christ to mankind.

S. What else is contained in this article?

Spiritual expressions of love.

C. I told you there was another kind of charity and communicativeness, the spiritual expressions of love, which have been, are, and ought still to be among all holy men, all saints, all Christians. And this is of many sorts, but may briefly be contained in this, the performing all Christian offices of love one to another: first, praying with and for one another, (and he that separates himself from other Christians, and hath not charity enough to pray with them, or that is so proud or malicious that he will not pray for all men, especially all Christians, when Christ did pray for His very crucifiers, is far enough from this charity;) secondly, praising God with and for one another, a duty continued mutually betwixt us and the very glorified saints in heaven, so far as is most commodious to the condition of each, the saints in rest and joy daily praying for their younger brethren the Church, and the saints in the camp on earth praising God for those revelations of His grace and glory to their elder brethren in heaven. And the very believing this as a duty that Christianity hath made us to be so much concerned in, will have a full influence on our practice, I need not insist to shew you how.

sense is observable; and am by that, and some other κριτήρια in those annotations of his on the Acts and Epistles, inclined to conjecture that that volume had not received his last care and survey before his death.

SECT. IV.

Of remission of sins.

S. What is the meaning of the article "remission of sins?" The words I understand, and conceive them to signify God's pardon of all trespasses committed against Him, the same which you interpreted to me in the Lord's prayer; but what is to be my meaning when I say, I believe it? Is every man bound to believe that his sins are pardoned?

What belief of it is required.

C. That the sins of any particular man are actually pardoned to him is not the meaning of this article, there being no revelation of God's in Scripture (which alone can be the object of faith), concerning the state of any particular person, any farther than, from the general promises of pardon to all true penitents, he shall, upon examination of himself, and finding that he is of that number, be able to pronounce unto himself; or than another, a minister especially, whose office it is, having a clear view of his conscience, can pronounce unto him: neither of which being infallible in their pronouncings, it cannot yet be matter of faith to him. That which is the article of faith here, is, that by the death and sufferings of Christ there is pardon and remission to be had for sinners, (which all the legal performances could not help any man to, those being only a remembrance, or 'commemoration of sins[o],' no means of power or efficacy to work remission,) that the having forfeited our perfect unsinning innocence in paradise, shall not, on condition we return to God sincerely, be able to exclude us from God's favour and grace here, nor from heaven hereafter. This article is so near of kin to the doctrine of the second covenant, set down in the first part of our conference[p], that I shall need only to refer you to that place, and not to enlarge any farther on it.

Heb. x. 3.

S. But what is the practical belief of this article?

The practical belief of it.

C. 1. To set myself sincerely to the performance of that condition, on which the remission of sins in the gospel is promised and purchased for us. 2. To continue in full assurance of hope toward God, that if we perform our part, God in Christ will never fail in His. 3. To pray to God in Christ daily for this mercy. 4. To continue in the most melting state of humility and meekness, as remembering that all our good that we do, or can attain to in this life or another, sanctification, or glorification, is utterly unimpu-

[o] ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν.

[p] [Vide lib. i. sect. i. p. 4 sqq.]

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table to us, or any thing in us, and wholly to be acknowledged the purchase of Christ, who alone hath delivered us from the punishment of our sins, both as that is deprivation of the vision of God hereafter, and of His grace here; all the strength that any Christian hath to resist any sin, being a consequent of this remission of sins, i. e. of God's being reconciled unto us in Christ, not imputing our trespasses.

[2 Cor. v. 19.]

Of the resurrection of the body.

S. I shall now invite you on to the next article, "the resurrection of the body:" what is the thing professed to be believed in that article?

C. The certainly future restoration or rising again of this very same flesh of ours out of the grave, which by the curse of God inflicted on sin doth go down thither. The punishment on all mankind upon Adam's fall, was "dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return," mortality, or a decree for all men "once to die." This being a heavy punishment indeed, if it had not been allayed or removed by Christ, is now by Him extremely softened, that though it do still constantly befall the universality of men, "death passing on all, in that all have sinned," yet all the bitter noxious part of death shall be taken away, as far as concerns the faithful servants of Christ, the sting of death being by Him plucked out, and so the grave turned into a dormitory or retiring-room, a place where the bodies rest in a sound sleep, till they be awakened unto bliss.

[Gen. xiii. 19.]

[Heb. ix. 7.]

[Rom. v. 12.]

S. But how will it be possible for dead bodies, mouldered to ashes, and then blown over the face of the earth, or devoured by wild beasts, and those again devoured by worms, or by other men, to rise again or return to their former estate?

The possibility of it.

C. That power that "raised Jesus from the dead, will also quicken our dead bodies," the last trump will call all men out of the dust, and God, that made all out of nothing, can surely restore our bodies again to us, however transmuted: and that He will do so, you have both the plain affirmations of the Scripture, ("Christ is the first fruits of them that sleep," and then all the heap must one day follow, the head being risen, the body cannot remain long behind; and at large you have it asserted, 1 Cor. xv.,) and the judgment of reason itself though not telling us how, yet making it reasonable to believe

[Rom. viii. 11.]

[1 Cor. xv. 20.]

that it will be so, because otherwise our bodies, which are both the instruments and co-partners of all sin and all righteous actions and sufferings, will be left unpunished and unrewarded.

S. What is the practical belief of this article?

The practical belief of it.

C. The keeping our bodies in a rising condition, neither by uncleanness, nor drunkenness, nor worldly-mindedness, nor sloth, nailing ourselves to the earth, or mire, or dunghill; but in purity, and sobriety, and heavenly-mindedness, and industry, fitting our bodies for that heavenly, divine condition, to which after the grave we expect to be advanced. Secondly, the praying to God for this perfection of bliss, not only to ourselves, but also to those who in soul are already entered into God's rest, that their bodies being joined to their souls, they may continually dwell together, like brethren, in unity, that good and joyful life. [Psalm cxxxiii. 1.]

The quality of the bodies raised.

S. But what kind of bodies shall those be after they be raised?

C. Spiritual bodies. First, in respect of the qualities, spiritualized into a high agility, rarity, clarity, and such as will render them most commodious habitations for the soul, made partaker of that divine vision. Secondly, in respect of the principle of life and motion, which in natural bodies is some natural principle; but in these is the Spirit of God, which shall sustain them without eating or drinking, &c. 1 Cor. xv. 44.

S. What is the practical belief of this?

The practical belief of that.

C. 1. Endeavouring toward these excellences here, mortifying and subduing the carnal principle, and making it as tame and tractable as may be, and altogether complying with the Spirit. Secondly, raising up our souls, i. e. labouring that they be, and continue in a regenerate state, and not burying them in that worst kind of grave, the carnal affections and lusts, which is the most dangerous death imaginable.

S. You are now come to the last article, "the life everlasting;" what will you afford me to that subject?

Of the life everlasting.

C. Only this, that the life which we lead here is a finite, short, feeble life, for some seventy years, if neither enemy, nor disease, nor distemper cast down this brittle building sooner; but the life that follows that resurrection of the body, is an infinite, everlasting, endless state in endless joys

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to every true penitent believer, but in endless woe to every contumacious provoker.

S. What is the practical belief of this?

The practical belief of it.

C. To weigh and ponder these two so distant states together, and never to think fit to forfeit that eternal bliss, and incur that eternal woe, for any transitory joy, or honour, or gain, or ease, or relief from the cross, the companion of the godly in this life, for those few minutes that are allowed us here. Secondly, to use and improve that moment here so as it may be a foundation of eternity.

S. Before you leave the article of everlasting life, which I see belongs to an eternity of bliss on one side, and of woes on the other, I beseech you satisfy me in one difficulty, which is ready to shake my faith, and it is this; how it can agree with God's justice and goodness, with any kind of equity in Him, that the sins and pleasures of a few years of ours, that bring us in so poor a present income of delights and joys, should be paid for so dear with endless woes; there being no proportion indeed betwixt this so finite and that infinite. Some answers I have heard given to this doubt: as first that our sins are against an infinite Deity, and secondly, that if we should live infinitely, we would sin infinitely. But methinks these are but niceties, which satisfy not at all; I believe I could by ordinary reason, and the grounds which you have given me, shew you how.

The endless punishment of sinners.

The true ground of it.

C. You shall not need, for I shall render you another account of your scruple; and first tell you, that the right understanding of it will prove a piece of divinity, which as it is a foundation of all good practice, so may chance to stand you in stead for all your future consultations concerning your soul.

S. What then is the ground of this judgment of God?

The choice given us by God to live or perish.

C. The choice and option that God hath given all men in His word, either to return and live, or to go on and perish everlastingly: the two kinds of retributions, two eternities, which are put into our hands by God, by way of covenant, to have our parts in one of them, which soever we shall choose; the compact being so made between God and us, that they which are offered one, if they will not accept of those terms on which that is offered, do, for that

despising, by the tenure of the same covenant, fall into the other. "Indignation and anger and wrath to them that work evil," that go on unreformed in any such course; but "to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, eternal life." Had there been nothing but happiness created, and all men decreed to that blissful state, heaven had been our fate, but not our crown, our destiny, but not our reward; and a rational man would perhaps have been a disputing, why man should be so eternally happy, why such a short weak practice of piety should be so hugely and so everlastingly rewarded: and so on the other side, if hell had opened her mouth wide, and enclosed all, had all men absolutely been decreed to those fatal chains, a rational man would have been ready to tell you, that this[q] were to make men innocent, but lay blame enough on God: and so there had been little of reason on either side. But God that hath made us rational men, hath provided rational rewards for us, a rational tribunal and judicature, a rational bliss and woe; not only every man repaid according to his works, adjudged to hell by a righteous judge, and to heaven by a righteous judge also, but even allowed satisfaction to all his scruples: if he come not to bliss, he shall see it is his own wretchless contempt which hath kept him from it. "Behold," saith He by Moses, "I set before you life and death, blessing and cursing;" eternity of joys in the hand of an easy obedience, a gracious blessed "yoke[r]," (which he that takes upon him cheerfully shall find "rest to his soul," live the most admirable joyous life of felicities here, and pass from a paradise to a throne,) and eternity of miseries to him that will fall in love with them, and to no man else. "For God made not death," at least made it not for man (paradise was created for him), "the everlasting fire was prepared for the devil and his angels;" "but ungodly men with their words and works called it to them," committed a kind of riot upon hell, invaded Lucifer's peculiar, and, if you mark, strive more

SECT. IV.

Rom. ii. 7.

[Deut. xxx. 19.]

[Matt. xxv. 41.] Wisd. i. 16.

[q] [τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ μόνον ἐκ θεῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν θείων σωμάτων διοικεῖσθαι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σωματικὴν φύσιν εὔλογόν τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀληθές· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑγιειάν τε καὶ νόσον εὐτυχίας τε καὶ δυστυχίας κατ' ἀξίων ἐκεῖθεν γίνεσθαι, ὁ λόγος εὑρίσκει· τὸ δὲ ἀδικίας τε καὶ ἀσελγείας ἐκ τῆς εἱμαρμένης διδόναι,] ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς ποιεῖν ἐστι κακούς.— Sallust. de Diis et Mundo. [c. 9. p. 261.]

[r] χρηστὸς ζυγός.

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vehemently for their portion in that lake of brimstone, endure more temporal hardship in their passage thither, than any martyr in his fiery chariot of ascent toward heaven. And then, I hope, you would if you were an atheist, confess, that he that takes such pains for it, is worthy "to take his portion[s]" with it, to have that pay which he hath merited so dearly.

[Wisd. i. 16.]

S. I acknowledge my scruple satisfied, and myself obliged (if it be but for the honour and awe I owe[t] to my own soul, if but to save my reputation in the world, that I be not such an abject stupid fool) to retract my choice, to call back the hostages I have given to Satan, those pledges of my soul, (whatever faculty hath at any time been sent out to him, in design or hope to bring me in some slight joy,) and for the future to set out a more rational, more justifiable voyage.

C. The Lord confirm and prosper you in that resolution, and bring all other imprudent men timely into the same thoughts.

S. But may there not be place for some farther doubt and question in this matter? especially this which I shall now propound to you: how can it be truly said, that the eternity of the sinner's punishment is founded on the choice and option given him by God, when man in his nature, as now he is, hath not liberty of choice, at least, no indifferency to good and evil, but an invincible proneness and inclination to evil?

Of free-will.

C. You have proposed a question of some intricacy and difficulty, yet shall I give you account of it, so far as may seem of use to you: and I shall do it by laying this foundation. That the nature of man, created after the image of God, I mean his reasonable nature, hath such an agreement and liking to all that is substantially and really good,—such are all the commands of the natural and Christian law,—that it still canvasseth on that side, and solicits the will to embrace the good, and prefer it before the pleasurable evil; and generally thus it doth, but when some distemper or disease is upon it: only the will, which being a free, is not always a regular and obedient faculty, that doth not always hearken

[s] λαβεῖν μερίδα.

[t] [πάντων δὲ μάλιστ'] αἰσχύνεο σαυτον.—Pythag. [Aur. Carm. 12. This reference, which occurs in the edition of 1646, has been omitted, probably by accident, in the subsequent editions.]

to the advice and inclinations of the reasonable nature, but, the truth is, doth very often very contrary to reason, and so doth most frequently choose ill; yet doth it not constantly so, but sometimes it hears reason, and chooses good. And indeed, this very disobeying of reason, the not hearing the dictates of the understanding, is an evidence concerning the will of man, that it is no natural or necessary, but a spontaneous, arbitrary, free agent. And it were happy, if experience did not give us this proof of it.

S. But have you not let fall a passage, which being taken up, will keep this arguing of yours from concluding to your advantage? For when you said, that diseased nature doth choose that which is ill, is not that also appliable to the will; which since the fall of man is diseased, and so may desire ill, and necessarily desire it, and be no more blameable for doing so, than the sick man for having a sickly distempered palate and appetite, though nature, i. e. healthy nature, always desires good?

C. The advantage you have laid hold on against my arguing was purposely let fall that you might lay hold on it; and therefore I shall readily acknowledge the will of man since the fall to be, as you say, diseased, and as an effect of that disease, so strongly inclined to ill, that, unless it be by the Spirit of God drawn and converted to good, it is not imaginable that it will choose it. To this purpose therefore it is that Christ, who came to cure the diseased, sent also the Spirit to perfect their cures: and then there is as little doubt, but that the will being by the grace of God recovered to some tolerable health, it may, being thus set at liberty, by the strength of that grace, choose that good which the Spirit inclines it to, and to which eternal reward is promised by God on purpose to take part with the understanding, and with the virtuous object in the canvass against the sensitive, and to fit and qualify the good to be chosen by the will, before the evil.

S. It is reasonable which you say; but doth not there arise from hence another difficulty? For if there be an eternal reward proposed by God to the virtuous liver, will not this, to him that doth believe it, become so prevalent a weight, that it must necessarily sink it down that way;

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and so, first, deprive the will of its liberty to the contrary evil, and that is as contrary to the judgment to come, and secondly, make the virtuous liver incapable of reward, who it appears, doth all for the love of that reward, and not for the love of virtue?

C. Your objection consists of two parts; one presses against the liberty of the will to do evil, the other against the rewardableness of the good which is chosen upon intuition of the reward. The first will be easily answered by experience: for how oft doth he that verily believeth the unchangeable truth of all the promises of the gospel, and so that eternal reward to virtuous living, permit himself nevertheless to be seduced by worldly or carnal temptations to vicious actions, and so demonstrate, that the most precious reward of eternal bliss doth not so violently weigh down the scale for virtue, but that vice may still possibly carry against it? As for the other difficulty, though it be greater, and withal less necessary to the clearing of the point now in hand; yet because it will not be unprofitable to be considered apart, I will give you my thoughts of it, thus; To add some strength and vigour to the love of virtue, which is not always so strong in man as to incline him to undertake all the difficulties that that course of constant virtue is liable to, God thought fit to propose an eternal reward to him that should persevere in well-doing, counting it necessary to do so, because sometimes life itself must be lost in the pursuit. And doing thus, it was a work of His wisdom (for the preventing the force of your present objection, and to accommodate His economy to the nature of man, as a rational agent) to take care so to dispose this matter, that as He offered a high reward to excite us to the love of virtue, so the desirableness of this reward might be so qualified as not to extinguish the love of virtue, and so make it unrewardable. And the way to do this was; first, to propose such a reward as might be most desirable to virtuous minds, viz. a state either distinctly defined to be a state of continual beholding God, of purity, and obeying Him for ever, without any temptation to the contrary; so that the desiring that reward pre-requires or includes the love of virtue,—whereas if a carnal paradise had been it, virtue might have been pur-

The use of God's proposing reward to man.

sued for ends most contrary to virtue, and so have been followed unwillingly, followed, but not loved,—or else a satisfaction to the mind of man, happiness in general, without defining the manner how, or wherein it particularly consists, save only, that it is the satisfaction of the most excellent part of us, the filling of all our rational thirsts, the gratifying of the man, and not of the beast in us: which kind of reward, as it will be foolishness to the carnal man,—never valued by those that are immersed in the world or flesh, or indeed by any that are not raised to some gust of virtue,—so when it attracts such as those to begin the Christian course, and set out in the ways of virtue,—as we know fear of torments, and even worldly inconveniences, sometimes do,—and perhaps renders them for that present, that state of beginners, acceptable, or not unacceptable to God, supposing that when they come to know virtue, they will love and follow it for itself; yet it never stands them in stead for God's final acceptance, unless they are by Him discerned to be so qualified and inclined, as that they will love and pursue virtue itself when they come to taste of it, and proceed to practise it voluntarily and cheerfully, and not only mercenarily, when opportunities are offered for it. Secondly, as another allay to the desirableness of it, this reward was to be proposed at a distance, and not here to be enjoyed, but hereafter, and the matter of it not evidently to be known, as that twice two make four, but only proposed to and received by faith, that so the greatness and valuableness of it being certain to attract,—and nothing being to be taken off from that; because, first, being infinite, infinite must be taken from it to make it finite; and secondly, being rendered finite, it would then be insufficient to satisfy the mind of man, which desires to be always happy, and had not that desire put in it in vain, and would lose the sense of present happiness if it should apprehend it would ever cease to be happy,—the want of perfect evidence and place of doubting might take off from that infinite greatness, and so from the force of the argument, to pursue it, and leave it so equally balanced with arguments on both sides, that none but a virtuous person that apprehends pleasure in present virtue, and hath his love of virtue for itself, to assist the arguments on that side, would ever

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part with all carnal pleasures and profits, and life itself, in pursuit of it: and accordingly this is observable in the world, that as we easily believe that which we wish, and more hardly that which we have less mind to; so the lover of virtue doth easily come to believe that eternal promise of a spiritual holy life, whereas they that are lovers of pleasures, &c., do either not believe, or not consider it. Thirdly, this reward was to be proposed so immensely great, that nobody that thought God wise, could think He would bestow it on any thing that were not extremely good; and so none but he that loved virtue, and consequently thought that that was the greatest good, should be able to believe that God would thus reward them. And so by this way of infinitely wise economy, these two great provisions were made; first, that human weakness and imbecility should receive some relief; and secondly, that virtuous performances should be capable of reward, and the contrary of punishment. If this suffice not to answer that difficulty, I have then this farther to add to it; 1. that God, that hath thought fit to choose promises as an instrument to attract to virtuous living, will accept and reward him that by the use of that means is brought to that end: and therefore that there is no fear that the desiring or loving of the promises which God hath proposed to us to be desired, and is so useful to add alacrity to the pursuit of dry virtue, which oft brings sufferings along with it, and again to extend the love of virtue to every command of God's, which other lovers of virtue might possibly confine to some few virtues, charity, liberality, &c., which have most taste in them, will ever rob the love and practice of virtue to which it is joined, as a means to advance and cherish it, of that reward which would belong to it, if it were not by this means thus improved: and 2. that however, he that loves virtue for its own sake, and would do so though there were never a heaven hereafter, hath nothing to be objected against him, and yet must be acknowledged to do what he doth for the sake of the present pleasure in virtue, satisfaction of conscience, &c., the preferring of which before more vigorous sensitive pleasures is the virtue in him rewardable, and not the no-pleasantness of it. And consequently, there will be no more reason to prejudge the love of virtue in him that loves it for heaven's sake.

The greatness of God's rewards hereafter, as the graciousness of Christ's yoke here, being both arguments of God's infinite mercy to us in rewarding that virtue to which we have from Him such assistances and invitations, and which is in itself so eligible for itself; but no way objections against His judging men according to works; wherein it is acknowledged there is infinite mercy to the virtuous, and perfect justice, and nothing of extreme severity, to any. Or lastly, if, to acknowledge the utmost imaginable, the loving virtue for the reward be less excellent, and less rewardable, than loving it for itself, yet being still good and rewardable in a lower degree, it was still fit for God to propose these promises to men, because by that means many are and will be attracted and brought in love with virtue, which would not otherwise have been attracted; and so that infinite number of Christians so attracted will recompense that defect of perfection which arises from the hope of the reward. And this withal tends much to the glory of God, which may justly be designed the end of all, which is most illustrated by this means, that men acknowledge to owe to Him the all that ever they receive.

The inevidence of the promises.

S. I have yet one question more, occasioned by what you have said, and it is this; why, if the promises of that eternal reward be so made as to be inevident to men, and to leave them place of doubting, it should be so great a crime in wicked men not to believe those promises, or not to embrace virtue, which their nature gives them so weak a desire to, that they want the assistance of that belief to incite them to the pursuit of it.

C. To this I answer, that though there is, I acknowledge, in this matter some place of doubting, as in all things that are not demonstrative there is; yet I must farther tell you what doubting I mean, only an unjust, irrational doubting, and such as no prudent man would be moved with, or think sufficient to keep him from pursuing any thing that he would otherwise pursue. For when probable arguments are highly probable, and have no other reason to incline any to doubt of them, but only that it is possible it may be otherwise; this is the next degree to necessary, and being the highest that the matter is capable of, for there is no demonstrating

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in morality, any prudent man will be content to build upon it; and he that, upon no stronger grounds to the contrary, will refuse to believe, and by doing so, to pursue his own good, will be accounted extremely imprudent. Where it will be necessary to distinguish of the word 'doubting:' for if by that be meant, what truly and properly it signifies, that which is founded in an equilibration of arguments on both sides, then I never thought or said that there was any place of doubting in this matter; for sure the arguments to prove that Christian religion is true, and consequently, that that eternal reward that is promised to the lover of virtue shall be performed, are far greater than any arguments that are or can be brought against it: but the doubting which I speak of is another weaker and more imperfect sort of doubting, which may remain in a man when the reasons on one side are acknowledged infinitely stronger than on the other, and only do not demonstrate or give evidence, or exclude all possibility, and so doubting, of the contrary. And from hence comes the sin of unbelief; for when wicked men, having no prevailing reason to disbelieve, do yet without any just cause (upon this one occasion, that they have not evidence for what they are required to believe, though yet they have no reason to doubt of it) not only not believe, and practise what belief would incite them to, but do act directly the contrary, even that that no prudent man that had but equal reasons on both sides would ever venture to do; by this it appears, that their love to vice is very vigorous in them, so vigorous, as to make the assent to the arguments which are offered to invite us to a virtuous life not to answer or bear proportion with, but to be much weaker than the arguments: and that must needs be a great fault in any man, and an argument that he neither cares for virtue, nor for the reward of God promised to it, for if he did, the infiniteness of the promise and the desirableness of it would make abundant recompense for the some kind of uncertainty, i. e. inevidence of it; it being certain, that any prudent man would take any ordinary pains, incur any remote and lighter hazard, in pursuit of any thing that were infinitely desirable, and withal but tolerably probable to be obtained. And for a knowing man to do that which is unworthy of such, and

which no knowing prudent man would do, as it is an error in itself, so it is a certain evidence that some habitual vice or prevailing temptation hath been the blinding of him; and from thence doth his guilt arise, and his punishment justly follow. SECT. IV.

S. You have now gone over all the articles; the Lord grant me to live accordingly.

C. St. Augustine will give you a very considerable saying to this purpose: "There be," saith he, "two kinds of wicked men, wicked believers, and wicked unbelievers. The wicked infidel believes contrary to the faith of Christ, the wicked believer lives contrary to it[a]. 'And it shall be more tolerable for the men of Sodom in the day of judgment than for such.'" [Matt. x. 15.]

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S. HAVING thus far enlarged your trouble, I beseech you to explain the doctrine of the Sacraments to me, because methought at the learning of the Church-catechism, there was no part which I could so hardly conquer with my understanding as that. SECT. I. Of the word Sacrament.

C. I conceive it very probable, because those being institutions of Christ, there is little in them wherein your own reason could assist you any farther than that could collect or conclude from Scriptures, wherein those institutions are set down, first, by way of story in the gospels; or secondly, by way of doctrinal discourse by St. Paul and other scripture writers. But yet let me tell you, that there is not a more excellent breviate or summary of that which is there scattered to be met with than those short answers to the questions in that catechism do afford you. If you please, I will view it over with you. The first question, you see, is, "How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in His Church?" A Sacrament in this place signifies a holy rite, a sacred ceremony used in the service of God; of which sort of ceremonies in general there being many in the Church, some ordained by

[a] Improbus infidelis credit contra fidem, improbus fidelis vivit.

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Christ, some by the Apostles, some by the following Church of several ages, and now accordingly used among Christians, in obedience to Christ and the Apostles in what they ordained, and in imitation of the laudable canons or practices of the primitive or ancient Church, some few there are which Christ Himself when He was here on earth, did ordain and institute; and of those particularly the question is, how many there are of this nature, of this immediate institution of Christ, because those certainly which are such will deserve more reverence from us, and more care and diligence in the use of them, than any others which any inferior authority, especially that of the after-Church, hath instituted. And to this question the answer is very exact, that there are "only two, as generally necessary to salvation." Some other sacred rites Christ did institute for some sorts or cases of particular persons, as imposition of hands, &c. But of this kind, wherein all men to whom Christianity is revealed, or that expect salvation from Christ, should think themselves concerned, to which all Christians are strictly obliged, so far as not to neglect them wilfully, or to omit them when they may be had; of this kind, I say, there be only two; first, "baptism," i. e. a ceremony of washing with water, either by going into a brook and being doused over head and ears in it, or by being sprinkled with water on the face or principal part, as hath been used in these colder countries instead of the former: secondly, "the supper of the Lord," i. e. the blessing of bread and wine, and dividing it among those which are present, in imitation of that which Christ did after His last supper, and by way of commemoration of that death of His, which immediately followed that supper, and which, as a special part of His office in working our redemption, we ought frequently to recount and commemorate by way of thanksgiving to Him, and present it before His Father, to whose favour we have no claim, but through those sufferings.

Heb. vi. 1.

Two only simply necessary.

S. Will you proceed to the second question, "What meanest thou by this word Sacrament?" which is so plain and pertinent to that place wherein it is set, that I shall not need your help, save only to open and clear the answer which is given to it.

C. The answer is, that in this place the word Sacrament

is set to signify "an outward visible sign," i. e. not only a holy rite or ceremony, as before I told you, but that a significative, not empty, rite, a ceremony set to import and denote something visibly and discernibly, and that something, "an inward spiritual grace given unto us," i. e. some special favour and gift of God bestowed upon us, particularly by the death of Christ, and this sign or significative right ordained by Christ Himself, of His immediate institution, and designed and consecrated by Him to two great ends; first, "as a means whereby we receive the same," i. e. as a means of conveyance, whereby He is pleased in a peculiar manner to make over that grace or favour to us, as also by the right and due use of which we are interpreted to perform our parts, or the condition required of us to make us capable of receiving it, and so are actually made partakers of so much of the grace as at that time is useful for us, such is pardon of sin, God's reconciliation, or favourable acceptance of us, and strength to do what God requires: and secondly, as "a pledge to assure us thereof," i. e. a pawn, as it were, delivered us from God by the hand of the minister, to give us ground of confidence and acquiescence that those graces or favours are now so made over to us by God, that we shall not fail of our part in them, instantly in that degree as they are proper to our present state,—viz. pardon of sins past, and acceptance of sincere performance, and also grace or strength so to perform,—and hereafter in that other superior degree, for which we must wait till another world, such are final acquittance or pardon of sin, and a pure and happy condition in another world. And all this in the same manner as when some promise is made for the future, and a pawn deposited till the promise be performed.

SECT. Of the Sacraments in general. The Sacrament a means of receiving grace. A pledge to assure us of it.

S. The next question descends from the general consideration of the nature of a Sacrament, to a particular view of the parts of it; and first, how many such parts there be.

C. The answer you have already learnt, and will be able to tell yourself, that as in the notion of a sign or picture, as it is such, i. e. as it is a mere relative thing, there are two parts, first, the resemblance, and secondly, the thing resembled; the second, as it were the soul to the former, without which

The parts of a Sacrament.

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it is a fancy, a chimera, not an image or picture; so in these holy significative rites there is, first, the sign or outward visible part, and secondly, that which is signified by it, the grace or precious treasure that this image is set to represent, or which is to every intelligent man's understanding conveyed under that veil or semblance.

S. Having said so much in general of Sacraments, and of the parts of which all such are compounded, I see the next question descends regularly to the viewing of the former affirmations, in each particular to which they belong: and beginning first with the first Sacrament, viz. baptism, the question is, What is "the outward part" in that? What the "visible sign" or form, i. e. I conceive, what is the thing in baptism which is set to signify some such grace of God's?

SECT. II. Of baptism.

Baptism among the Jews.

C. Water is clearly affirmed to be that sign; that as among the Jews, when any proselyte was received in among them, and entered or initiated into their Church, they were wont to use washings, to denote their forsaking or washing off from them all their former profane heathen practices, (nay, as the Jewish writers affirm, not only proselytes[b], but natural Jews[c] were initiated by three things, circumcision, baptism, and sacrificing;) so by Christ's appointment[d] whosoever should be thus received into His family should be received with this ceremony of water, therein to be dipped (i. e. according to the primitive ancient custom, to be put under water) three times, or instead of that, to be sprinkled with it, with this form of words joined to that action by the minister, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," which words being by Christ prescribed to His disciples, must indispensably be used by all in the administration of that Sacrament. And the meaning of them is double: first, on the minister's part, that what he doth, he doth not of himself, but in the name or power of, or by commission from, the blessed Trinity; secondly, and more especially, in respect

[b] So the Talmudists say of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, בתגיר במילה ובטבילה במים "he was made a proselyte by circumcision and immersion."

[c] See Talmud. Tract. Repudii. "The Israelites did not enter into covenant but by three things," במילה ובטבילה ובהרציות חקרבן "by circumcision and baptism, and by propitiation of sacrifice; and so the proselytes in like manner."

[d] Among Christians.

of the person baptized, 1. that he acknowledges these three, and by desiring baptism makes profession of that acknowledgment, which is in effect the sum of the whole creed, which that catechism excellently abbreviates by saying, that the chief things learned in those articles are, first, to "believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world," i. e. all the creatures as well as men; secondly, "in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind," i. e. tasted death for every man, brought out of that sad thraldom of sin and Satan as many as were dead in Adam, i. e. every man in the world, though neither angels nor any other creature beside; thirdly, "in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God," i. e. worketh grace effectually in the heart of all those who are obedient to His call or working; for those are the elect or chosen in that place of the gospel where it is said, that "many are called, but few chosen;" many invited by God, but few which make use of that mercy of His, few that are obedient to that call. [Matt. xx. 16; xxii. 14.] 2. That as he acknowledges these three, so he delivers himself up to them as to three undivided principles or authors of faith, or Christian religion, and acknowledges no other as such, (as to be baptized in the name of Paul, signifies to say, "I am of Paul," i. e. to pin my faith on him, in opposition to Cephas and all others,) to receive for infallible truth whatsoever is taught by any of these, and nothing else. [1 Cor. i. 12, 13.] 3. That he devotes and delivers himself up to be ruled, as an obedient servant, by the directions of this great Master, a willing disciple of this blessed Trinity; and so the Greek phrase 'into the name' doth import. And these three acts of the person baptized, being put together, make up his part, that by way of condition is required of him to make him capable of that grace which the minister from God thus conveys upon and insures unto him.

S. The next question proceeds regularly to the thing signified in baptism under the name of the "inward spiritual grace," which I conceive to denote that favour and special donative made over from God in that Sacrament; and that styled 'spiritual,' as belonging to the soul of man, or his immortal 'spirit;' and 'inward,' as that which is

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signified by the 'outward' sign, in the notion wherein we say there be two parts of a picture, an inward and an outward: the man himself is the inward part of his picture, or that which is invisible, the outward being the visible form upon the table. So that I suppose myself to conceive the meaning of the question: but for the answer I must crave your assistance.

The inward part of baptism.

C. The answer is, that the inward part of baptism signified by, and conferred with that outward ceremony, is "a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness." For the full understanding of which, I must shew you these three things. First, what is meant by that death and new birth; secondly, how these are signified by water in baptism; thirdly, how baptism is a means of working this in us, and a pledge of assuring us of it. The explaining of these three will be necessary to a clear understanding of this matter.

A death unto sin.

For the first, "a death unto sin," signifies a getting out of the power, and from under the guilt and punishment, of sin. 'The living unto sin' is being a slave of sin, i. e. subject to it both for task and blows, like the Israelites to the Egyptian task-makers, being in their power to set them a drudging in their service, and in their power to beat and oppress them. He that 'liveth unto sin,' or in whom sin reigns, is a direct galley-slave to drudge under it, and over and above the misery of that, to be tormented by it also; and he that is in that case, as long as he continues so, can neither by any strength of his own get out of that dominion of sin, as it signifies 'working the works of sin,' sinning continually, or as it signifies punishment due to that slave, whose very service, i. e. his sins, binds him over to punishment. In plain terms, the natural man, or every man living, considered without the grace of Christ in his natural estate, hath neither strength to avoid sin, nor means to escape punishment. Proportionably therefore to this, "a death unto sin," is the getting out of these galleys, a being rescued by Christ from this necessity of continuing and going on in sin, and consequently, a being delivered from those punishments which are the reward of an unreformed course of sin: both these together are ordinarily called mortification, and as they belong only to the sins of commission, they are a previous disposition to

that "new birth unto righteousness," as in every mutation and new production there is a laying aside the old form, preparatory to the receiving of a new; but as they belong to sins of omission also, the mortifying of which is the doing what is commanded, so are they all one with that new birth.

S. What then is that new birth unto righteousness?

New birth unto righteousness.

C. The contrary to the living to sin, i. e. it is Christ's giving me strength to walk righteously, and means to obtain God's favour, the begetting me to that double righteousness that the young tender Christian hungers and thirsts after, the righteousness of sanctification, to satisfy his hunger, that bread of life to strengthen his soul, and the righteousness of justification, to set him right in the favour of God, that vital refreshment that the conscience scorched with the guilt of sin so thirsts after. Some difficulty there is, and possibility of mistake, in that which I have now delivered, therefore you must weigh it diligently, and observe that this death and new birth is neither the resolving to forsake sin and live godly; for this is supposed before baptism, to make the person capable of it, as appears by the next question and answer in the catechism: nor, on the other side, the actual forsaking of sin, and living a new life, "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, and living soberly, and justly, and godly," for that is the consequent task of him that makes a right use of the grace of baptism for his whole life after, and both these an act of the man, wrought the one by the preventing, the other by the assisting grace of God. But this grace of baptism is the strength of Christ, of supernatural ability to forsake sin, and live godly, and proportionably a tender of God's pardon and gracious acceptance, pardon of the forsaken sins, and acceptance of the imperfect, so it be sincere, godliness. And that this is the very intention of the catechism in these words, and not any gloss of mine, may appear by what here follows as the reason of it; "for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath,"—i. e. born with strong inclinations and propensions, which would certainly engage us in a course of sin, and so consequently make us worthy of wrath, as a child or son of perdi-

Tit. ii. [12.]

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tion is one worthy to be destroyed,—"we are thereby made the children of grace," i. e. have in baptism that strength given us by Christ, that will enable us to get out of that servile and dangerous state.

S. You have prevented and satisfied my scruples in this particular: I shall now call you to the second thing you promised me, and desire you to shew me how this death and birth (or that strength to mortify and to raise up to new life, together with God's tender of pardon and acceptance, which you have shewed me, are the importance of that death to sin, and new birth to righteousness) are signified by the outward part in baptism, by the dipping or sprinkling in water, &c.

This death and birth signified by dipping.

C. The water here is set to signify the purifying Spirit of Christ, which hath that double power in it of cleansing from sin and from guilt; and the ancient manner of putting the person baptized under water, and then taking him out again, was set to denote the two several acts of this grace, first, by way of dying, then of rising again: and the ancient custom of doing this thrice, signified not only the faith in the Trinity into which they were baptized, but peculiarly the death of Christ and His rising the third day; which death and resurrection together are that "fountain that is opened for sin and for uncleanness," the original of strength to die to sin, i. e. of new birth, and of the pardon and acceptation proportioned to them.

Zech. xiii. 1.

S. I shall now want but little of your help for the third query, How baptism is a means of working this in us, and a pledge of assuring us of it. For if Christ have instituted that Sacrament as a means of conveying both these double graces on us, as I have already learnt, then is the first part of my query answered; and if so, then sure will it be a pledge or pawn to insure us of it, to give us confidence, that if we be not wanting to ourselves in our part of the covenant, either by way of preparation before, necessary to give us a capacity of this mercy, or of making use of it afterward, it shall on Christ's part be infallibly bestowed on us. Having saved you this trouble, I shall take confidence to hasten you to the next stage, which is, to proceed to the next question,

Baptism the means of working this in us.

A pledge to assure us of it.

which comes in here very seasonably: "What is required of persons to be baptized," to fit them for that Sacrament, and make them capable of these benefits of it?

The qualifications required to baptism. Repentance.

C. The answer refers all to two heads, repentance and faith, and defines them excellently, "Repentance, whereby they forsake sin," to shew that it is not sufficient to denominate a penitent, that he grieve, or confess, or slightly resolve against sin, much less that he only grieve with the apprehension of punishment, or wish that he were penitent, unless he do really, and sincerely, and actually forsake sin.

S. But how can such forsaking be required before baptism, when the strength of forsaking is before affirmed to be given me in baptism?

A double forsaking, in the heart, and in the actions.

C. This difficulty will be solved, if you observe that there is a double forsaking, one of the heart, in a general cordial renouncing; the other of the actions, in a particular holding out in time of temptation. The one is called God's giving us to will, the other to do: the first, I told you, was an act of God's preventing and exciting grace; the second, of His sanctifying: and both these, when they are wrought in us by the grace of Christ, are actual forsaking of sin, and so more than the slight resolution, which I told you was not repentance, and yet one of them is much less so than the other, and so may be looked on, and required as preparatory to it. The forsaking of the heart is here meant in this question by repentance, and the forsaking in the actions is that to which the strength is made over in baptism.

Faith.

S. You will now proceed to the second requisite, "faith," which I see there described to be that "whereby they stedfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that Sacrament:" have you any thing to add to that explication there given of that grace?

C. Only this, that there is first mentioned the promises of God; secondly, the peculiarity of them; thirdly, the act of faith, what it is, namely, believing; fourthly, the qualification of that act, stedfast believing. For the first, I have heretofore shewn you, that when promises are the object of faith, those promises are, as constantly the Scripture sets them down, general, but conditional promises; general, wherein all are concerned without exception; but withal conditional,

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requiring or presuming some performances on our parts, without the due observance of which we have no title to the promises. As for example, in this of baptism, which brings me to the second thing here proposed, the promises that are made to us in this Sacrament, promises of strength and of pardon, require first a predisposition in the subject, a resolution of amendment, before God thus obliges Himself to give this grace of sanctification or justification; and secondly, the due and diligent use of this grace when it is given: without the first, this grace of baptism is not given; without the second, it is forfeited again. As for the act of faith here called believing, it is that which is most proper for it, when the object is promises, as it is here, though when the object is commands of Christ, the act must be obeying; and by believing, we mean the relying on and depending confidently on Christ for the performance of His part, i. e. of the promise, in case and on condition of our not failing in ours: and the word 'stedfast' added to it, argues the radication of this act of faith in an habitual acknowledgment, that Christ will never falsify His word, or fail in giving what He promiseth. This was required in the miraculous cures, to make the patient capable of the benefit of Christ's power, to believe that He was thus able; and here it is required to make capable of those more sovereign benefits, the Spirit and grace of Christ, and is indeed a qualification of our prayers, to which, when they are rightly qualified, the Spirit and the pardon, which are the things promised in this Sacrament, shall be assuredly granted.

S. All this which hath been said concerning the qualifications required in the person to be baptized, those being graces which cannot be expected of children which have no understanding, hath raised in me that scruple which in the next question is clearly proposed, "Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them?" i. e. cannot repent and believe. To which I perceive the answer accommodated is not that which I have heard some men aver, that the habits of these graces may be in infants, or that the faith of their parents is accounted to them; but by making a plain acknowledgment that they do not at that time themselves perform them, it

answers, that they do perform them "by their sureties," &c. What is the meaning of that? SECT. II.

C. You will remember that I told you, that the repentance here was an act of the heart, i. e. a firm resolution of amendment; and what is that, but a kind of vow that they will do it, and so believe also, when being fitted by age and abilities of understanding and instruction, they shall be thus enabled and strengthened by Christ? now this vow or oath the child is supposed to make at the font, though not with his own mouth, yet by proxies, by sureties, who do not so much promise that he shall do so, as answer and speak in his stead, by way of substitution representing the infant's voice, and taking upon them an obligation for the infant,—an act of great charity in them, to get an early interest for the child in those so precious mercies, which cannot be had without signing the indenture back again, undertaking the condition of the covenant,—which consequently the infant is engaged in, and when he comes to understand, must resolve himself by vow and solemn oath to be bound to it, or else solemnly must disclaim all part in the benefits of it. In plain terms, every child that was ever baptized, and so you to whom I now speak, have the option given you, whether you will acknowledge that to be your sense which your sureties undertook for you at the font,—which if you do, then do you take that obligation in your own name, and are perjured for ever after, whensoever you fail in performing any part of it, whensoever you embrace any worldly lust, any vanity of this wicked world, &c.—or whether you will disclaim it,—as they that have been married, being children, have a choice after, whether it shall stand a ratified marriage or no,—which if you do, and will not be bound to the duty, you must know you renounce withal all right or claim in the promises of Christ, disclaim that strength that Christ was ready to have given you, and so continue an impotent wretch, not able to resist the weakest temptation, ready to be carried headlong into all villainy, to the very defaming and wasting the reasonable soul within you, to fall from one wickedness to another, and not come to any degree of righteousness, of Christian virtue, or moral civility, and withal ready to drop into hell, in minutely danger

The infant's vow by the sureties.

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to be hurried thither to receive the wages of thy unrighteousness. If the conjunction of these two can be allowed to make up a formidable state, if you can either value virtue and strength, or pardon and acceptance from heaven, you will surely be so well advised as to acknowledge those sureties your friends, which engaged you in such a gainful indenture, and being now come to a sense of it, count yourself under vow, and labour not to be sacrilegious as soon as you are come into the Church, to perjure yourself, and rob God of a vessel bought by His blood for His temple, to serve Him there "in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of your life."

S. You have explained that question and answer, as they lie in the Church-catechism, sufficiently, and so in effect have satisfied all my desires in that matter of the Sacrament of baptism: yet as every degree of proficiency in knowledge gives the Christian learner some farther sight of his ignorances, and whets him on to grow yet farther in knowledge; so it is with me at this time. Your last enlargement of the answer in the catechism, by teaching me many things, hath put me in mind of my ignorance of two things, wherein I must desire your help. I shall first propose the first to you.

C. What is that?

The difference between the qualifications for baptism and the vow in it.

S. It is this: by what you have last said, it seems to me, that the qualifications required of the person to be baptized are all one with the vow in baptism: which how it can be, I do not yet distinctly conceive, but have this objection against it, that the matter of the vow seems to be somewhat which must be, and is undertaken in some measure by the sureties that it shall be, after performed; but the things required in the person to be baptized, seem to be such things as must be first in him, before he is fit to be baptized.

C. Your scruple is not very weighty, yet I will answer it briefly, by putting you in mind, that baptism may be administered either to one of full age, or to an infant. When the person is of full age, as in case he be of some years before he come to hear of Christ, and then hear and believe on Him, and desire baptism, then are these qualifications prerequired in him before he may fitly be admitted to baptism, and yet when they are so, their being

in him is fitly expressed by him in the words of the vow: repentance itself, which is one part of the qualification, being nothing else but a change of mind, i. e. a resolution or vow of forsaking all the sins of the former life, and keeping God's holy will for the future; and so faith, not only a believing or acknowledging for the present, but also a vow of believing for the future, and confessing constantly all the articles of the creed for ever after, especially when storms or tempests shall come to shake that faith, or tempt to renounce that profession or any part of it. But when an infant is baptized, who can neither believe nor repent himself, but all that he doth, doth it by proxy; then it is most clear, that that which is prerequired in one of age, and must be actually in him before he be admitted to baptism, is not thus prerequired in the infant, but only required in the future: for the surety doth not undertake that the child is thus qualified already, but he being the substitute of the child, the child by him promises that he will thus perform hereafter. And this promise that he will, is distinctly the vow of baptism.

SECT. II.

S. I acknowledge your answer, and indeed had little other design in putting you to the trouble of it, but only that I might the less impertinently beg of you a little to insist on the words of the vow of baptism, as they are used at the font, and set down in the beginning of the Church-catechism, which may have some difficulty in them, which is likely to remain unexplained, and so to miss that felicity which all other parts of the catechism have been afforded by you, unless you comply with me in this voluntary digression, which I acknowledge to be affected by me.

SECT. III. Of the vow of baptism

C. I must confess the vow of baptism to be a thing of so great importance, and so immediately referring and closely tending to practice, that it were a wonder for a practical catechism to be thought complete without it: and therefore, although as I told you, it differ little from the two qualifications, repentance and faith, prerequired in the person to be baptized, which is the reason that I forgot, having spoken of them, to put you in mind of this, yet I will most willingly comply with you, and explain whatever seems difficult in that vow.

S. I already see that the creed and the commandments

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being severally explained to me, which are the two latter branches of that vow, I can detain you no farther than while you explain the first part of it. In these words, "They," i. e. my sureties, "promised and vowed in my name, that I should forsake the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of the wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh." What then is meant, first, by "the devil and all his works?"

The devil and all his works.

C. Certainly the principal thing here renounced is the false gods, i. e. devils, which the heathen world did worship so universally before Christ's time, and against which the catechists, which prepared all for baptism, did first labour to fortify their disciples, and are for that cause called in the ancient Church, and known by the title of 'exorcists,' as those that cast out these devils. So of the seven precepts of Noah,—all which every proselyte which was received or admitted to live among the Jews, and those I told you were admitted by baptism or washing, was bound to embrace,—that is known to be the first, which is entitled, 'Concerning strange worship[e],' i. e. their false idol-worship, their serving those which were devils and not gods, and which endeavoured nothing more than the taking them off from the true God. But then, secondly, as he that acknowledges the true God with his tongue, doth oft deny Him in his life; so they that renounce these false gods or devils, that pray not to them, nor believe them to be gods, may yet acknowledge them by their actions, i. e. may be supposed, as men are oft found, to live like those idolatrous heathens in the midst of Christianity. And therefore after this first sense of renouncing the devil, as that signifies forsaking all idolatrous worship, you must farther add the renouncing all commerce or consulting with him; the former being that which witches and sorcerers use, the latter that which they are guilty of which repair to such witches, or receive responses from them, or directions for health or thriving, or acquiring any advantages in the world; or if it be but by way of curiosity to know, by any such black art, any future events, or the like, and all other things wherein the devil's help is called in, through not depending totally upon God: which, as you meet with them, you will

[e] על עבידה זרה

understand, by the proportion or analogy which they hold with these which I have now named to you.

S. The Lord preserve me from such high provocations of His jealousy, in taking any such detestable rivals of God into my heart. But what is meant by 'all the works of the devil,' which are there annexed?

C. Answerably to the first prime notion of 'forsaking the devil,' i. e. the heathen false worships, 'the works of the devil' will primarily signify those abominable sins, first of idol-worship, then of filthy lusts, which were commonly used in their heathen worships, and became rites and ceremonies of them, their filthy revelling and abominable uncleannesses required and accepted by the devil or false gods there, as prayer, and fasting, and alms, and the use of the Sacraments are by the true God among us Christians. These are truly the works of the devil, the secrecies and mysteries[f] of the heathen religion; and the renouncing of them at the time of receiving of the true God, was that which was especially signified by the circumcising of Abraham, and all the Jews after him, and is most strictly required of us in our baptism, and accordingly recommended to the younger Christians, under the style of 'sobriety and chastity,' and by the primitive Bishop Polycarp to the Philippians, in these words, "that they may be unblameable in all things, but before all, that they take care of chastity or purity[g]." Under that head must be understood all sorts of those foul sins which are not to be named, (however used by any, without making them rites of the idol-worship,) whose contrariety to the Christian profession and doctrine, that "truth in Jesus," (which so strictly requires the contrary purity, and forbids the very looking on any, to lust, much more the uncleannesses there mentioned,) and the great danger thereof to our souls, may be judged of by this, that most of the heavy judgments in Scripture that have fallen upon nations, particularly the utter excision of the seven nations, the fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah, are expressed to have fallen upon them for that one high abomination; and the greatest

Lusts especially.

Tit. ii. 5, 6.

Eph. iv. 21.

Eph. iv. 19.

[f] τελεταὶ, ἐποπτεῖαι.

[g] [ὁμοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἄμεμπτοι ἐν πᾶσι, πρὸ παντὸς] προνοοῦντες ἁγνείας, [καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.—S. Polycarp. Ep. ad Phil. c. 5. p. 496.]

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reproach that ever was to Christianity, was that of the filthy Gnostics, those heretics in the primitive Church, who retained and improved this piece of heathenism, continued those works of the devil among them; and most of the seven Churches of Asia in the Revelation were destroyed for entertaining, or not vomiting out of these. And though these solemn ways of committing these sins, making them rites of religion, be not now to be heard of among Christians, yet if the sins themselves, or any degree of them, be still, though never so secretly, retained among men or women, or if they be not utterly detested and abominated, this is a contradiction to this first branch of our vow of baptism, and that which besides the hell-fire in another world, may be expected to bring down terrible vengeance here, and may justly be feared to be the secret provoker, ofttimes, of God's heavy wrath upon a city or land, when it comes down without any visible, discernible special provocation.

S. I hope I shall be careful to remember my vow in this particular, now especially that you have shewed me that it belongs so primarily unto it. But is there nothing else contained under this style, 'the works of the devil?'

C. Yes, in a secondary sense all the sins that have a special character or stamp of Satan on them, all the Luciferian prides and ambitions by prying into God's secret will, desiring to be like Him in omniscience by judging men's hearts, undertaking to be equal to Him in that title of His of "Searcher of hearts," and many the like: next, our diabolical accusing, and lying, and slandering our brethren; next, our corrupting and tempting them, and delighting to allure or fright them into any unlawful act, and so usurping that title of 'tempter' that belongs to him: next, our maligning or envying, much more our killing or destroying our brethren. All which sins (and others, which it were too long to name) carry much of Satan's image, and several of his names[h] about them, and deserve to be called his works.

Pride.

False accusing.

S. I had thought that those things which the devil tempts any one to do, had been the prime, if not only, works of his.

C. Whensoever it is sure that the devil tempts any man to any sin, if he yield to do it, it is sure that is very pro-

Temptations of the devil.

[h] διάβολος, ὁ πειράζων, Satanas, or ἐχθρὸς, or ἀντίδικος, Abaddon, or ἀπολλύων.

perly a work of the devil. But it is so hard to discern that, or when the devil doth thus immediately tempt any, and it is so ordinary to accuse the devil of that which comes from our own evil inclinations and customs, (the habitual corruptions of our own hearts, which are our great and daily tempters,) and it is so certain that our own hearts must have the main of the guilt, even when Satan doth tempt any, because if we resist, he shall flee from us, (and indeed our not consenting is the evacuating of his temptations, and consequently the sin is a work of our own will which so consents, and not of the temptation, which had no power to work that consent, nay, if it had been resisted, had been matter of victory and virtue to us,) therefore, I say, for these and other considerations, I did not think fit to name these in the front of 'the works of the devil,' being not sure that they at all belong to that rank of sins, as here they are set down by way of difference from 'the pomps of the world' and 'desires of the flesh.' Yet shall I not on this occasion neglect to mind you how nearly you are concerned to watch the devil, that evil spirit, that he do not secretly inspire or infuse any evil thoughts into you; and the rather, because when he doth so, he takes all care that those suggestions may seem not to come from him, knowing that any Christian must needs be averse from hearkening to them then; but he labours to appear an angel of light, a good spirit, the very Spirit of God, and often brings it so about, that in his inward whisperings having some specious disguise of religion or zeal for God put upon them, are taken for the voice of God's Spirit within men. And among those that pretend to enthusiasms, and that they are taught by the Spirit those things which the word of God, the sure inspired voice of God's Spirit, doth not teach them, (nay, which in the conceit and opinion of some of them are to be believed, though they seem contrary to that,) it will be no wonder if Satan do so prevail as to obtrude his temptations under the disguise of dictates of God's Spirit: and that may be a reason that St. Paul conjures the Galatians that they anathematize that (though seeming) angel from heaven, that teaches any other doctrine for the doctrine of God, save that which was then already received by them; intimating that seeming good angelical, to be indeed [Gal. . 8.]

SECT. III.

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a diabolical accursed spirit, that so teacheth: and St. John advises us very friendly "to try the spirits whether they be of God or no," signifying (as many false teachers acted by evil spirits, so sure) many evil spirits also, to put on the outward appearance of godlike spirits, so that they are, or if we beware not, may be by us mistaken for the Spirit of God. And there is no way to secure us from such delusions, but to set up the word of God as the only plain director of all Christian actions, to account nothing Christian, or dictate of Spirit, but what is taught me immediately from thence, judging my own spirit, or whatever suggestion within me, by that, and not judging or forcing that to comply with, or bring him in testimony to my spirit. Which I mention because of the danger those men are in who are full of any prepossession, to believe that the Scripture favours or gives testimony to it. As he whose fancy hath been playing with any sound, thinks every thing that he hears to be tunable to that he fancies.

1 John iv. 1.

S. After the mention of "the devil and his works," the next thing renounced in that vow is expressed by these words, "the pomps and vanities of the wicked world." What is the meaning of that expression?

C. The 'world' signifies, either, first, the 'company;' or secondly, the 'customs;' or thirdly, the 'wealth;' or fourthly, 'power;' or fifthly, the 'glory' which is in the world: and 'the wicked world' is as much of these as hath any sinfulness or contrariety to the law of God in them, and so restrains the word 'world' to the two former of these, the three latter being in themselves lawful blessings of God, which though they may be either sought or used unlawfully, yet are not here to be styled wicked, or such as a Christian in his baptism is to renounce; but if he be lawfully possessed of them, he may very Christianly continue the use and enjoyment of them. As for the two former, they are such as may be called wicked. For first, the company, or popular examples and suggestions of the many, i. e. of the heathen world, in opposition to which this form of vow was first framed, or of the greater part of the whole world, as it hath been ever before and since, as it contains the Heathen and Christian, and all others together, these, I say, are generally so contrary to the

The wicked world.

The company of the world.

precepts which Christ prescribes to all His disciples, that 'broad way,' so contrary to His 'strait gate,' that they are very fit to be disclaimed and renounced at a venture, the Christian so far taking himself off from the world, from the practices of the multitude there, as to forsake the multitude, and betake himself to the mount, the privacy, the solitude with Christ, choosing rather to go alone in the paths of piety and Christian virtue to heaven, than to have the company and jollity of the world to be his temptation to the sins and hell, which are the way and end of their journey. Meanwhile this is not again the renouncing of the company of worldly men absolutely, but the resolving not to accompany them in their sins, and to that end fortifying ourselves by vow against yielding to their temptations, and particularly against that very powerful allurement to do evil, the multitude, and perhaps greatness, and flourishing condition of those which practise sins before us, and which add their persuasions to their examples, and perhaps proceed to reproach those that will not go along with them. And the foreseeing and arming ourselves against that force of those examples, that rhetoric of those persuasions, that sharpness of those reproaches, and venturing cheerfully to forfeit our reputation and fame with evil men, by whom to be well spoken of is the greater curse, rather than to lose the praise of God, is this first part of the Christian valour, or branch of this second part of our vow, in forsaking 'the wicked world.' The second thing which is in this vow to be forsaken is, as I told you, the wicked customs of the world, and those primarily, or especially, the heathen again, to which the form of this vow might more particularly relate, it being common among them for the laws of nature to be by the vile customs of their dark hearts so razed out of their souls, that many practices which right reason and human nature among heathens themselves,—no farther illuminated than by that natural judicatory, the light of their own understandings, the unwritten law of God within them,—would teach them to abandon, as sins and wounds of conscience, have been by whole nations at once embraced, and continued in without any check, as innocent sinless qualities; nature and reason itself being so early gagged and silenced by popular custom and vicious educa-

The customs of the world.

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tion, that many have not known it to be a sin to steal or rob, if they were so dextrous as not to be taken; others to kill and eat their aged parents, conceiving that by this means they gave them the most honourable burial; others to throw themselves murderously into the flames, to accompany their dead princes out of the world. Many the like irrational sins, through some local custom, have gotten the reputation not only of sinless and lawful, but of laudable also. And these, and all that can ever offer to obtrude themselves upon us by the like means, we here renounce under this second notion of 'the wicked world.' Of which sort it will not be hard to find some in every Christian nation still, as among us that of duelling, formerly enlarged upon, which I shall not now mention any farther than as an instance of the power of popular custom, founded in a mistake of the notion of honour or reputation, even among Christians themselves, so far as to make that pass for a laudable accomplishment in a Christian, a piece of courage, i. e. virtue and gallantry, which is indeed a most unchristian sin, a guiltiness both of my own and my brother's blood, and so not a single provocation. The like may be said of another custom, which this nation seems to have admitted, in favour to sins of uncleanness, whereby it is become a more creditable thing among us to have been guilty of defiling and invading another man's bed, that sin of adultery, punished by death among the Jews, by God's appointment, than to be the innocent person which hath thus been robbed by the adulterer, the sin itself being not thought worthy of near so much shame, (nay, among ill men seldom at all mentioned without applause, and expressions of kindness,) as the having been thus wronged. Which again is an evidence, how easy it would be for the most hellish provoking sin to be naturalized and embraced by a nation, if it can by the boldness and impudence of wicked men, and by the encouragement, or but impunity allowed it by those which are in authority, steal into a good reputation, and so by being customary first, attain to be creditable also. The resisting of such customs, be they never so epidemical, the beating them down by the authority of Christ's precepts, and bringing obedience to those into a reputation among men, at least contending and endeavouring our utmost to take away all

Duelling.

Creditableness of some sins.

reproach from strict, precise, conscientious Christian walking, or, if by our endeavour that will not be compassed, yet however taking care never to be carried away with that stream of sinful custom, but to approve myself and my family, and, as far as the power of my example and my counsel can extend, to bring in and engage my acquaintance and neighbours, like Joshua and his house, to be the firm, constant servants of God, in despite of and defiance to these most popular temptations, are the least that can be deemed our obligation laid on us by this part of our vow of baptism.

S. I beseech God to sanctify this part of my vow to me, that it may be such a hedge and mound about me, to defend me from the invasions and riots of the wicked company and customs of the world. But what is the importance of the phrase 'pomps and vanities' which are here disclaimed? Are they the costly attire and attendants that the great men of the world so constantly use, which seem to be meant by 'pomps?' or are they the superfluities of all kinds, which may deserve to be styled 'vanities?' If so, then methinks I shall be obliged to understand that saying of Christ, not only of the rich man, that cannot part with his riches, but also of all noble and great men, that live according to their quality in the world, that this vow of baptism is so contrary to their whole state and course, that it is impossible for them to enter into the kingdom of God, as that signifies to become Christians.

Pomps and vanities.

C. I shall first, as near as I can, tell you the natural importance of these words in this place, and then satisfy your scruple or difficulty. And first, for the importance of the words here, you have oft been told, that the prime aspect of the several parts of the vow of baptism is in reference to the practices of the heathen which were anciently therein renounced, as they were by circumcision among the Jews. And in this respect, the words 'pomps and vanities,' being not much distinct but exegetical one of the other, and signifying the vain pomps or pompous vanities of the heathen or wicked world, seem most particularly to point at those things which were used among them in their triumphs and games, and times of gallantry and jollity; for those are peculiarly called pomps[i], and being very vain and unprofitable, bring-

Heathen spectacles.

[i] πομπαί.

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ing no good to any, but the pleasure of the eye to the beholders, were moreover very bloody and wicked. Such were those of the gladiators, which did openly upon the stage combat and wound, and kill and butcher one another: which was so profane an irreligious thing, that in the first times no Christian was permitted to be a spectator of them. So again in their cuffings and wrestlings in the Olympic games, in which they used instruments of lead in their hands to wound, and perhaps slaughter, one another: and these were moreover generally accounted sacred among them[k], as consecrated to their gods, ordered and managed by their chief priests, to the appeasing their good deities[l], as sacrifices and victims to their bad, as we may perceive, 2 Mac. iv. 7, where Jason buying the pontificate, hath with it the power of instituting and moderating their games. And so Acts xix. 3, the Asian prefects[m] there mentioned, were the priests that had the managing of their games in that province. By all which you perceive the reasonableness of the Christian's being bound to renounce these bloody, vain, and idolatrous pomps at his baptism, they being a solemn part of their heathen worship, and therefore to be renounced as properly as their idol-feasts, though they had had no other wickedness in them besides, for the false deities' sakes, to whose service they were ordained; but then over and above, having a great deal of bloodiness in them, and mixture of many other sins, which made them most improper for a Christian to continue in, or not to profess his detestation of them. But besides these, which are the primary notation of the phrase, many other things there are which must be thought to be renounced in these words.

Luxury.

1. All the sinful courses that are used by men in their times of jollity and festivity, the luxury, and riot, and unlawful gaming, and all kind of excesses, which are but the copying out of the heathen Bacchanals and Saturnals, those which are turned out of the world by Christ, and by Him transformed and changed into spiritual celebrations, blessing and praising of God, the fountain of those mercies, and (proportioned

[k] [τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα·] τέσσαρες ἱροί.
[οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων
Ζηνὸς, Λητοΐδαο, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχεμόροιο,
ἆθλα δὲ τῶν, κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.
Archias. Epigr. ap. Anthol., p. 7.]

[l] Ad pacanda bona numina, saith Labeo.

[m] ἀσιαρχαί.

thereunto) feasts of charity, "eating our meat with gladness," ("rejoicing in the Lord always," cheerfully enjoying the good things which God hath given us, and expressing that joy in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs,) and withal in "singleness of heart," i. e. with all bounty and liberality to the poor, instead of those outward, costly, vain pomps which the eye of the world is most pleased with. 2. Here is renounced all the vain ostentatious bravery, which idle persons of this world are so apt to admire and dote on. I mean not the external pomp, and splendour, and solemnities of state, which are by God and nature thought fit to be annexed to the sceptre, or supreme power, such was the glory of David, and of Solomon, for these are not censured, but allowed by Christ, and being very useful to maintain the dignity of princes, as that is necessary to the happy discharge of their office, cannot but be thought lawful and commendable to be practised by them. But the bravery which is here abjured, is all those attires, and behaviours, and deckings that proceed from pride in the heart, or tend to the inflaming of lust in beholders, or but to set out ourselves glorious and admired in the eyes of men. And of this sort (though God only be able to judge the heart, and define of any man or woman, that what they do, they do from this sinful principle, or to that worse end) it is yet much to be suspected are all those braveries that are used by any above what the soberer and graver sort of his quality and condition do use; and such again the frequent changing and inventing of fashions, the being earliest in every new dress, or the singularity of apparel, used on purpose, and on that affectation, because it is singular: for all these seem so far to betray the sinful principle, that though it is not reasonable for one man to judge another for every thing of this nature, yet it will be fit for all that do thus to examine and charge it upon themselves, and if they cannot perfectly clear themselves from that evil principle, or worse end, then to remember that this is it which they renounced in their baptism. And because every man's heart is apt to deceive himself, and judge too favourably in his own cause, the way will therefore be in matter of this kind, rather to deny ourselves some part of that lawful liberty, than to offend in any excess. Where yet all this while you may

SECT. III.

[Phil. iv. 4.] Acts ii. 46.

Bravery.

1 Kings x. 4, 5. Matt. xi. 8.

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observe, that the sin that is spoken of in this kind is not ordinarily to be fetched from the particularity of the attire or fashion, whatever it be, there being few fashions of garments used among civilized people, which are in themselves sinful, but from the principle from which it springs in the heart, and the end to which it is designed, which often betrays it in the using of those attires unfitly and affectedly, and when they are not used by grave persons, which after, when they come to be the general mode, have no such significancy in them; and are therefore by vain persons then wont to be laid aside, as now no longer agreeable to their designs or inclinations. The short of it is, the rule of decency is that (and not the law of nature only) which must give limits to attires; this decency is to be taken from that which is usual and customary among those with whom we live, and is varied oft by change of times, and of the condition of age, or dignity of each person, that being comely for one age, and sex, and quality of persons, which is not for another. And he and she that rest contented with those ways of adorning themselves which are most usual among the more sober and grave of their age and quality, are not by you to be judged guilty of the breach of this vow, though perhaps there are those things in their attire, gold, jewels, and the like, which might be thought to own this title of 'pomps and vanities,' as those words signify bravery and superfluity. The truth is, it were to be wished, that men and women of the highest quality would choose to distinguish themselves from others rather by that ornament "of a meek and quiet spirit," (commended to the weaker sex by St. Peter, as a far more amiable ornament than that of gold filletings, &c.) and make show of their wealth by those more profitable beneficial expenses, for the supply of the wants of others. And no doubt this would more contribute to their own ends, (if they be the aims of Christians, or of men,) would set them out more in the opinion of all wise or good persons. But this being affirmed, will not conclude the use of any of those ornaments which are agreeable to time, and place, and callings, to be sinful, or of the number of those that are here renounced in our baptism. And so I have with the same hand answered your question, and I suppose satisfied your objection and difficulty also.

[1 Pet. iii. 4.]

SECT. III.

S. There remains now but the third and last branch of the matter of this vow, "the sinful lusts of the flesh," which are here disclaimed. I pray, (in a word, because I meant not thus to enlarge your trouble,) what is meant by them?

The sinful lusts of the flesh.

C. The flesh signifies that mass of body which we carry about with us, that, with all the senses and animal faculties, common to men and other living creatures: "the lusts of the flesh" are the desires and affections, or appetites of that flesh, which generally desires and craves those things which are pleasing to it, that is, to any sense, or part, or faculty of the body; and those, till they are regenerate and spiritualized, regulated and brought to hand by the managery of reason and of the Spirit of God, are generally pleased with those things which God forbids, or else are more extravagant and exceeding in their appetites than Christ permits. And whensoever the flesh thus fastens, being allured by this pleasant bait, on any thing forbidden by God, or desires immoderately that which, to the moderate use, is not forbidden, this is then a 'sinful lust of the flesh,' and is here renounced by the Christian in his baptism, who promises so to moderate his desires and subordinate them to the will of God, that whensoever they importune or call for any thing which is not thus regular, he 'will not follow or be led by them.' I shall not need to descend to particulars of this kind, as 'the lusts of the flesh,' commonly so called by way of appropriation, in order to sins of incontinence and intemperance, 'the lusts of the eye,' in order to covetousness and insatiate desire of riches. Having named the flesh, and the several senses and faculties and appetites of that, you will be able to apply those words to all particulars of this nature, and resolve, when you are tempted and solicited by any thing in yourself to any act forbidden by Christ, that this then is one of these 'sinful desires,' or 'lusts of the flesh,' which was in the words of your baptism vow abjured by you.

S. God grant I may make use of your directions and admonitions to this purpose, and have accordingly such a watch over my own affections, that sin gain no entrance by those avenues into my soul. But having received satisfaction fully to one of my proposed desires, it remains now that you will allow me the same patience and charity while I propose

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my other difficulty to you, which seems to me really to be one, and it was suggested to me by that explication of the last answer in the Church-catechism, which gave me occasion to divert you thus long. And my scruple and question is this, not whether it be lawful to baptize infants, as being unable to understand the baptismal vow, for that difficulty you have already cleared to me, but whether it be necessary, or any way useful, so to do, or what authority you have from the Scripture for so doing.

Of baptism of infants.

C. The answering the last part of your query will, I conceive, take away all scruple in the former, there being no reason to doubt of the either usefulness or necessity of that which we see received into the practice of the apostolical Church in Scripture. And therefore to give you some light in that matter, I shall not fetch my proofs only from the analogy between baptism and circumcision,—though that one analogy were sufficient to satisfy the importunity of those who think baptizing of infants unlawful, upon this ground of their not understanding their vow: for by that reason, it being as sure that the Jewish child of eight days old could not understand his vow, or what that wickedness was which he then renounced, it must follow, that he could as little be capable of circumcision,—nor again from the footsteps of the Apostles' practice taken notice of in some passages of story in the New Testament, as the Apostles baptizing whole households at once, and the like: but I shall only give you a short view of one place of Scripture, which seems to me to refer to that matter, and it is that of 1 Cor. vii. 14, "For the unbelieving husband hath been sanctified[n] by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife hath been sanctified by the believing husband; else were your children unclean, but now are they holy." The thing there insisted on by the Apostle is his judgment, that the Christian husband or wife should not separate from the heathen wife or husband, as long as the heathen were content to live with the Christian. And this fourteenth verse is an argument to enforce that advice of his; because, saith he, by this means it ordinarily comes to pass that the Christian party converts that other, (for that sure is the meaning of that phrase "hath been sanctified,"

The apostolical practice therein.

[Acts xvi. 15. 1Cor.i.16.]

[n] ἡγίασται.

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not that without being converted he shall be saved by the faith of the other,) and this hope, repeated in plainer words, ver. 16, or the intuition of the possibility of that, is (as the reason of that former advice here, so) the ground, saith the Apostle, of a known practice of the Church, which he mentions in the latter end of the verse, "but now are your children holy;" i. e. as I conceive, the infant children of the Christian parents, which, were it not upon that forementioned ground of hope and presumption, that living with the Christian parents, they will be taught to know their vow of baptism, could not in any reason be differenced from the children of heathens, or allowed any privilege above them, are now hereby holy, i. e. are now upon this ground thought fit to be baptized without any scruple, whereas the heathen children being to live with those heathen parents, are not thus holy, i. e. are not admitted to baptism. If this do not sufficiently appear, by this short paraphrase, to be the meaning of the phrase "but now are your children holy," you may then farther, besides the clear force of the context, observe the use of the word here rendered 'unclean' in other places: as in that famous place of Acts x., where Peter refuseth to eat any thing that is common or 'unclean[o];' where it seems by the sequel, that unclean men are those which are not visible members, and so must not be allowed the privileges of the Church: for God reforming his error, bids him call nothing, i. e. no man, common or unclean, whom God hath cleansed or sanctified, (for so holy and clean are all one[p], as unclean and common[q],) i. e. whom He hath reputed fit to partake of the privilege of preaching there, in those that were of years, and so capable of that also, or of baptism here, in those that were capable of no more. By analogy with which place, and use of the word, it is most reasonable that "now are they holy," should signify, "now are your children thought fit to be partakers of the privileges of the Church," i. e. being capable of no other, of being admitted to baptism, which the children of heathens are not. And indeed this is the only difference between them that have thus a Christian parent, and the children of heathens: for the children of heathens, if they convert when they come to age, shall then be baptized, and so have that

[Acts x. 14.]

[o] ἀκάθαρτον. [p] ἅγια and καθαρά. [q] ἀκάθαρτα and κοινά.

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remote capacity now: and there is no imaginable present privilege for the Christian's children above others, upon which one should be said to be holy, and the other unclean, but only this, that these, while they remain children, are admitted to baptism, the others not. And so this seems to me most naturally to infer, (and the rather for the indefiniteness of the speech "but now are your children holy," all the children that live with the Christian parent,) that it was then in that Apostle's time the general practice of the Church to baptize the Christian's children, when they would not the children of those parents which were both heathen, as counting it reasonable to presume that the Christian's child shall be educated in Christian knowledge, which of the heathen's child they cannot presume, unless he be taken out of the hand of the parents, and, to the confirming of the assurance that it shall be so, requiring beside the parents, in case they should fail or be negligent, the engagements of some other sureties and undertakers, who, as I said, are only the children's proxies for the making the vow, not undertaking for them that they shall perform it, but taking it in their name; and yet in this other business, of making them know what promise they have made, are absolutely sureties and undertakers[r]. And by that means, the thing which the Church in baptizing of infants presumes, (and which if it be justly presumed, there is little farther scruple of the fitness to admit them to baptism,) is secured, as well as any future uncertainty of the greatest value or weight among men is thought fit to be secured, and just in the same manner, by sureties, as those things are which are legally secured among us. By this, I conceive, it may be farther resolved, by the parity of the reason, that whenever the child of any heathen is by any Christian thus undertaken for, he may also very fitly be admitted to baptism. What I have thus said in this matter may yet receive some farther weight by comparing with it the custom of the Jews before Christ in their receiving and baptizing of proselytes, from which, without question, John and Christ took this rite of baptism. For, say they, this baptism belonged not only to those heathens which being of years and knowledge came over to the Jewish religion, but

[r] Sponsores, susceptores.

also to their infant children, if their parents and the congregation under which they were, in whose name it is that the godfathers or sureties do the same now among us, did desire it in behalf of their children, promising to let them know and understand, when they came of age, what was required of them by their proselytism, and, as much as in them lay, undertaking that they should not then renounce the Jewish religion. And this is the very thing that is now practised in all parts of Christendom, and by the text now mentioned appears, as I conceive, to have been the practice of the Apostles' time, i. e. in that age of the first instituting of baptism, which therefore may be deemed herein to have complied distinctly with the practice of the Jews, as it did in the ceremony of water also: for it is observable that the Hebrew word[s] which signifies 'to sanctify,' and so is directly answerable to the phrase "now are they holy" here, is used among the Jews for washing[t]. To this interpretation of the place I shall add no more, but that the notion of holy and unclean there, referring also to the legal uncleannesses or pollutions, which made the unclean to be separated from the congregation, excluded them from enjoying the privileges of the temple till they were washed and sanctified, this is exactly proportionable also to the notion which I have now given you of the words; and accordingly, those that are by baptism admitted into the Church, made partakers of the privileges thereof, will properly be said to be holy[u], as holy is opposite to unclean[x]. Having thus far enlarged on this one place, which if it were not too long, might farther be cleared by shewing the inconvenience of all other interpretations, I shall not think it necessary to add any more grounds of satisfaction to your query, laying the whole practice and custom of the present Church, for baptizing of infants, on the practice of the Christian Church in the Apostles' times, and the continued canons and practice of the succeeding Church in all ages, which required conformity to the apostolical practice, and censured all for heretics which would not yield conformity therein; which sure is a competent testimony to

[s] קדש

[t] Joma, c. 3. sect. 3, where the high-priest's washing his hands and feet ten times on the day expiation is called the 'ten sanctifications,' עשרה קדושיו

[u] ἅγια.

[x] ἀκάθαρτα.

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secure us that this practice or institution of the Apostles was not by them meant, as some other things, to be but temporary, the only colour which some have made use of to abolish some other eminent apostolic practices or institutions. To this I might farther add, in answer to the former part of your query, the benefits and advantages of this practice; as that by this means the child is early admitted to be a partaker of the privileges of the Church and benefits of Christianity, and most probably ascertained by this means to be prepossessed by the true Christian doctrine, before any heathenish or heretical principles have time to be instilled into him, and the like; which are sure so valuable, and so unfit to be neglected by those who have true charity to their children, and know not whether they shall ever live to obtain for them admission to these privileges, if they despise it thus when they may have it, that it cannot but signify either great unkindness in those parents who, considering this, do yet not desire it for their children; or great perverseness and overweening opinion of their own judgments, preferring them before the practice and doctrine of the universal Church of Christ from the Apostles, inclusively, to our present age, if after this evidence, and the many more which might be produced in this matter, they yet hold out obstinately against this light, and do not seek the baptism of the Church for their tender children, who yet, in charity we hope, shall through the mercy of God be secured from suffering any eternal evil for or through this default of their parents, of which their own age preserves them wholly guiltless and unblameable.

The benefits of infant baptism.

SECT. IV.

S. I have enlarged your trouble too far on this first Sacrament; I shall demonstrate my willingness to lessen it by hastening you to the second, in these words "Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's supper instituted?" What course will you think fit to take to expound that to me at the best advantage?

Of the Lord's Supper.

C. If you will take my judgment, this must be the method, which will cost you some attendance. First, to survey the story of Christ's institution of this Sacrament in the gospel. Secondly, to observe what is said of it by way of story of the Apostles' practice. Thirdly, what St. Paul adds to that

Acts ii. 46; xx. 7.

in his describing or directing the use of it, and by the way in a short passage, 1 Cor. xii. 13. Then fourthly, to superadd the same Apostle's descant on those plain songs in one notable place. Fifthly, to see what will certainly arise from these three together: and sixthly, to apply them, by way of illustration and confirmation, to what is said of this matter in the catechism. SECT. IV. 1 Cor. xi. 20. 1 Cor. x. 16, sqq.

S. Be you pleased then to observe your own guesses, and begin with your first stage.

C. I will. And it will not cost you much patience: for although in three of the gospels the story of Christ's institution be repeated, yet is there no considerable variation in that variety. Some things only are observable as circumstances in the setting down the story, some things as essential and fundamental to the institution. Christ's institution of it.

S. Be pleased to dispatch first those that are circumstantial and less principal. Some things in that circumstantial.

C. The first of them is, that Jesus gave that Sacrament to all the disciples, even to Judas himself, as will appear by all three gospels, "He sat down with the twelve;" and Judas speaks to Him; and "Jesus gave it to the disciples," the same persons sure that had all the while been spoken of, there being no mention of His going out as yet: and He bids, "Drink ye all of this," not Judas excluded. So the betrayer "dipped with Him in the dish;" and "as they did eat, Jesus blessed and gave to them;" and "they all drank of it." But most punctually, after He had given the bread and wine, it follows, "the hand of him that betrayeth Me is with Me on the table." And that which St. John saith to this matter is nothing contrary to this, it being only a relation of his going out, when Christ had told John which it was should betray Him, which was after the delivering the piece of bread to him, and that sure was not any part of the paschal supper, which was said to be ended, but the post-cœnium, in which the Sacrament was instituted, agreeable to Luke xxii. 21. Judas's receiving it. Matt. xxvi. 20. ver. 25. ver. 26. ver. 27. Mark xiv. 20. ver. 22. ver. 23. Luke xxii. 19—21. John xiii. 30. ver. 2.

S. From this circumstance what inference do you make?

C. That those that are Christian professors may be lawfully admitted to the Sacrament, though their hearts be full of villainy. This you must take warily: I only say, from

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the example of Christ, who knew the heart of Judas when He admitted him, that it is lawful to admit such to the Sacrament. It is true, the Christian that so comes eats ruin to himself, and ought to reform any such sin, sincerely to renounce it, before he thus comes nigh to God in His Sacrament; and if he do not, it is so far from doing him good, that it proves his mischief. Again, it is true that the governors of the Church, when they see any man go on wilfully, scandalously, and impenitently in any sin, ought to inflict the censures of the Church upon him, to withdraw the Sacrament, and use other the like means to bring him to a sense and shame of himself, by way of discipline, when they see it likely to do good: and in these two respects it is, that such an one may be justly excluded from the Sacrament, by way and out of design of charity to his soul. But then after all this, if he be not under the censures of the Church, which takes off the necessity arising from the second case, and if he will still venture so unworthily to that table, which lays the guilt arising from the first case peculiarly upon himself, it will not be any new act of sin, different from either of these, any pollution to the minister or communicants, to communicate with him in that Sacrament. So that the only error that I would from hence admonish you to avoid, is the conceit of some, that the communicating with wicked or carnal men is a sin in the communicants, a being polluted by their company. It is possible indeed evil company may draw into an imitating of sin, and so pollute. But if it do not so, the very keeping company with them, even in these sacred meetings, is far from being a sin, it is only an acknowledgment that they are of that number whom Christ redeemed,—and so, saith St. Peter, are "they that are damned,"—a joining with them in profession of Christianity,—which sure I may do with those who are only professors,—a confederating in a vow of living Christian lives,—and that I may sincerely and lawfully do with them who are not sincere; and all these are charitable and Christian acts, and withal tokens of humility, that we are not of that Pharisee's humour, so to condemn and triumph over the publican. And for this practice I conceive we have the Apostle's example toward the Corinthians, among whom though there were fornicators, incestuous, they that went

Communicating with wicked men.

2 Pet. ii. 1.

[Luke xviii. 11.]

1 Cor. v. 1.

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to law among infidels, carnal persons, some that behaved themselves very unchristianly at the Lord's table, yet of all these the censure of excommunication is sent out only against the incestuous. From whence all that I conclude is, that the communicating with such is not unlawful in a Christian Church. Only he that comes thither is himself concerned to see that he do it worthily, which cannot be without leaving all his wilful sins behind him, and the governor is concerned to exclude him by way of censure, when he thinks that an useful discipline, but is not by that obliged never to admit him. First, because the order Christ sets in the eighteenth of Matthew is, not to deal so rigorously with him, till after three degrees of admonition, which cannot be done just as a man comes to the table. Secondly, because we must not judge others but judicially upon legal process and evidence, which cannot then probably be had neither. Thirdly, because whosoever sees any man come to that table, whom he knows to have been guilty of such sins, may very reasonably, and by the judgment of charity think he hath repented of those sins, and comes then with new vows of renovation; though the truth is, if this last case be wanting, yet will not that make it unlawful to admit him, Christ knowing full well that when Judas received the Sacrament, he was in the full resolution of betraying his master: especially when, as in our Church, every man is by the exhortation before the Sacrament advised of the danger of coming unworthily, and so, if he be such, exhorted not to come to this holy table. Christ communed with publicans and sinners, and this was charity and humility in Him, and a means by conversing with them to reform them; and so may our communicating with them be also.

1 Cor. vi. 1; iii. 3; xi. 21.

[Matt. xviii. 17.]

S. What other less material observations have you from hence?

C. This, that it was used by Christ in imitation of the Jews' custom after supper[y], of distributing bread, and drinking wine about the table, an argument of charity and brotherliness among them. And so by instituting it after supper, Christ was pleased to signify to us, that it should be a contesseration of charity among all Christians. Yet doth

The Sacrament given after supper. Luke xxii. 20.

[y] Postcœnium.

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not this circumstance oblige us to do it at the same time after a meal, any more than the fashion of lying along binds us to the using of the same posture. The ancient Christians generally ate it fasting, and kneeled when they received it.

S. Is there any third observation of this kind?

C. There is this, that Christ instituted this after a peculiar supper, to wit, the Passover, which being a sacrificial feast, (of which notion there were many among the Jews and Gentiles, it being common to both those to annex to their sacrifices to God, a feeding with mirth and festivity upon some parts of the sacrifice,) and peculiarly commemorative of God's mercy of deliverance to the Israelites out of Egypt, and so very fit to signify the crucifixion of Christ, that Lamb slain by the Jews, and fed on by us with bitter herbs, a mixture of sourness in this world, whereupon Christ is called our Passover, or Paschal Lamb slain for us. This Sacrament, which was after the commemorative Passover, is to be conceived a confederation of all Christians one with another, to live piously and charitably, both by commemorating the death of Christ, (who was so good to us, and must expect some return from us, and indeed died for us on purpose that "He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works,") and by making His blood, as it was the fashion in the eastern nations, a ceremony of this covenant, mutual betwixt God and us.

The Sacrament a federal rite.

[Tit. ii. 14.]

S. Is there yet any fourth observation under this head?

C. Yes, that Christ's pleasure was, that all that were present should partake of both elements in the Sacrament, the wine as well as bread; as may appear by the plain words, "Drink ye all of this," and "they all drank of it." And if it should be objected, that the 'all' there were disciples, and so, that no others have that full privilege to drink of the cup, the answer is clear, first, that by this argument the bread might as well be taken away from all but disciples too, and so the laity would have no right to any part of this Sacrament. Secondly, that the practice and writings of the ancient Church, which is the best way to explicate any such difficulty in Scripture, is a clear testimony and proof, that

All to partake of both elements.

Matt. xxvi. 27. Mark xiv. 23.

both the bread and the wine belong to all the people, in the name of His disciples at that time.

S. But why may it not be said that laymen may baptize also, and do those other things for which Christ gave power to His disciples, as well as this bread and wine, divided among the disciples, should belong to them?

C. The answer is given already, that the apostolical practice, and the universal consent of the ancient primitive Church, have defined the one, and defined against the other, and that ought to satisfy any sober man's scruples; it being no way probable that Christ's institution would be presently frustrated and corrupted by His own Apostles, or their practice so falsified by the universal agreement of all that lived next after them, especially there being no universal council wherein it were possible for them all uniformly to agree on such an opposition.

S. Is there any fifth observation of this kind?

C. Yes, the manner of Christ's instituting this supper, by way of blessing or praising God, or giving thanks over it, from whence it is called the Eucharist. The manner, by way of blessing.

S. What doth this import to us?

C. The offering up somewhat unto God in imitation of the first-fruits under the law. To which purpose you may please to observe the manner of the Sacrament in the first apostolical and ancient Church. The Christians, all that were present, brought some of the good fruits of the earth along with them, and offered them at God's altar or table, and the prefect[z] or bishop, or if he were not there, the presbyter, receiving them as an Abel's offering, blessed God for all His mercies, the fruits of the season; but above all for the death of Christ signified by and commemorated in the breaking of the bread and pouring out of the wine: and all the people saying Amen, the officer or attendant, called the deacon, The offertory.

[z] [*Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος· καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἀμήν· τὸ δὲ ἀμὴν, τῇ Ἑβραΐδι φωνῇ τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει· εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.*]—Just. Mart. Ap. i. [p. 82.]

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delivered portions of these, to wit, bread and wine, to all that were present. Then was there a common table spread for all, rich and poor promiscuously, who eat together one common feast, and what was left was reserved by the prefect for those that should be in want, strangers, orphans, widows, &c. And so this was a "feast of charity" in St. Jude's Epistle. Proportionably to this it is, that every one that comes to the Sacrament should bring something with him, "not appear empty before the Lord, or serve Him of that which cost him nothing," but always bring something to the treasury of the Church, for the use of the prefect and presbyters, in case they were not otherwise sufficiently provided for, and then they were called oblations, and the place where they were put the sacrarium, but in case they were, then for the use and sustenance of all that are in want. And that this ought not to be neglected by any man of substance, especially by any congregation, was the main thing I meant to deduce from this circumstance.

Jude 12.

[Exod. xxiii. 16. 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.]

S. Is there yet any more behind?

C. Yes, to enquire what is the full importance of those words added in St. Luke, and repeated by St. Paul, though not mentioned in the other gospels, "do this in remembrance of Me."

Luke xxii. 19. 1Cor.xi.24.

S. What is the full importance of them?

"Do this in remembrance of Me."

C. It is, first, a commission given to His Apostles to continue this ceremony, now used by Him, as a holy ceremony or Sacrament in the Church for ever. Secondly, a direction, that, for the manner of observing it, they should do to other Christians as He had now done to them, i. e. "take, bless, break this bread, take and bless this cup," and then give and distribute it to others, settling this on them as part of their office, a branch of that power left them by Him, and by them communicable to whom they should think fit after them. Thirdly, a specifying of the end to which this was designed, a commemoration of the death of Christ, a representing His passion to God, and a coming before Him in His name, first, to offer our sacrifices of supplications and praises, in the name of the crucified Jesus, (as of old, both among Jews and heathens, all their sacrifices were rites in and by which they supplicated God. See 1 Sam. xiii. 12), and

secondly, to commemorate that His daily continual sacrifice, or intercession for us at the right hand of His Father now in heaven.

S. To whom then doth this office now belong in the Church ever since the Apostles' time? On what sort of men was it settled by them?

C. All that the Scripture reveals to us of this matter is, Christ's bestowing or settling it on the Apostles, whom thereby, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost after upon them, we may suppose invested with power, as for the planting of a Church, which was to endure after the time of their life to the end of the world, so for the appointing and ordaining successors to themselves to preside and officiate in that Church, and particularly to administer this Sacrament to the people, by way of office, to do as Christ here did. But who they were, or what sort of men, on whom the Apostles did actually bestow this power of administering this Sacrament, this you must be content to receive, not from express words of Scripture, but from the ancient records and writings of the Church, which begin where the Scripture ends, and are the only way imaginable to inform us of such matters of fact as these.

S. For passages of story after the Scripture times, it were unreasonable for me to expect evidence from Scripture, or any other than such as you now mention, the writings of the fathers of the primitive Church; with their relations I shall willingly rest satisfied in this matter. I beseech you therefore, what is the sum of what you find in them to this purpose?

To whom the administering this Sacrament belongeth.

C. That the Apostles settled in the Church (besides the bishops, who were to succeed them in the power of ruling, and censures, in the power of ordination, &c.) others of an inferior order, called, within a while, by the discriminative title of presbyters, who, in the absence of the bishop, or when licensed by him, and not otherwise, had this power to bless the bread and wine, and to deliver it, either by their own hands, or the hands of the deacon (which was an order founded Acts vi., but inferior to them) to all Christian communicants. And so this branch of the Apostle's power and office, with some others, not now pertinent to be insisted on, may be

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resolved, in this forementioned subordination to the bishop, to be instated on presbyters, and consequently, that the presbyters in the Church are thus far the successors of the Apostles, to whom this commission thus belongs, and with it the duty of administering this Sacrament to the people committed to their charges, frequently and at fit seasons, and of instructing, exciting, and preparing them for a worthy receiving of it. And this is all that I think needful to trouble you with on this subject.

S. I thank you for this; and shall now suppose that you have passed through all the first sort of observations, those that are more circumstantial. What now is that which is the more substantial difficulty to be explained in those gospels?

C. It is to resolve what is the meaning of Christ's words of institution, "This is My body," &c.

S. And what is that?

The meaning of "This is My body."

C. Not that the bread was His body, and the wine His blood, in strict speaking, for He was then in His body when He so spake; and when the disciples distributed it among themselves, He was not bodily in every of their mouths. And now His body is in heaven, and there to be contained till the day of "restitution of all things," and is not corporally brought down in every sacrament, either to be joined locally with the elements, or for the elements to be changed into it; many contradictions and barbarisms would be consequent to such an interpretation. Every loaf of consecrated bread would be the body of Christ, and so the same thing be two cubits long, and not two cubits long; and many the like contradictory propositions would be all true, which it is generally resolved to be impossible even for God, because it would make Him a liar, and be an argument not of power, but imperfection. So again, every communicant must carnally eat man's flesh and blood, which is so savage a thing, that St. Austin saith, that whensoever words of Scripture seem to sound that way, they must otherwise be interpreted[a].

[a] [Sicut mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum carnem suam nobis manducandam bibendumque sanguinem dantem, fideli corde atque ore suscipimus; quamvis horribilius videatur humanam carnem manducare, quam perimere, et humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere; atque in omnibus sanctis scripturis, secundum sanæ fidei regulam, figurate dictum vel

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S. What sense then may, or must be put upon them?

C. In answering this question, I shall first give you an observation taken from the Jewish phrases and customs used in this matter; and it is this, that the lamb that was dressed in the paschal supper, and set upon the table, was wont to be called the body of the Passover[b], or the body of the paschal lamb[c]; and that Christ seems to allude to this phrase, when He saith, "This is My body;" as if He should say, The paschal lamb, and the body of it, i. e. the presentation of that on the table in the Jewish feast, the memorial of deliverance out of Egypt, and type of My delivering Myself to die for you, I will now have abrogated, and by this bread which I now deliver to you, I give or exhibit to you this other Passover, My own self, who am to be sacrificed (My body, which shall presently be delivered to death) for you, that you may hereafter, instead of that other, retain and continue to posterity a memorial and symbol of Me. This for the words 'My body:' but then for the whole phrase, or form of speech, "This is My body," it seems to be answerable to, and substituted instead of, the paschal form, "This is the bread of affliction, which our fathers ate in Egypt[d]," or, "This is the unleavened bread," &c., or, "This is the passover;" not that it is that very identical bread which they then ate, but that it is the celebration of that anniversary feast which was then instituted, as when in ordinary speech we say on Good-Friday, and Easter-day, 'this day Christ died,' and 'this day Christ rose,' when we know that it was so many hundred years since He died or rose; which example is adapted to

factum, si quid exponitur, de quibuslibet rebus et verbis quæ sacris paginis continentur expositio illa ducatur, non aspernanter sed sapienter audiamus.—S. Aug. contra adv. legis et prophet., lib. ii. c. 9.

Servabitur ergo in locutionibus figuratis regula hujusmodi, ut tam diu versetur diligenti consideratione quod legitur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretatio perducatur. Si autem hoc jam proprie sonat, nulla putetur figurata locutio. Si præceptiva locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam jubens, non est figurata; si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. *Nisi manducaveritis*, inquit, *carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis;* facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura est ergo præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit.—S. Aug. de Doct. Christ., lib. iii. c. 15, 16.]

[b] גופי של פסח

[c] גופי של כבש הפסח So Talmud. de Pasch. c. ult. So Rab. Mos. Maimon. in Hilchos Chamets umatzah. c. 8. sect. 1. and sect. 7. So in Mekilta, fol. 4. col. 1.

[d] הא לחמא רעניא

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this point in hand by St. Austin in his epistles[e]. Thus much for the phrase or form of speech; now for the sense or full importance of the words, "This is My body," I shall by the authority of the ancient fathers think myself obliged to acknowledge, that the highest sense that will not be subject to those intolerable inconveniences mentioned in the answer to your last question may possibly be the sense of them: and that that which most belongs to other places of Scripture, speaking of the same matter, must in any reason be resolved to be the sense of them. For the former of these, it is certain that many of the ancient fathers of the Church conceived very high things of this Sacrament, acknowledged the bread and wine to be changed[f], and to become other than they were; but not so as to be transubstantiate into the

[e] [Nempe sæpe ita loquimur, ut Pascha propinquante dicamus crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa passio facta sit. Nempe ipso die Dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit; cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint. Cur nemo tam ineptus est ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum, quibus hæc gesta sunt, similitudinem nuncupamus ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse sed revolutione temporis similis ejus; et dicatur illo die fieri propter sacramenti celebrationem, quod non illo die, sed jam olim factum est? Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen in sacramento, non solum per omnes Paschæ sollemnitates sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari? Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc, cum respondetur parvulus credere qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum, propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus, *Consepulti*, inquit, *sumus Christo* per baptismum in mortem. Non ait, sepulturam significavimus; sed prorsus ait, *Consepulti sumus*. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei nonnisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. Itaque parvulum etsi nondum fides illa quæ in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit. Nam sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur, non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo.—S. Aug. Ep. 98. ad Bonifac., tom. ii. p. 267 D.]

[f] [Eranistes: ὥσπερ τοίνυν] τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος [ἄλλα μέν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως,] μετὰ [δέ γε] τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· [οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν.

Orthodoxus: ἑάλως αἷς ὕφηνες ἄρκυσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα] τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν.—Theodor. Dial. 2. [tom. iv. p. 85.] And for the reader's ease he may see many other testimonies of this nature, and the use of the words μεταποίησις, μεταβολή, μεταῤῥύθμισις, μεταλῆψις, μεταστοιχείωσις, but never μετουσίωσις, collected by the late bishop of Norwich, in his Θεανθρωπικὸν, or Origines Ecclesiasticæ.—[Vide Montacutii Orig. Eccles. tomi prioris part. post. p. 247 sqq.]

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body and blood of Christ, to depart from their own substance, or figure, or form, or to cease to be bread and wine by that change: and that the faithful do receive the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, which implies not any corporal presence of Christ on the table, or in the elements, but God's communicating the crucified Saviour, who is in heaven bodily, and nowhere else, to us sinners on the earth, but this mystically, and after an ineffable manner. And generally they make it a mystery, but descend not to the revealing of the manner of it, leaving it as a matter of faith, but not of sense, to be believed, but not grossly fancied or described. I shall leave these then, and apply myself to the latter sort, the other places of Scripture which speak of this matter, resolving that that must be the meaning of the words of Christ, "This is My body," which by examination shall appear to be most agreeable to those other places. And of this sort of places, you may first take the passages in the gospels themselves, where Christ saith of the cup, (not the wine, but the cup, which refers to the action, the pouring out and drinking,) that it is a new covenant in His blood which was shed for us. Which it seems is all one in sense with that other, "This is My blood of the new covenant which is shed for many;" and in Matthew, "This is My blood, that of the new covenant," &c. Which being put together, as parallels to interpret one the other, will conclude that Christ's blood was truly shed for our benefit, particularly to seal a new covenant betwixt God and us, and that this Sacrament was the exhibiting that covenant to us: as when God saith to Abraham, "This is the covenant that I will make with you, every male among you shall be circumcised;" this circumcision is in effect called the covenant, as here the cup is the covenant, i. e. not only the sign of the covenant, but a seal of it, and an exhibition of it, a real receiving me into covenant, and making me partaker of the benefits of it. And this you shall more fully see, if you proceed to the places in St. Paul, especially that 1 Cor. x. 16. But first we must descend to the next part of our method proposed, that is, to observe what is said of this Sacrament by way of story of the Apostles' practice.

[Mark xiv. 24.] [Matt. xxvi. 28.]

[Gen. xvii. 10.]

Acts ii. 46; xx. 7.

S. What is that?

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C. In the second of the Acts this is all that is said of it, that "continuing daily with one accord," in unanimous prayer, "in the temple, and breaking bread in some house[g]," or 'room,' as the upper room, Acts i. 13, assigned and separated from all other to that particular use, to be the place of Christian assembly, it being by the Jews permitted them to pray in the temple[h], but not to break bread or administer the Sacrament there, "they did eat their meat with gladness, and singleness," or 'liberality[i],' "of heart, praising God, and having," or 'exercising,' "charity[j] toward all the people."

S. What do you observe from this place?

Frequency of the Apostles' receiving.

C. First, the frequency of the Apostles' receiving the Sacrament, at that time immediately after Christ's ascension, and the descent of the Spirit, for ought a man can guess by the text, every day, at least every first day of the week, at their meeting together. Which although it be acknowledged, as will appear by what you shall see anon, not to be strictly obligatory to us for the like frequency, yet will much reproach and upbraid our infrequency and negligence in this duty now-a-days, especially our forsaking such assemblies, going out of the church oft-times when that feast is prepared, and ready for us, if we did not contemptuously depart from it.

S. What more do you learn from hence?

C. Two special accessories used by them, and, as we have reason to resolve, required of us, to make up this solemnity.

S. What be they?

Christian joy.

C. First, godly or Christian joy and cheerfulness in blessing and praising God for all His benefits, but especially that gracious gift of His Son Christ. This is set down in two

[g] *κατ' οἶκον.*

[h] *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.*

[i] *ἀφελότης*, being all one with *ἁπλότης*, of which we spake on Matt. vi. 22.

[j] *ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν λαὸν*, where *χάρις* signifies charity more than once, 2Cor. viii. [1,4,7,19], and in a place fully parallel to this Acts iv. 33, *χάρις τε μεγάλη ἦν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτούς*, 'great grace was upon them all,' which by the antecedents, ver. 32, "having all things common," and consequents, ver. 34, 35, "no man wanted," &c. appears to belong to that matter; and therefore the Syriac renders it יטובוהא רבת i. e. *bonitas, benignitas, beneficentia multa*, though Fabricius, rather following the Greek, render it *gratia magna*. And *ἔχειν* is to use or exercise, as "to him that hath shall be given," and "let us have grace," Heb. xii. 28. And therefore the Syriac renders it יתיבין נרחמיא *dabant in eleemosyna, vel in misericordia, coram universo populo;* not as Gu. Fabricius renders it, *quum iniissent gratiam*, for יהב is *edit* clearly, and רחמא *misericordia, gratia, eleemosyna*, that which we ordinarily render *σπλάγχνα*, 'bowels of mercy.'

phrases; first, "receiving food with gladness of heart[k];" and the words signify first a cordial joy and cheerfulness, then an excessive degree and expression of it; secondly, "praising God[l]," or singing praises to Him with lofty and even poetical expressions. SECT. IV. Acts ii. 46. ver. 47.

S. What is the second thing?

C. The communicant's liberality and charity to those brethren that are in want. This is expressed also by two phrases in the Greek, neither of them fitly rendered in our English. First, with liberality or frankness of heart[m], a cheerful, bounteous, cordial giving. Secondly, having charity to all the people[n]; by the word which I render 'charity' intimating that offertory here and in other places, especially 2 Cor. viii., which was then and ever since used constantly in the Church of Christ at the receiving of that Sacrament: and by the phrase 'all the people' signifying, first, the liberality of those offerings, such as would suffice to that end; secondly, the impartiality of distribution, as in a common table all partaking of what was thus offered, the poor as well as the rich, as you shall see anon more at large. Liberality.

S. Will you proceed now to that other place, Acts xx. 7?

C. I will, and that will add but little to what this last place hath yielded. The words are these, "And on the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, &c., and there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered together," &c.

S. What do you gather from hence?

C. Only this; first, that the celebration of this Sacrament is called in the Scripture phrase "breaking of bread," as before it was, Acts ii. Secondly, that the Lord's day or first day of the week was the time so early set apart to this and such holy duties, and that that is the reason that St. Paul gives the exhortation, that on the "first day of the week every man should lay aside his proportional liberality," for the use of the poor: thirdly, that the upper room again was the place of those Christian assemblies: fourthly, that it is uncertain whether they received daily or no, it being possible Breaking of bread. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Acts ii. [46.]

[k] ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καρδίας.
[l] αἰνοῦντες Θεόν.
[m] ἐν ἀφελότητι καρδίας.
[n] ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν λαόν.

L. I B. VI. that the word 'daily' there, may belong only to their going to the temple; or however, that here that frequency doth not appear to be continued, but only every Lord's day, once a week, and that still will be a reproach to our slackness. It is now time to advance from these more casual mentions of this matter to those other more solemn texts, and in the next place, according to our method, to observe what St. Paul adds to the story of the institution in the gospel, in his describing or directing the use of it.

1 Cor. xi. 20, sqq.

S. Please you to do so.

C. I shall, and to that end briefly give you a paraphrase of the whole place. "When you after this inordinate manner, mentioned ver. 18, 19, meet together, this is not to do as becomes Christians, when they eat the Lord's Supper, or, as the Syriac reads, 'when they eat and drink on the Lord's day.'" "But as if you were at your own meals, every man of you eateth that which he brought with him; so that one eats and drinks more than is fit for him, viz. the rich that brought more with him, and another, poor man that could bring but a little, is well nigh famished." "If this be it you will do, you should keep at home, and eat by yourselves; and to come to the congregation, and do this, is the despising and scorning the Church of God, where all that is brought is to furnish a common table, and withal a shaming those poor men that could bring but little, and are out of countenance to have done so, when you, rich misers that are by them, have such plenty. What? do you expect to be borne with, and not reprehended for this? You are mistaken; this is a fault in you, to which purpose I will tell you the manner of Christ's institution of the Sacrament, to which those Christian feasts were annexed." "The Lord delivered down this course to me, which I deliver to you, viz. that the Lord Jesus, in the night that He was to be delivered up to the Jews, took bread, and giving thanks over it, brake it, and said, Take and eat, this" (not 'this bread,' for if that should be the antecedent, the Greek word is of a gender that in strictness will not bear it, both here and in the gospels; but either indefinitely 'this,' or with respect to the immediate antecedent, 'this taking and eating') "is My body which shall be delivered" (or, as the Syriac, 'is broken') "for you:

ver. 20.

ver. 21.

ver. 22.

ver. 23.

ver. 24.

do this" (or, as the Syriac, 'do thus') "in commemoration of Me." Where I conceive the literal notation of the words will bear this observation, that as the word 'this[o]' in the latter words signifies not the bread, but the whole action or administration, 'do this,' i. e. do you all that I have done in your presence, take bread, break, bless it, give it to others, and so commemorate Me. So the same word 'this[p]' in the former speech, "This is My body," may signify the whole action too, viz. that the breaking and distributing, taking and eating this bread, is the body of Christ; in what sense you shall see anon, like as, when Matt. xiii. 19, the words literally run thus, "When any one heareth, &c., this is it which is sowed by the path-side," they must be thus necessarily explained, any man's hearing, and not considering, the word, and the devil's coming, &c. is the meaning of that which is sowed by the 'path-side;' or yet more plainly, like as ver. 20, "that which was sown upon the stony parts of the field, this is he that heareth the word," &c. where it is clear, the seed is not answerable to the man, but to the word, and that ground to the man. But the seed as it was sown on the ground, all together, "This is he," i. e. this signifies him, "that hears the word, and receives it with joy," &c. After this it follows, "'So likewise He took the cup,' having supped before, and so He did it for some peculiar intent, not to satisfy thirst, 'and gave it them to drink, saying, This cup is a new covenant made with you, and sealed in My blood,' and as oft as you thus drink together in time of holy assembly, give it to others also, as I have done to you, and do it in commemoration of Me." "'For as oft as you shall eat this bread, and drink this cup,' saith St. Paul by way of conclusion from the premises,—for the Syriac setting it, suffers it not to be part of Christ's speech,—'you do one to another annunciate or proclaim the death of our Lord, till He come again to judge us.'" "'And therefore whosoever doth eat of this bread, and drink of this cup unworthily,' either not performing the condition required in the covenant, of which that is the seal; or breaking the institution of it in any principal part, particularly in that of the charity and liberality here mentioned to those Corinthians, he is so far from being

ver. 25.

ver. 26.

ver. 27.

[o] τοῦτο. [p] τοῦτο.

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benefited by that Sacrament, or that death of Christ, that he is rather to be looked on as a man that by this unworthy action had wounded the Lord, contributed farther to the
ver. 28. crucifying of Him." "'And therefore let a man examine and shrive himself,' and see that he come worthily to that Sacrament, both by laying off all his former heinous sins, and behaving himself in that action christianly, quite other-
ver. 29. wise than those Corinthians, it seems, had done." "'For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily,' being unworthy by his impenitent sins to approach to so sacred an action, or behaving himself so unchristianly there, by thus eating and drinking 'engageth himself to damnation, not considering the death of Christ,' which this was to commemorate, and the end thereof, that he should die unto sin, and give himself up
ver. 30. to new life." "The not performing of which is oft punished even in this life, by sickness, diseases, and even excision or
ver. 31. death itself." "Which are punishments of God to bring them to a sense and reformation that nothing else will work on."
ver. 32. "And sure, such kind of punishments are in God acts of chastisement, and so of mercy, to mend, that He may not condemn; to give us our punishment here, that it may not be
ver. 33. behind an arrear to be paid hereafter." "Therefore for the fault which you were first told of, that of eating before others, even before they come, engrossing to yourselves and despising others, I beseech you let that be mended in these
ver. 34. public assemblies." "And for private meals, or eating by yourselves, let it be at home, for to take them in the church is a damning sin. And for other directions, I will give you them when I come among you."

S. What do you chiefly observe to me from this place for my farther instruction?

C. The punctual confirmation of almost every particular before collected from the gospels: which although it be no new thing, because it was there delivered, yet in effect teaches us somewhat, viz. this, that those other doctrines that according to several men's fancies are delivered concerning this Sacrament, having no ground in either of these texts, have not authority from Christ, nor yet from St. Paul, unless the other place which is behind will afford them, which what they are, I shall no farther tell you than thus

negatively; it being my purpose only to teach you the positive truth to direct your life, not the contrary errors that may satisfy your curiosity, or provoke your displeasure against any. There is also here a great weight laid on a worthy receiving of that Sacrament, and to that end special care must be taken that we examine ourselves, come not to that spiritual presence or visions, as it were, of God, to the renewing of His covenant with us, with any impurity about us; and as a pawn or pledge of our leaving all other sins, we must signify and express our charity and liberality, and not be guilty of any of those earthly sins of pride and covetousness, but condescend to a common partaking of some part of God's mercies with our brethren. SECT. IV.

S. You told me there was another passage by the way, looking this way, what is it?

C. This only, that we have been all made to drink into one Spirit: which by some of the Greek ancients hath been thought to refer to the cup in this Sacrament, though the truth is, it may signify no more than being watered, or irrigation, a consequent distinct from the planting in baptism that went before, in that sense as it is said that, "Paul plants, and Apollos waters," where the same word is used[q]. And then the plain meaning of it seems by the context to be no more than this, that as by baptism we are all entered and incorporate into that one body, of which Christ is head; so by the other Sacrament whatever our particular condition in the Church be, we are received into a participation of that one Spirit, which furnishes every order and sort of men with gifts convenient for their ministration; and so this Sacrament is an obligation to charity and humility toward one another, neither opposing nor contemning one another, as follows in that chapter. 1 Cor. xii. 13. 1 Cor. iii. 6.

S. Will you now proceed to the fourth part of your proposed method, and see what is to be found to this purpose in that special place, 1 Cor. x. 16.

C. I shall, and for a right understanding of it, and collecting that which the context was meant to afford us, you must mark that the practice of the Israelites first in their sacrifices, and then of the heathens in theirs, are there

[q] [ἐποτίσθημεν, ἐπότισεν.]

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brought to convince the truth of what is there said of this Christian Sacrament; and therefore it will be useful to observe first, what it is that is there said of the Israelites, then of the Gentiles, and then to apply or bring it home to this business.

S. What then is it that is said of the Israelites?

The Israelites' sacrificial feasts. 1 Cor. x. 18.

C. It is this observation concerning their sacrificial feasts, that they that eat any part of them, as when the priest offered up a sacrifice, some parts of the beasts were eaten together by the people, are conceived to have joined in the service performed by the priest or sacrificer, and to have right together with him in all the benefits of the sacrifice; his eating is called "eating before the Lord," and is by God counted as an acceptable service: and whatever flows from God in this case by way of benefit or advantage, comes to him as really as to the priest, it being the priest's part to sacrifice, the people's to eat; and so in those two things there is a mutual reciprocal action betwixt God and them, they serve God, and God blesses them, and that is called communicating, or being partakers of the altar.

S. What is it that is said of the heathens?

ver. 20, 21.

C. First, that they sacrifice to their false gods, when only the true one ought to have that worship from them, and, as by the twenty-second verse it appears, that this is a breach of the second commandment, for to that refer those two speeches, "do we provoke God to jealousy?" in reference to His title there of being "a jealous God;" and "are we stronger than He?" in reference to His title God[r], which signifies 'strong.' Secondly, that they which have this mutual conjunction with those false gods, are supposed to receive influxes from them, and to disclaim expecting any thing from the true one, ver. 20, 21, where also the phrase, "the cup of the Lord," is to be taken notice of, and parallel to that, "the table of the Lord," to note the action again, and not the elements, as before I shewed you the 'this' signifieth.

S. What then is the result of both these instances together?

C. That they that eat of the sacrificial feast, either of the true or false gods, have a mutual conjunction with them,

[r] אל

a kind of consideration, perform services to, and receive influences, benefits and advantages from them, do so really from the true God, and are supposed to do so from the false; which is the reason why Daniel refused "to eat of the portion of the king's meat," because a part of it being cast upon the altar to the heathen gods, the rest thereby was consecrated to them, and so was meat offered to an idol, which a Jew was not to taste of. Dan. i. 8.

S. How then will you bring this home to our business in hand, to the Sacrament?

C. You shall see, verse 16, for there the Sacrament is set down, and the nature and use of it. Thus: "the cup of blessing which we bless," or as the Syriac, "the cup of praise," i. e. the chalice of wine, which is in the name of the people offered up by the bishop or presbyter to God with lauds and thanksgivings, i. e. that whole eucharistical action (and that expressed to be the action of the people, as well as the presbyter, by their drinking of it) is the communication of the blood of Christ, a service of theirs to Christ, a sacrifice of thanksgiving, commemorative of that great mercy and bounty of Christ in pouring out His blood for them, and a making them,—or a means by Christ ordained to make them,—partakers of the blood of Christ, not of the guilt of shedding it, but, if they come worthily thither, of the benefits that are purchased by it, viz., "the washing away of sin in His blood:" so in like manner, the "breaking and eating of the bread[s]" is a communication of the body of Christ, a sacrifice commemorative of Christ's offering up His body for us, and a making us partakers, or communicating to us the benefits of that bread of life, strengthening and giving us grace. And both these parts of each part of this Sacrament put together, are, parallel to what was said of the Israelites and Gentiles, a mutual consideration betwixt us and the crucified Saviour; on our parts, an acknowledging Him for our God, and worshipping of Him: and on His part, the making over to us

[s] So the phrase *τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν*, will be all one with *λαβεῖν καὶ φαγεῖν τὸν ἄρτον*, "to take and eat the bread," proportionably to the notion I gave of *ποτήριον* and of *τοῦτο* in the gospel, "This is My body," i. e. the taking and eating this bread, (not this bread itself,) and so it will be answerable to *ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας*, the cup, not the wine, to note the wine in the cup ready for drinking.

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all the benefits of His body and blood, i. e. His death, grace and pardon, to sanctify and to justify us.

S. You told me even now, that you would shew me how the phrase "This is My body" in the gospel, interpreted by this 'taking and eating is My body,' was to be understood: perhaps it may now be time for you to pay me that debt.

C. It is a fit season to do so; for this very phrase of St. Paul's, "the bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ," is the key to open that difficulty, and indeed perfectly all one, of the very same importance with that. This 'breaking, taking, eating of the bread,' this whole action is the real communication of the body of Christ to me, and is therefore by some ancient writers[t] called by a word which signifies the 'participation,'—communication and participation being the same, only one referred to the giver, the other to the receiver,—the very giving Christ's body[u] to me; that as verily as I eat the bread in my mouth, so verily God in heaven bestows on me, communicates to me the body of the crucified Saviour. And so all that I told you of the full sense of that phrase, 'communication of Christ's body,' is again to be repeated here to make up the sense of those words, "This is my body:" which being so largely enlarged on, I need not now to repeat to you.

The communication of the body of Christ.

S. I shall spare you that pains, and rest satisfied with what you have already afforded me, and now only remember you, that having gone through four parts of your intended method, the fifth is now next to succeed, to see what will certainly arise from these four views: please you to proceed to that.

C. I have in effect done it already; yet on condition you will fetch that part, which I told you was more circumstantial and extrinsecal, from that place where I laid down all on that head together, in the places of the gospels, I will now give you a compendium or brief of the main substantial part of this Sacrament. And that consists only of two branches, one on our parts performed to God, the other on God's part per-

Two branches of the Sacrament.

[t] μετάληψις [δὲ λέγεται] δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ, τῆς Ἰησοῦ θεότητος μεταλαμβάνομεν.—S. Jo. Damascen. [de fid. orthod., lib. iv. c. 13. tom. i. p. 273. See also the same author's tract, de corpore et sanguine Christi, ib. p. 655 sqq.]

[u] δέχεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ.—S. Chrysost.

formed to us. That on our part is commemorating[v] the goodness of God in all, but especially that His great bounty of giving His Son to die for us: and this commemoration hath two branches, one of praise and thanksgiving to Him for this mercy, the other of Annunciation[x] or shewing forth, not only first to men, but secondly and especially to God, this sacrifice of Christ's, in offering up His body upon the cross for us. That which respecteth or looks toward men, is a professing of our faith in the death of Christ; that which looks toward God, is our pleading before Him that sacrifice of His own Son, and through that humbly and with affiance requiring the benefits thereof, grace and pardon to be bestowed upon us. And then God's part is the accepting of this our bounden duty, bestowing that body and blood of Christ upon us, not by sending it down locally for our bodies to feed on, but really for our souls to be strengthened and refreshed by it: as when the sun is communicated to us, the whole bulk and body of the sun is not removed out of its sphere, but the rays and beams of it, and with them the light and warmth and influences, are really and verily bestowed or darted out upon us. And all this is the full importance of "This is My body," or 'this is the communication of His body.' And so I have passed through the fifth undertaking also.

S. There is then only a sixth behind, to apply all this by way of illustration and confirmation to what is said of this matter in the catechism.

C. This will be easily done; you would be able to do it yourself; yet I shall go before you in this also.

S. The first question then is, "Why the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ordained;" and the answer, "For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and the benefits which we receive thereby:" what is the meaning of that answer?

[v] So the bitter herbs were זכר a memorial of the bitter Egyptian servitude, Exod. i. 14, the use of the red wine was לזכר for a memorial that Pharaoh washed himself in the blood of the children of Israel.

[x] So that precept, Exod. xiii. 8, is given by Moses, that in the Passover they should annunciate, or tell forth unto their children the mercy of their deliverance, (והגדת) and thence they call the paschal lesson הגדה *καταγγελίαν*, 'annunciation;' and from thence, by a mistake in a passage in Elias Levita, did Scaliger conceive that the night after the fourteenth of the month Nisan was called הגדה which belongs only to the lesson then used.

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C. Dissolve the words, and you shall see most clearly. First, Christ died: secondly, this death of His was a sacrifice for us, an oblation once for all, offered to His Father for us weak sinful men: thirdly, by this sacrifice we that are true Christians receive unspeakable benefits, as strength to repair our weakness, and enable us to do what God in His Son will accept; and reconciliation, or pardon for us miserable sinners: and fourthly, the end of Christ's instituting this Sacrament, was on purpose that we might at set times, frequently and constantly returning,—for that is the meaning of 'continual,' parallel to the use of "without ceasing[y]," applied to the sacrifice among the Jews, and the duty of prayer among Christians,—remember and commemorate before God and man this sacrifice of the death of Christ.

S. The next question, "What is the outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper?" and the answer, "Bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received," are so plain, that I shall not crave your aid. I conceive it is this, that bread and wine is in this, as water was in the other Sacrament, the element or outward part, set to signify somewhat else; this appointed by Christ to be eaten and drunk, as the water to be dipped in, or sprinkled with. And so likewise for the next question, and first part of the answer, that the "body and blood of Christ is the inward part, or thing signified" by the other, the body broken on the cross signified by the bread broken and eaten, and the blood poured out on the cross signified by the wine poured out into the cup and drunk by us. But then what is the full importance of that which follows in the latter part of that answer, that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord's Supper?"

The body of Christ verily received.

C. It is this, that in that Sacrament God really bestows, and every faithful prepared Christian as really and truly receives the body and blood of Christ. As truly as the bishop or presbyter gives me the sacramental bread and wine, so truly doth God in heaven bestow upon me on earth the body and blood of Christ, i. e. the crucified Saviour, not by local motion, but by real communication; not to our teeth, but to our souls; and consequently exhibits, makes over, reaches

[y] ἀδιαλείπτως.

out unto us all the benefits thereof, all the advantages that flow to us from the death of Christ: the truth of which you had even now confirmed by the words of the gospel explicated by the plainer expression of St. Paul, "that the cup was the communication of the blood of Christ," &c. SECT. IV.

S. The next question is plain also, "What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby?" Be you pleased to explicate the answer to it. The benefits of it.

C. Dissolve it again, and you will do it yourself. Thus: the first benefit is the "strengthening of our souls by the body of Christ, as our bodies are strengthened by bread." Bread signifies all nourishment for the body, and is called, you know, "the staff of life," without which the body is not able to sustain itself, but grows feeble, staggers, and falls into the very grave of death and rottenness, if this staff be not constantly continued to it. Thus is grace to the soul; we can do nothing, that is in order to spiritual life, but fall into sin,—custom of sin, the putrefaction of the soul,—and so to eternal death without it: and having forfeited that stock that God had given us in Paradise, we have none of this kind left, but what Christ had by His death purchased for us; and by that great dear bargain of His, there is come into the Church a new stock and staple of grace and strength, for every one that shall in the name of Christ ask it importunately, receive it watchfully, and make use of it diligently; enough, I say, though not to keep us infallibly without sinning any more, though not to possess us irresistibly, and so keep us that we cannot fall, yet to enable us to do that which God in Christ will now graciously accept at our hands, i. e. to serve Him sincerely in holiness and renewed righteousness, and to enable us again, if we be not wanting to ourselves, to continue and persevere thus to our lives' end. The first.

S. You have shewed me the first benefit, but I conceive there is another; what is that?

C. It is "the refreshing of our souls by the blood of Christ, as our bodies are refreshed with wine." Wine may be taken in a double propriety, one to refresh the thirsty, another to comfort the sick; as a little was allowed to Timothy for his frequent sickliness[z]. He that pants for thirst, hath his inward The second. [1 Tim. v. 23.]

[z] πυκναὶ ἀσθένειαι, the word used for the diseases as well as weaknesses.

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flame quenched, and so is refreshed, by wine; and he that hath any indisposition of body, hath that eased, and so is also refreshed, by wine. And just thus is the pardon of sin to a thirsty wounded soul: the conscience of sin is a flame of fire within, and a deep wound to the soul, and no rest, no quiet under it; and God's free pardon and remission, His speaking peace to the unquiet, His saying "thy sins are forgiven," to the burthened and sin-sick soul, is the greatest, only refreshment to that soul. Let God "say this word only, and Thy servant shall be healed." And this pardon was wrought by the blood, i. e. again by the death, of Christ, by the sacrifice and satisfaction of that innocent Saviour, by which suffering we are released, by whose stripes healed.

[Matt. ix. 2.]

[Matt. viii. 8.]

S. But how is this strength and this pardon purchased by Christ's death?

Strength purchased by Christ's death.

C. The strength thus: "Christ being in form of God, and equal with God, took upon Him the form of a man," all of him but our sins; in this He suffered a shameful death; whereupon, saith the Apostle, "God did highly exalt Him," rewarded this great humility and patience of His with this dignity and preferment, "that all power should be given to Him both in heaven and earth;" that He might dispense to His disciples all the riches of heaven, i. e. that sufficient strength and grace which will, being made use of, raise us up from death, spiritual and corporal, enable us to live like saints here, and raise us to life again hereafter. This power was indeed instated on Him at His resurrection, but purchased by His death.

[Phil. ii. 9.]

S. How was the pardon of sin purchased?

And pardon.

C. You have oft heard; by the satisfaction wrought by Him in His sufferings, taking upon Him to be our surety, and to suffer in our stead, that as many as are renewed by His grace, may be released by His sufferings; and from both these results the consummation of our hope, everlasting bliss in another world: God's mercy, when He is thus reconciled unto us in the blood of His Son, rewarding every poor mean Christian action of ours with eternal glory.

S. There remains now no more behind, but only the concluding question, which supposing these benefits thus made over in the Sacrament, but imagining it impossible that unworthy, unprepared, profane receivers should be ever the

better for it, asks, "What is required of them which come to the Lord's Supper?" What have you to add to that answer that there is given to that question?

The preparation for worthy receiving.

C. No more but this; that every man is infinitely concerned to have his soul always possessed with every part of that preparation; that the careless oscitancy and fatal stupidity of the world, in never so much as considering whether they have any of them or no, is a most prodigious thing; that the time of preparing ourselves for the Sacrament,—which ought to be frequent, but how frequent is not defined in the Scripture, but left to the judgment of the Church,—is a very fit time for that self-examination; that till that be done, and all and each of those graces found sincere in our hearts, we ought not to come to that holy Sacrament, which yet will not excuse any for not coming because he is not prepared, but rather aggravate the sin upon him, that rather than thus fit himself, he will part with so great a treasure; and lastly, that the particulars of which we must thus examine, and which we must thus require of ourselves, are five: 1. True repentance, containing sense, sorrow, humiliation, contrition, confession of all former sins. 2. A stedfast purpose to lead a new life, a resolution to reform all, and that resolution such as will stand fast in the hour of trial or temptation. 3. A lively faith in God's mercy through Christ; a faith, and that a vital one. 4. A thankful remembrance and commemoration of His death. 5. Charity with all men. Every one of which being in their several due places particularly explained unto you, I shall suppose you sufficiently instructed, and only desire to oblige you that all this be not laid up to fill your brain, but sunk down into an honest heart, that knowing these things, you may be capable of that bliss that belongs to the doers of them.

O holy Jesu, that camest down from heaven, and wert pleased to pay that dear ransom on the cross for us, on purpose that Thou mightest "redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Thyself a peculiar people, zealous of good works;" we beseech Thee to write Thy law in our hearts, that most [Tit. ii. 14.]

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excellent divine law of Thine, that we may see it, and do it; that we may know Thee, and the power of Thy resurrection, and express it in turning every one of us from his iniquities: that we no longer flatter ourselves with a formal external serving of Thee, with being hearers of Thy word, partakers of Thy Sacraments, professors of Thy truth, knowers and teachers of Thy will; but that we labour to join to these an uniform faithful obedience to Thy whole gospel, a ready cheerful subjection to Thy kingdom, that Thou mayest rule and reign in our hearts by faith; and that we being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, may have our fruit unto holiness, may grow in grace, and in the practical knowledge of Thee our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and at last, persevering unto the last, attain to that endless glorious end, the reward of our faith, the fruit of our labours, the perfection of our charity, and the crown of our hope, an everlasting blessed life of love and holiness with Thee, O Father of mercies, O God of all consolations, O holy and sanctifying Spirit, O blessed Trinity coeternal. To which one infinite Majesty we most humbly ascribe the honour, glory, power, praise, might, majesty, and dominion, which through all ages of the world have been given to Him which sitteth on the throne, to the Holy Spirit, and to the Lamb for evermore. Amen.

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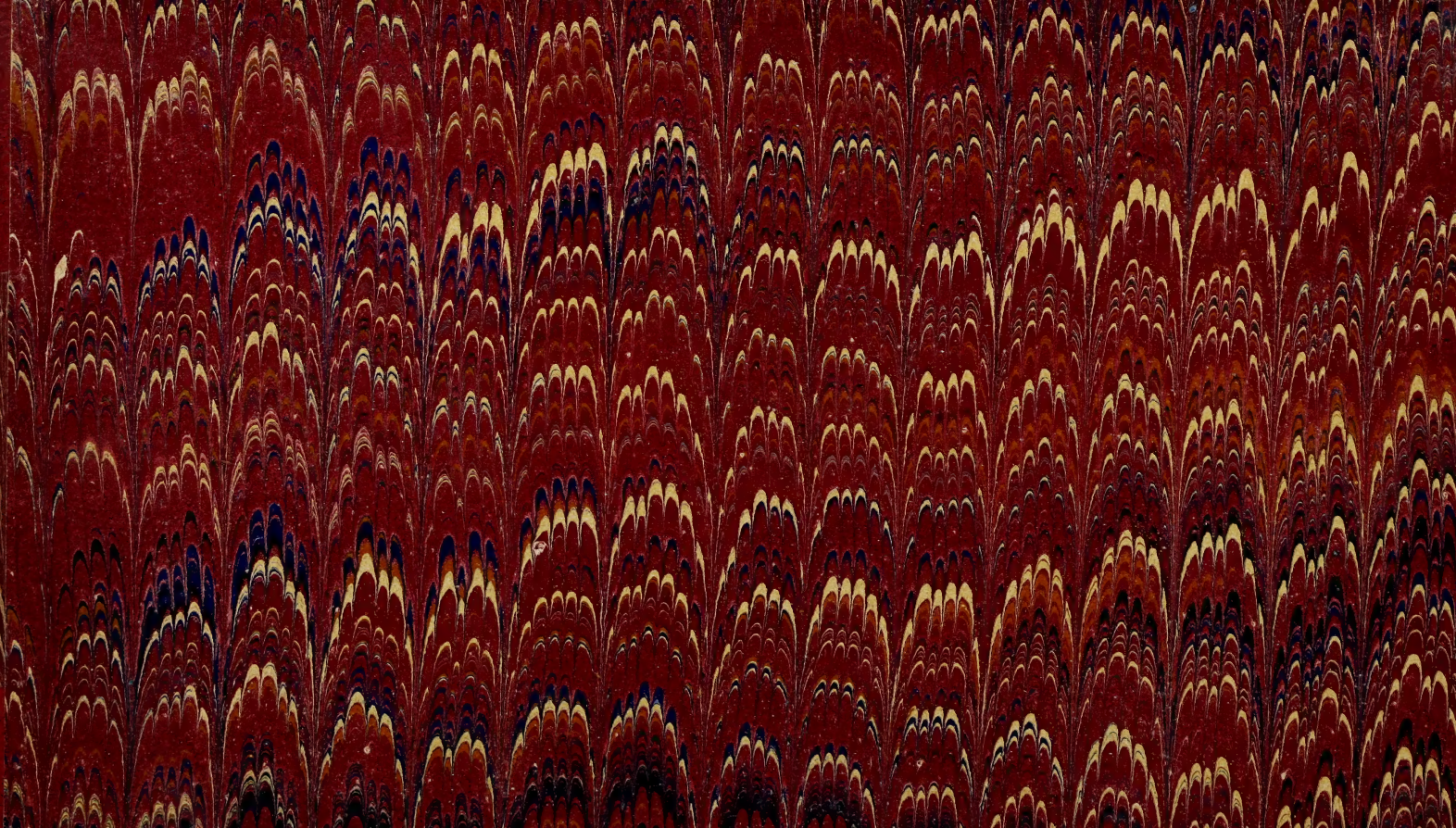

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